

THE

# ROYAL.

### COMMENTARIES

OF







TWO PARTS.

FIRE FIRST PART.

Treating of the Original of their Incas or Kings: Of their Idolatry: Of their Laws and Government both in Peace and War: Of the Reigns and Conquests of the Incas: With many other Particulars relating to their Empire and Policies before such time as the Spaniards invaded their Countries.

THE SCOND PART.

Describing the manner by which that new World was conquered by the Spaniards. Also the Civil Wars between the Piçarrists and the Almagrians, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rise and Fall of Rebels; and other Particulars contained in that History.

### Illustrated with Sculptures.

Written originally in Spanish,

By the Inca GARCHASSO DE LA VICA

And rendred into English, by Sir PAOL REFERENCE K.

LONDON.

Printed by Miles Flesher, for Jacob Tonson at the Judge's-Head in Chancery-Lane near Fleetstreet, MDCLXXXVIII.

### Let this Book be Printed,

Same dance of the

Middleton.

#### THE

# Royal Commentaries

OF

# PERU,

### IN TWO PARTS.

#### THE FIRST PART

Treating of the Original of their Ineas or Kings: Of their Idolatry: Of their Laws and Covernment both in Peace and War: Of the Reigns and Conquests of the Ineas: With many other Particulars relating to their Empire and Policies before such

#### THE SECOND PART

time as the Spaniards invaded their Countries.

Describing the manner by which that new World was conquered by the *Spaniards*. Also the Civil Wars between the *Pigarrifts* and the *Almagrians*, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rife and Fall of Rebels; and other Particulars contained in that History.

Written originally in Spanish,
By the Inca GARCILASSO DE LAVEGA.

And rendred into English,

By Sir PAUL RYCAUT, Knight.

Printed by Miles Flesher, for Jacob Tonson at the Judge's-head in Chancery-lane near Fleetstreet, 1688.

Let this Book be Printed,

August 3

Middleton.

THE

### TRANSLATOR

TO THE

### READER.

HE Authour of this History was one of those whom the Spaniards called Meztizo's, that is, one born of a Spanish Father and an Indian Mother. And though he was a Native of Peru, and by the Mother's fide inclined to the simple Temperament, which is natural to that Countrey; yet it feems the Spanish humour was most prevalent in him. so that he delighted much to tell us, as in divers places, that he was the Son of Garcilaflo de la Vega, one of the first Conquerours of the new World, who was by the direct Line descended from that brave Cavalier Garcinerez de Vargas, from whom came the valiant Gomez Suarez de Figueroa. the first Count of Feria, his Great-grandfather, and Ynigo Lopez de Mendoça, from whom the Duke of Infantado was descended; who was Brother to his Great-grandmother and to Alonso de Vargas, Lord of the Blackmountain, his Grand father, from whom came Alonso de Hinestrosa de Vargas, Lord of Valde Sevilla, who was Father to Garçilasso de la Vega, of whom came our Authour. Nor less illustrious doth he tell you, that he was by the Mother's fide, who was the Daughter of Inca Huallpa Topac. one of the Sons of Topac Inca Yupanqui and of Palla Mama Occlo, his lawfull Wife, from whom came Huayna Capac Inca, the last King of Peru, Wherefore this Authour in all his Writings Styles himself Garcilasto Inca. because he derived his Pedigree from the Kings of Peru, who were called Inca's, a name it feems given to none but the Royal Family.

This History is divided into two Parts. The sirst treats of their Government before the time of the Inca's, which was by the Head of their Tribes and Families cassed Curacas; and then it proceeds unto the Original of the Inca's, and of their Government, and in what manner that salvage People was civilized and instructed in the Laws of Humane Nature, and to live in a Political Society by Manco Capac their sirst King; How also the Men were taught by him to plow and cultivate their Lands, and exercise some by their Lawwas to be his Sister) were taught to spin, and weave, and make their own Garments.

It is probable that a great part of this Hillory, as far as concerns the Original of the Inca's and the foundation of their Laws, is fabulous: howford 2.

#### The Translator to the Reader.

ever, being, as our Authour says, delivered by Tradition, and commonly believed among it their People of the better degree, it may contain divers Truths mixed with abundance of Fictions and fooligh Inventions. But this is no more than what hath happened to Nations of more refined understanding : for what account can we our felves give of Great Britain before the Romans entred into it? Nav. What can France or Spain fay of the Ancient Inhabitants of their own Countries . or of the manner . how they came first to be Christians? Unless it be that which Ignorant men have devised. and what the Learned men are now ashamed to believe or say after them? And then, what wonder is it that such poor Salvages, born in a part of the World undiscovered to us, untill the year 1484; and of whose Original we have no certain knowledge; nor have any light besides fancy and conjecture. from whence the Continent of America hath been peopled: How then . I fav. can it be expected that these illiterate Creatures should be able to give an account of their Extraction, or of Matters which paffed in thole Ages; of which the Learned parts of the World acknowledge their ignorance, and confess themselves to be in the dark even as to those Matters which concern their own Histories?

Rue herause it is in the nature of Mankind to use reflect Alls on their own being, and retreat with their Thoughts back to some beginning: so these poor Souls derive the Original of their first being from divers Creatures, of which they had the greatest opinion and admiration: some living near a great Lake which supplied them with store of Fish, called that their Parent, from whence they emerged: and others esteemed the Mighty Mountains of Antis to have been their Parent, and to have iffued out of those Caverns, as from the Womb of a Mother; others fansied themfelives to be descended from that great Fowl called Cuntur, which spreads a very large Wing, which pleased some Nations of the Indians, that they would look no farther for a Parent than to that Fowl, and in token thereof, upon days of solemnity and festival, carried the Wings thereof fallned to their Armes. But then , as to their Inca's or Kings , whose Original was to be derived from fomething higher than sublunary Creatures. being of better composition than their poor and mean Vassals, the Sun was esteemed a fit Parent for those who were come from Divine race : so that when they adored the Sun, whom they acknowledged for their God, they gave honour to their Kings who were descended from him. Various have been the opinions among It Historians concerning the Original of this People; of which the most probable, as I conceive, is, that they proceeded from the Race of the Northern Tartar, whom they resemble in the shape and air of their features, and in their barbarous way of living; but then we must fansie, as some Geographers do, that the West side of America is Continent with Tartary, or at least disjoyned from thence by some narrow strait; of which I am well persuaded we have no certain Knowledge.

But to let these Matters pass, and consider the Condition in which the Spaniards found the Inhabitants of Peru, when they first came among st them, they were, I fay, a naked People, simple and credulous, believing every thing that the Spaniards told and promised them: To which they were induced out of an opinion that the Spaniards were Viracocha's or the Offspring of the Sun, whom they adored for God, and in whom they believed, according to the Light of Nature, that there could be no falfity or shadow of untruth. Wherefore they were strangely surprized, whilst in a peace-

#### The Translator to the Reader.

able manner they were treating with the good men, and whill Friar Valverde, with a Cross in his hand, was preaching to Atahualpa their King: that then, without any Cause given, they should be killed with Swords and Lances, and five thousand of them massacred before the face of their Prince: And vet they would not foregoe this foolish imagination: though afterwards, contrary to the faith given, they law their King imprisoned, and his liberty promised upon a wast ransome of Gold and Silver: which when paid and fully complied with, he was notwith-Standing Strangled in prilon, and no other liberty given him than that freedom which Death beltows upon all mankind. And yet this filly People could not but entertain a high eleem of the Spaniards, as of those who were come to teach them a better Law, and still called them Viracocha's. or People descended from their Father the Sun, imagining that this new The Indians fort of People in Beards and Ruffs had received Commission from that glori- Beards. ous Light, which they adored, for punishment of their Offences, to swear and lie, and violate all the Bands of humane kind. And yet that which farther shews the simplicity and good nature of this People is, that in de-(pight of all the ill usage received from the Spaniards, they would prove Still faithfull to them, upon a principle they had received, that to whomloever they had yielded themselves in War, they were to be faithfull, with fuch uncorrupted Loyalty and Truth, that no confideration either of King. Wife, Father, Family or Countrey could absolve them from the Obligation and Duty they owed to their Countrey (vid. p. 487.) And hence it was that so many Indians fought against their Countrey-men in union with the Spaniards, and ferved them for Spyes, to give them intelligence of whatfoever was designed in the Camp of the Indians.

But this flexible and good nature of this People did not foften the haughty mind of the Spaniards towards them, who esteeming the rest of the World Slaves to them, oppressed the Indians with such servitude and slary as the nature of man was not able to sustain. Of which that wise and good Emperour. Charles the Fifth, taking notice, he dispatched new Orders to Peru, for ease of the Natives, and to exempt them from that inhumane Tyranny which one man ought not to exercise towards another: But this gratious Indulgence of the Prince ferved to raife greater Diffurbances among it the Conquerours, who refusing to quit their Commands and exempt their Indians from their Vallalage and Services, openly opposed the Governours and Officers which were fent to put the new Ordinances in execution: which afterwards proceeded to an open War and Rebellion, which with various successes continued for many years: till at length the King of Spain was forced to moderate the rigour of his new regulations, and condescend to his Subjects, by conserving to them that tyrannical Power which they pretended unto by right of Conquest over the Indians: in which they were so unmercifull, that had not King Philip the Second contrived a supply of Negro's out of Africa to work in the Mountain of Potofi and other Mines, the whole Indian Nation had before this been utterly extinguished.

But God, who is just and compassionate of the Creatures which he hath made, would not suffer these Cruelties to pass unpunished, but caused the Spaniards themselves to be instruments of his vengeance on each other. So Francisco Picarro and Diego Almagro, after having conquered the Countrey, fell at variance about sharing the Government and dividing the Spoil, which was decided by the Sword: Then Gonçalo Picarro pretended to the Government of Peru for his Life, by virtue of the Patent which the Em-

#### The Translator to the Reader.

perour had given to his Brother the Marquis Picarro, and in defence thereof, and in opposition to the new Laws before mentioned, he raised Wars against the Justices and the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez, whom, after several Fights and Skirmishes he killed in Battel. And though this Picarro was afterwards subdued by the wife conduct of the President Pedro de la Gafca, vet things did not continue long quiet before they broke out avain into new disturbances. So Don Sebastian de Castilla made a Rebellion and headed the Male-contents, who being disappointed of the reward they expetted for the services they had done against Gonçalo Picarro, endeavoured to right themselves by their own Power, and killed the General Don Pedro de Hinojosa. Then Vasco de Godinez killed Don Schastian de Castilla, and set up for himself, but was soon subdued, and put to death Ly Alonfo de Alvarado. Then Egas de Guzman, a bold and blondy Villain pretended to be the Head of a Party, but he and his Complices were foon dispersed for want of Associates to abet their Cause. And lastly. Francisco Hernandez Giron, with about twelve or thirteen more began a Rebellion in Cozco, and with that small number killed most of the Magistrates of the City, and put most of the Inhabitants to flight; with whom afterwards many discontented Souldiers joining, they carryed on a War against the Government for several years with much bloud, and cruelties acted upon each other; for now the common Souldiers were become to mutinous, for want of employment, that they were ready to join with any person that pretended to a resentment : And indeed there was not an ordinary Fellow but who had so great a value for himself on the honour of being a Spaniard and a Souldier, that he swallowed in his vain thoughts all the Riches of the Indies, and fansied that the whole Government and Wealth of Peru was not a sufficient Reward for a person of his high Merit and Extraction. In this manner was Peru conquered, and with this fort of People hath it been fince that time planted, which we have reason to believe have buried themselves in sloth and luxury. How well they have improved that Countrev and used those Riches which God bath given them, and how humanely they have treated the poor Natives; I leave to the Historians of our modern times: and for the Valour and Bravery which of late years they have used in defence of that Countrey; I refer my felf to the Relation of the Bucaniers. And so proceed on with this History.

TO

### JAMES II.

By the Grace of God,

KING of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND.

FRANCE and IRELAND, &c.

Defender of the Faith.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

HIS Translation out of Spanish, baving the Name of Royal Commentaries, seems justly to claim a Title to Your MATE-STY'S gratious Favour and Protection: And likewife Your MAJESTY'S Dominions being adjacent and almost contiguous to the Countries which are the subject of this History, make Your MAJESTY a Party concerned in the Affairs of the New World, and so supreme an Arbitrator in the Government thereof, that to suppress the Robberies and Insolence of certain Pirates who infest those Coasts, Your MAJESTY'S Royal Arms are called for, as the most proper Means and Power to reduce them. Great also is Your M A. FESTY'S Fame in the East as well as in the West-Indies: And may all the World court Your Friendship and Alliance, and doe bonour to Your Royal Standard.

May Your MAJESTY be still bappy with Increase of Glory and Honour both at bome and abroad, untill such time as that you exchange this mortal Crown for one everlasting in the World to come. Which is the fervent Prayer of,

Dread Sovereign.

Your MAJESTY'S

most obedient, most dutifull. and most loyal Subject and Servant,

Paul Rycaut.

THE

# Royal Commentaries.

#### CHÁP.

How the New World was Discovered.

BOUT the Year 1484, a certain Pilot, Native of Helma in the Country of Niebla, called Alonfo Sanchez, ufually Traded in a finall Verifel from Spain to the Canaries; and there Lading the Commodities of that Countrey, failed to the Maderus, and thence freighted with Sugar and Conferves, returned home into Spain; this was his confant course and trafick, when in one of these Voyages meeting with a most violent Tempest, and not able to bear sail, he was forced to put before the Wind for the space of 28 or 29 days, not knowing where or whither he went, for in all that time he was not able to take an observation of the height of the Sun; and so grievous was the storm, that the Mariners could with no convenience either eat or sleep: At length, after so many long and teadious days, the Wind abating, they found themselves near an Island, which it was, is not certainly known, but it is believed to have been St. Domingo, because that lyes just West from the Canaries, whence a storm at East had driven the Ship, which is the more strange, because the Easterly Winds seldom blow hard in those Seas, and rather make sair weather, than tempestuous. But God, who is all-sufficient, intending to bestow his mercies, can make causes produce effects contrary to their nature; as when he drew water from the Rock, and cured the blind with Clay; in like manner his immense goodness and compassion designing to transmit the light of the true Gospel into the new World, made use of these unususal means to convert them from the Idolatry of Gentilism, and from their stolism and dark superstitions, as shall be related in the sequel of this History.

The Master landing on the store, observed the height of the Sun, and so noted particularly in writing what he had seen, and what had happened in this Voyage out, and home: and having supplied himself with fresh water and wood, he put to Sea again; but having not well observed his course thiches, his way to return was the more difficult, and made his Voyage so long, that he began to want both water and

BOOK I.

lasted longer; and at length he so well succeeded in his enterprize, that he bestowed the New World, with all its riches, upon *Spain*, and therefore deservedly obtained this Motto to be inscribed on his Armes:

To Castile, and to Leon, The New World was given by Colon.

In this manner the New World was first discovered, for which greatness Spain is beholding to that little Village of Helva, which produced such a Son, as gave Color information of things not seen, or known before; the which secrets, like a prudent person, he concealed, till under assume of silence he first disclosed them to such persons of authority about the Catholick Kings, as were to be affishant and usefull to him in his design, which could never have been laid, or chalked out by the art of Cosmography, or the imagination of man, had not Alons de Sanchez given the first light and conjecture to this discovery; which Colon so readily improved, that in 78 days he made his Voyage to the 1ste of Guanatianico, though he was detained some days at Gomera to take in Provisions.

#### CHAP. II.

The derivation of the word Peru, and how the Countrey came to be so called.

Since we are to treat of the Countrey of Pern, it will be requifite to enquire, how it came to be so called, in regard the Indians have no such word in their language: to which end we must know, That a certain Gentleman, Native of Krez, called Barco Nunnez, having in the year 1313, been the sirst Spaniard, who discovered the Sea of Zur, or the Pacifick Sea; in reward thereof the Kings of Spain honoured him with the title of Admiral of those Seas, and with the government of those Kingdoms and Countries which he should farther discover and conquer. During those sew years he lived after these Honours (for his Son-inlaw Pedro Arina de Avida being Governour, in recompence of all his services, cut off his head) his great care was to discover, and know what that Countrey was called, which from Panans runs all along the coast of the Sea of Zur; to which purpose he built three or four Vesses, and employed them in several quarters to make their discoveries; every one of which did afterwards return with relations of great racks of land running along that coast: one of which Vessels stretching farther than the others to the very Equinoctial line, and sailing by the shore, they espiced an Indian, as he-was stifting at the mouth of a River, of which there are many, which in that Countrey sall into the Sea; so soon as the Spaniards saw him, they landed four of their men with all privacy imaginable, such as could run and swim well, that so he might not be able to escape them either by land or water. Having so done, they passed with their Ship, as near as was possible before the Hadian, that whilft he amused himself with the strangeness of the object, he might more easily be taken by the ambush which was laid for him: the Indian beholding so unusual a fight as a Ship swimming with all her Sails on the Sea, which he had never before seen or heard of, his eyes were so fixed, and his imagination so taken up with looking, and considering what thing that was, which offered it self to his sight, that he was not sensitive who with gre

readily, left they fhould doe him some hurt, said Beru, which was his own proper name, and then added Petu; which was as much as to say, if you ask me my name, I am called Beru; but if you ask me of the place, where I was, it is Petu; for that signifies a River in the Indian language: from which time, which was in the year 1515, the Spaniards have ever called this great and rich Countrey by the name of Peru; other Historians corrupting the letters, call it Piru; instead of Peru: and this place, where this Indian was surprized, we may certainly denote as the utmost border of that Dominion which was under the Jurisdiction and Conquest of those Kings, which were called Boots; and which was ever after named Peru from that very place which is over-against Quit to Charcus, and is the principal Dominion of the Boots, containing 700 Leagues in length; although their Empire did reach as far as Chile, which contains 500 Leagues more, and is another most rich and sertile Kingdom.

#### CHAP. III.

The Description of Peru, with the Story of Peter Serrano.

THE four limits and borders of that Empire which the Incas possessed before the Spaniards invaded them, were these. To the North it was bounded with the River Ancarmaya, which runs between the Consines of Quita and Passian and signifies in the common language of Peru, the Acure River, being situated almost perpendicularly under the Equinoctial line: to the South its limits are confined by the River Mauli, which runs East and West through the Kingdom of Chili, before it comes to the Arancos, which is 40 degrees of South latitude from the Equinoctial. The distance between these two Rivers they account little less than 1300 Leagues by Land. That which is properly called Peru, contains 750 Leagues in length, reaching from the River Ancarmaya to the Chichas, which is the farthermost Province of the Charcas, and lyes North and South, as also doth that which is called the Kingdom of Chilo, which contains about 550 Leagues in length, reckoning from the farthest part of the Province Chichas to the River Mauli, To the East it is bordered by that Mountain which is inaccessible for men, beasts or sowls, called the Cordistera, because it is always covered with Snow, and runs from St. Marta to the Straits of Magellan, which the Indiant call Rivingu, and is as much as the Countrey of Snow. To the West it hath the Sea of Zur for its Consines, running all along the coast to the Cape Passian, which is under the Equinoctial, and extends to the Mauli, which also falls into the Sea of Zur, from the East to the West the Kingdom is eftermed but narrow, the broadest place of it being from the Province Magnapas to the City Tragillo, which is situated on the Sea-coast, and contains 120 Leagues in breadth, being in the narrowest place which is from the Port Arica, to the Province called Lavicossa, about the space of 70 Leagues. These are the four bounds of that Dominion which the Incas possessed for which we intend, by divine affistence, for to write. But before we proceed forward, it will be requisite to recount the Story of Peter Serva

Peter Serrano escaped from shipwreck by swimming to that desert Island, which from him received its name, being, as he reported, about two Leagues in compass, and for so much it is laid down, in the Waggoner, which pricks three little Islands in the Cart, with divers shallow places about them; so that all Ships keep the distance from them avoiding them with all possible care and circum-

It was Peter Serrow's misfortune to be loft upon these places, and to save his life on this disconsolate Island, where was neither water, nor wood, nor grass, nor any thing for support of humane life, at least not for maintenance of him for so long a time, as untill some Ship passing by might redeem him from perishing by hunger and thirst, which languishing manner of death is much more miserable, than by a speedy suffocation in the waters. With the sad thoughts bereof he

pafl

BOOK I.

paffed the first night, lamenting his affliction with as many melancholy reflexions, as we may imagine, capable to enter into the mind of a wretch in like extremities; fo foon as it grew day, he began to traverse his Itland, and found on the shore some Cockles, Shrimps, and other creatures of like nature, which the Sea had thrown up, and which he was forced to eat raw, because he wanted fire wherewish to roall them: And with this finall entertainment he passed his time, till wherewith to roat them: And with this influence in the patied his time, the watch'd a convenience intill they came within his reach, and then throwing them on their backs, (which is the manner of taking that fort of fifth) he cut the throat, drinking the bloud inflead of water; and flicing out the fleth with a knife which was faftned to his girdle, he laid the pieces to be dried, and roafted by the Sun; the field he made use of to rake up rain-water, which lay in little puddles, for that is a Countrey of ten subject to great and sudden rains. In this manner he passed the first of his days by killing all the Turtles that he was able, some of which were so large, that days by killing all the Turtles that he was able, fome of which were fo large, that their fhells were as big as Targets or Bucklers; others were fo great, that he was not able to turn them, nor to ftop them in their way to the Sea, fo that in a thort time experience taught him, which fort he was able to deal with, and which were too unwieldly for his force: with his leffer fhells he poured water into the greater, fome of which contained 12 Gallons; fo that having made fufficient provisions both of meat and drinks, he began to contrive fome way to fitthe fire, that fo he might not onely drefs his meat with it, but also make a smooth to give a sign to any Ship, which was passing in those Seas; considering of this invention, (for Seamen are much more ingenious in all times of extremity, than men bred at Land) he searched every-where to find out a couple of hard pebles instead of shirts, his knise serving in the place of a steel; but the Island being all covered with a Dead Sand, and no stone appearing, he swam into the Sea, and diving with a Dead Sand, and no frone appearing, he fivam into the Sca, and diving often to the bottom, he at length found a couple of ftones fit for his purpole, which he rubbed together, until he got them to an edge, with which being able to ftrike fire, he drew some threads out of his shirt, which he worked so small, that it was like cotton, and served for tinder; so that having contrived a means to kindle fire, he then gathered a great quantity of Sea-weeds, thrown up by the wayes, which with the shells of Fish, and planks of Ships, which had been wrecwaves, which with the Ihells of Fifh, and planks of Ships, which had been wrecked on those sholes, afforded nourithment for his sue!: and left sudden shownes should extinguish his fire, he made a little covering, like a small Hut, with the shells of the largest Turtles or Tortoises that he had killed, taking great care that his fire should not go out. In the space of two months, and sooner, he was as unprovided of all things, as he was at first, for with the great rains, heat and mothere of that climate, his provisions were corrupted; and the great heat of the Sun was so violent on him, having neither cloths to cover him, nor shadow for a shelter, that when he was, as it were, broiled in the Sun, he had no remedy but to run into the Sea. In this misery and care he passed three years, during which time he saw several Ships at Sea, and as often made his smoak; but none turned out of their way to see what it meant, for fear of those Shelves and Sands, which out of their way to fee what it meant, for fear of those Shelves and Sands, which out of their way to fee what it meant, for fear of those Sneives and Sands, which way Pilots avoid with all imaginable circumspection; so that the poor wretch despairing of all manner of relief, esteemed it a mercy for him to dye, and arrive at that period which could onely put an end to his miseries; and being exposed in this manner to all weathers, the hair of his body grew in that manner, that he was covered all over with bristles, the hair of his head and beard reaching to his waste, that he appeared like fome wild and savage creature. At the end of three years, Sergen, was strangely survived with the appearance of a Man in his three years Serrano was strangely surprized with the appearance of a Man in his Island, whose Ship had, the night before, been cast away upon those Sands, and had saved himself on a plank of the Vessel: so soon as it was day, he espied the finoak, and imagining whence it was, he made towards it. So foon, as they faw each the other, it is hard to fay, which was the most amazed, Serram imagined, that it was the Devil who came in the shape of a Man to tempt him to despair: the New-comer believes Serram to be the Devil in his own proper shape and figure, being covered over with hair and beard: in fine, they were both afraid, flying one from the other. Peter Serrano cried out, as he ran, Tefin, Jefin, deliver me from the Devil: the other hearing this, took courage, and returning again to him, called out, Brother, Brother, don't fly from me, for I am a Christian, as thou art: and because he law that Serrano still ran from him, he repeated the Credo, or Apollo College. file's Creed, in words aloud; which when Serrano heard, he knew it was no

Devil, that would recite those words, and thereupon gave a stop to his slight, and returning to him with great kindues, they embraced each other, with fights and tears have their fac Estate, without any hopes of deliverance: Serrano fuppoling that his Guest wanted refreshment, entertained him with fuch provisions, as his miferable life afforded; and having a little comforted each other, they began to recount the manner and occasion of their fad disafters. Then for the better government in their way of living, they defigned their hours of day and night to certain fervices, such a time was appointed to kill Fish for eating, such hours for gathering weeds, Fish bones, and other matters, which the Sea threw up to maintain their conftant fire; and especial care they had to observe their up to maintain their contain they and especial case they mad to observe their watches, and relieve each other at certain hours, that fo they might be fure their fire went not out. In this manner they lived amicably together for certain days, for many did not pass before a quarrel arole between them, so high, that they were ready to fight; the occasion proceeded from some words that one gave the other, that he took not that care and labour as the extremity of their condition required; and this difference so encreased, (for to such misery do our passions often berray us) that at length they separated, and lived apart one from the other; how-soeyer in a short time having experienced the want of that comfort which mufociety procures, their choler was appeafed, and fo they returned to enjoy converfe, and the affiltence which Friendship and Company afforded, in which condition they passed four Years, during all which time they saw many Ships sail near them, yet none would be so charitable or curious, as to be invited by their Smoak and Flame; so that being now almost desperate, they expected no

their smoak and riame; to that being now annot desperate, they expected no other remedy befides Death, to put an end to their Miferies.

Howfoever at length a Ship adventuring to pass nearer than ordinary, espied the Smoak, and rightly judging, that it must be made by some Shipwrecked Persons escaped to those Sands, holited out their Boat to take them in Serrano and his Smoak, and rightly judging, that it muit be made by tome Shipwrecked Perions efcaped to those Sands, holited out their Boat to take them in. Septano and his Companion readily ran to the place where they saw the Boat conning; but so soon as the Mariners were approached so near, as to distinguish the strange Figure and Looks of these two Men, they were so affrighted, that they began to row back; but the poor men cryed out, and that they might believe them too not to be Devils, or evil Spirits, they rehearsed the Creed, and called aloud upon the Name of Jesus; with which words the Mariners returned, took them into the Boat, and carried them to the Ship, to the great wonder of all there present, who with admiration beheld their hairy shapes, not like Men, but Beatls, and with singular pleasure heard them relate the story of their past missfortunes. The Companion dyed in his Voyage to Spain, but Serrano lived to come thither, from whence he travelled into Germany, where the Emperour then resided: all which time he nourished his Hair and Beard, to serve as an Evidence and Proof of his past Life: wheresever he came the People pressed, as a Sight, to see him for Money; Persons of Quality having also the same curiosity, gave him sufficient to destay his charges, and his Imperial Majesty having seen, and heard his Discourses, bestowed a Rent upon him of Four thousand Pieces of Eight a Year, which make 4800 Ducats in Perus, and going to the Possession of this Income, he dyed at Panama, without farther Enjoyment. All this Story was related to me by a Gentleman called Garci Sanchez de Figueroa, one who was acquainted with Servano, Gentleman called Garci Sanchez, de Figueroa, one who was acquainted with Serrano, and heard it from his own Mouth, and that after he had feen the Emperour he then cut his Hair and his Beard to some convenient length, because that it was so long before, that when he turned himself on his Bed, he often lay upon it, which

incommoded him so much as to disturb his sleep.

CHAP. С

Воок І.

Of the Idolatry and Gods which the Ancient Incas adored, and Manner of their Sacrifices.

POR better understanding of the Life, Customs and Idolatry of the Indians of Pern, it will be necessary to distinguish the times before the Incas, from those wherein their Rule and Empire began, their Gods and Sacrifices and Customs being much different, according to the Ages; for the Men themselves, in the first times, were at best but as tamed Beasts, and others were worse than the fiercest Creatures. To begin with their Gods, we must know, that they were agreeable to the quality of their own corrupt and abominable manners, and every Nation, Province, Tribe and House had its particular God for their Opinion was, that one God would have business sufficient to take care of one Province, or Family, and that their Power was so confined, that it could have no virtue or extent within the Jurissicition of another: and because their Fancies were not so fublimated, as to frame abstracted Notions of Delities, such as Hope, Victory, Peace, and the like, as the Romans did in the time of Gentilism; they adored whatsoever they saw, such as Flowers, Plants, Herbs, Trees, especially, Pines and Elmes; Caves, Stones, Rivers, and particularly in that Province, which is called the Old Port, they had a high Veneration for the Esemenald, because it is the Pretious Stone of that Countrey, and the Diamond and Ruby are in no essent because they are not known to them; they also worshipped the Lion, Tyger and Bear, for their figreeness, and with that submission and humility, that they would not sy from them, but offer themselves to be devoured by them. In fine they adored any thing wherein they observed an Espelency, as the Fox and Monky for Craft, the Hart for his Swiftness, the Falcon for his Agility and Courage, and the Eagle for the Acuteness of his Sight: such was the vanity and folly in the imagination of this savage People, who had no Scriptures to teach and enlighten them, nor Prince to govern and protect them.

tures to teach and enlighten them, nor Prince to govern and protect them.

Howfoever there were other Nations more confiderate in choice of their Deities, adoring none but fuch as afforded them benefit and advantage; as Fountains, and cool Springs which yielded them Drink, Rivers that watered their Paffures: the Earth they called their Mother, and worshipped, because it yielded them Food, the Air, because they breatked in it, and was their Life, the Fire, because it warmed them, and dressed in it, and was their Life, the Fire, because it warmed them, and dressed in it, and was their Life, the Fire, because it warmed them, and dressed in it, and was their Life, the Fire, because it warmed them, and dressed their Meat; some also made choice of Sheep, and Corn, and Cattel, and every thing that abounded most in their Country, and served for nourithment, to be a God, and worthy of Divine Honour. The Inhabitants near the Cordillera worshipped that Mountain for its height, those of the Coast made the Sea their God, which in their language they call Mantechoca, and is as much as to say, the Mother Sea: the Whalo for its prodigious bigness was in no less Veneration than the rest, and every fort of Fish which abounded amongst them was deisted, because they believe that the first Fish in the World above them, takes always care to provide them with a number of the like World above them, takes always care to provide them with a number of the like World above them, takes always care to provide them with a number of the like World above them, and worship nothing either above or below; but giving themselves over to stupidity and south Borders of Pern, that have no thoughts or inclinations to Religion, and worship nothing either above or below; but giving themselves over to stupidity and south borders of Pern, that have no thoughts or inclinations to Religion, and worship nothing either above or below; but giving themselves over to stupidity and south south souther lawing fear nor love, live with the same sent all general parts

Children to these Idols. The manner of these Sacrifices were to rip open their breasts whilst they were alive, and so tear out their Heart and Lungs, with the Bloud of which, whilst warm, they sprinkled their Idols: then they inspected the Lungs and Heart, to take an other of good or bad, and know whether the Sacrifice had been acceptable to the Idol; then they burnt the Entrails, and ate the Flesh themselves with great joy and session; though it were of their own Child, or other Relation of the same bloud.

Bha Valera a certain Authour who in loofe Papers wrote of the Indies, describes those Nations by distinguishing the former from the latter ages, and faith. That those who live in Antis eat Mens Flesh, and are more brutish than the Beatls themselves, for they know neither God, nor Law, nor Vertue, nor have they Idos, or any Worship; unless sometimes when the Devil presents himself to them in the form of a Serpent, or other Animal, they then adore and worship him. When they take any in the War, if he be an ordinary Fellow, they quarter him, and divide him to be eaten by their Wives, Children and Servants, or perhaps fell him to the Shambles; but if he be of Quality, or Noble, they call their Wives and Children together, and like Officers of the Devil, they strip him of his garments, and tye him to a stake, and then alive as he is, they cut him with Knives, and sharp Stones, paring of the form the more stelly parts, as from the Buttocks, Calves of the Legs, and it is provided the principal Men. If women, and the remainder they drink, and eat the Flesh as saft as they can, before it is half broiled, less the miderable Wretch should dye before he hath seen his shell devoured, and intombed in their bowels: The Women, more cruel and inhumane than, the Men, wet the nipples of their Breasts with the bloud, that so the Insants which suck them may take a share of the Sacrifice. All this is performed by way of a religious Offering with mirth and triumph, till the Man expires; and then they complete the Feast in devouring all the remainder of his Flesh and Bowels, eating it with silence and reverence, as facred, and partaking of a Deity. If in execution of all this torment the Patient was observed to sigh and groan, or make any distorted faces, then they broak his Bones, and with contempt threw them into the fields and waters; but if he appeared flout, and enduring the anguish and pains without strinking at them, then his Bones and Sinews were dived in the Sun, and lodged on the tops of the highest Hills, where they were de

But other *Indians* less cruel, and of a more mild Nature, though they mingled humane Bloud with their Sacrifices, yet they did it not with the death of any, but drew it from Veins of the Arme or Leg, or from the Nostrils, in case of pains in the Head, and from other parts, as the nature or solemnity of the Sacrifice required. Others offered Sheep, and Lambs, Conies, Partridges, and all forts of Fowl, Herbs, and the Cocar-Nut, so much in esteem amongst them, with their Mayz, which is a sort of Wheat, as also Pulse, Ahnise and Cummin, and sweet Woods, which rendred a persume; the which were severally sacrificed according to the nature of the Deity they adored. And thus much shall be sufficient to have been delivered concerning their Sacrifices, and Gods of the Ancient Gentillist.

C 2 CHAP.

BOOK I.

Of the Government, Diet and Cloathing of the Ancient Indians.

These People were as barbarous in their manner of living in their Houses and Habitations, as they were in the Worship of their Gods, and Sacrifices is fuch of them as observed any thing of a Political Government, lived in a kind of Society, having houter any time of a context and the society having houter near together, placed without order of Streets or Paffages, appearing rather like Pens or Sheepfolds, than humane Habitations: Others, by reason of the Wars and Variances amongst themselves, lived on Rocks and Mountains, and places inacceffible for their Enemies; others dwelt in little Cottages. feating over the fields and vallies; and every one feated himfelf as well as he thought convenient for commodiousness of Victuals and Water, whether it were in Caves under ground, or in the hollow of Trees, the necessities, rather than the conveniences of living being provided for; and of this fort of People there are some yet remaining about the Cape of Passan, as the Chiribusanas and other Nations, whom the linear have conquered, and who still continue their ancient barbarity, and favage manners: and these are the most difficult of any to be reduced to the subjection of the Spaniards, or the Christian Religion; for having never had Learning, or scarce Language sufficient to understand each other, they live like Beafts, without Communication, Friendship or Commerce.

Those amongst them who had most of Understanding, or of a Spirit most

Thole amongs them who had molt of Understanding, or of a Spirit most daring, stock the privilege to Rule, and govern the others, whom he treated as his Slaves, with such Tyranny and Cruelty, that he made use of their Wives and Daughters at his pleasure, all things being consounded with War and Ruine. In some Provinces, they flead the Captives taken in War, and with their Skins covered their Drums, thinking with the sound of them to affright their Enemies, for their opinion was, that when their Kindred heard the rumbling noise of those Drums, shey would be immediately seized with fear, and put to slight. For the most part they lived by Robberies, and the Spoils each of other; the stronger preying upon the weaker was the cause of several petty Kings; some of which perhaps being of a more gentle nature than others, and who treated their Subjects with less rigour and cruelty, were for that reason adored by them for Gods, fra-ming to themselves some representation of Divinity in the good actions of such men, who had some allays in their cruel and tyrannical Government. In other parts, they lived without Lords, or order of a Common-wealth; but like so many Sheep parset fleet in all simplicity; not that Vertue moderated their malice, but their stupidity and ignorance made them senseless and uncapable of good or

Their manner of Cloathing, or covering their Bodies, were in fome Countries as immodeft as they were ridiculous; their Diet also was so foul and barbarous. that we, who know better, may wonder at the beaftiality. In the hot Countries, which were most fruitfull, they sowed little or nothing, but contented themselves with Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruits, and with that which the Barthproduced of it effelt, for they, requiring no more than natural fulfenance, jie yed with little, and created no accidental necessities for support of Life. In some Countries they were fuch great lovers of Man's Flesh, that when they were killing an Indian, they would fuck his bloud at the Wound they had given him; and when they quartered his body, they would lick their fingers, that not one drop of bloud should be wasted: in their Shambles they commonly fold Mens Bodies, making Saulages of their Guts, suffing them with slesh, that nothing might be loft. Peter of Cieca in the 26th Chapter of his Book, declares fo much, and affirms, that he faw it with his own Eyes; and that fo far their gluttony provoked them in this kind, that they did not spare those very Children, which they

begot upon those Women whom they had taken Captives in the War, but breeding them with fuch care and diet as might make them fat; fo foon as they came to be twelve years of age, and that they were plump and tender, they dreffed them for their Table, and devoured them with their Mothers, unless they were with Child; for then they referved them till they were delivered, and had nurfed up their brood. Moreover to those Men whom they took in the War they gave Women, and their breed they nourithed and fatned, with intent to eat them, as we do Lambs, and Calves, and the young ones of our heards and flocks, without regard to Bloud or Parentage, which even in brute beafts hath fome effect of love and tenderness. But what was most abominable above all, was a custome among the fome Indians to eat the Fleth of their Parents, fo foon as they were dead; accoun-Entrails, which they boiled, or roafted, according to the quantity; if the body was lean, and extenuated, they boiled the flesh to make it the more tender; and if it were gross and flethy, then it was roafted; and for the bones, they buried them with some Ceremony, either in the holes of Rocks, or the hollow Trees: but this fort of People know no Gods, nor adore any thing, and inhabit for the most part in the hotter, and not in colder Regions of this Continent. In the more cold and barren Countries, where the earth is not fo fruitfull, necessity compells them to fow Mayz, which is their *Indian* Wheat, and other forts of pulse or grain. but they diffinguish neither times, nor feafons for it; and in their fishing and fowling, and in all other things the like barbarity of manners predominates.

As to their manner of Cloathing, the modesty of an Historian obligeth me ra-

ther to pass it by, than to describe it, lest I should seem offensive to chast and modest Ears: but to express it with as much decency as I am able; we are to know, that the Indians in the first ages were no other covering than the Skins which Nature gave them. Some perhaps of them for curiofity, or affectation girt themselves about the Waste with a clout of course thread, which they ofteemed a Cloathing fufficient for them. I remember, that in the Year 1570, when I came into New Spain, that I met in the streets of Cartagena with five Indians, all naked, walking one after the other, like fo many Cranes, fo little had the converfation and fociety of the *Spaniards* in fo long a time prevailed to the alteration of their Humours, Manners or Barbarity.

The Women wear no other garments than the Men; onely the married Wives girt a string about them to which they fasten a clout of Cotton, a yard square, like an Apron, and where they cannot or will not learn to weave, they cover their nakedness with the rine or broad leaves of trees. The Maidens also wear fomething girt about them, to which they add fome other mark, as a fign of their Virginity. Modelly forbids us to enlarge farther on this Subject, it being fufficient what we have declared, that in hot Countries they went naked, without other covering, or ornament, than that which Nature furnishes to brute Beasts; whence we may imagine how barbarous thole *Indians* were before the times in which the *Incas* gained a Sovereignty over them.

In colder Countries they used Garments, not for modesty, or decency, but for

necessity to defend them from the cold: their cloathing was commonly with the Skins of beafts, and with a fort of Matt, which they wove with ftraw or rufhes. Other Nations of them, who had more ingenuity, wore a fort of Mantles, ill made, and foun with a course thread, and worse woven with wool, or wild hemp, which they call Channar; and fome ornament about their necks, and a covering about their waftes, was all the cloathing which their cultoms and manners required, and in this habit the Spaniards found those Indians, over whom the Incas had not extended their Dominion; and which even to this day continues amongst them: for they have fuch an aversion to garments, that even those who live familiarly with the Spaniards, and are their domestick Servants, are rather forced by importunity to use them, than that they chuse them out of inclination, or any consideration of decency or modefty; the like humour is also common to the Women; so that the Spaniards use in jest to tell them that they were bad Spinsters, and to ask them whether they would not cloath themselves because they would not spin, or would not fpin, because they would not be cloathed.

to

#### CHAP. VI.

Of the different ways of Marriages, and diverlity of Languages amongst them. And of the Poisons and Witchcrafts that they used:

Such as these Indians were in their eating and cloathing, such were they in their Marriages, in which they were as bestial, as in their other manners, their Marriages, in which they were as pertian, as in their other manners, exercifing cotition in the fame way as Beafts; for having not Wives in property, they used their Women as Nature incited, or as accidentally they occurred, without regard to Mothers, Daughters, or Sisters, or the nearest proximity of bloud. In some Countries, where a certain fort of Marriage was usual, those Women that were free of their Bodies, were most esteemed, and obtained the best Husbands, because they were accounted active, and busic in their calling, when others of a more chaft and cold Nature, were rejected as drones, dull and unfit for love. In other Countries they observed a different custome; for the unit for love. In other Countries they observed a different cultome; for the Mothers preferved their Daughters with great respect and care, till the time of their Marriage, when bringing them into publick, they shewed the Tokens of their Virginity. In other parts the Father, or near of kindred, claimed a title to the Maidenhead of the Bride by conditions of the Marriage, before she was given to the Husband. Peter de Cieca in the z4th Chapter of his Book affirms the same; and that Sodomy was used amongst them, but yet in secret, and as a crime: though the Devil persuaded them to it in their Temples, as a pleasure which their Gods delighted in, that so under the guise of Religion he might take off that veil of Modesty, which covered humane nature.

There were some, both men and Women, that practifed the art of Poisoning, so that they could kill with it immediately, or in a certain time, or could make mad, or fools, disfigure the countenance, make the body leprous, and the Limbs

Every Province, and every Nation had a different Tongue, or Dialect, those who spake the same Language they esteemed Friends and Kindred, and with them

who spake the same Language they effected Friends and Kindred, and with them they kept peace and confederacy, all others were accounted Enemies and Strangers, with whom they maintained a perpetual War, eating those whom they took, as if they had been Animals of another species.

Witchcraft was more commonly used by the Women, than by the Men, who, to gain a reputation to themselves of Wisedom, of Prophecies and Predictions of things to come, like Pythonesses, or sibyls, treated samiliarly with the Devil. These Women, out of malice or Envy practified this Art most commonly on the Men, and which operated the same effect as their Poisons, such was the constitution of these self-use in the single age, and in the time of their Gentilism. tion of thefe *Indians* in the first age, and in the time of their Gentilism, when they had no other guide but the Devil and their own Natures; and hereof we shall more particularly treat in the sequel of this History, when coming to discourse of the Nations apart, we shall have occasion to mention the barbarisms and beflialities which are respectively appropriated unto the several People.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. VII.

The Original of the Incas, who were Kings of Peru.

These People living and dying in that mariner, as we have before declared, it pleased God at last that some little light should dawn from the morning, and through the dark clouds of Ignorance and Stupidity dart a small ray of the Law of Nature into their hearts, that learning something of that respect which one man ought to bear unto another, they might by degrees improve in morality, and from Beasts be converted into Men, and made capable of Reason and Understanding; that so, when the same God, who is the Sun of Justice, should think sit to issue out the light of his Divine Rays on those poor Idolaters, they might be found more docible, and cashy disposed to receive the principles of the Christian faith, the which will plainly appear in the progress of this History; and that those, whom the Ineas had subjected, and reduced to some terms of Humanity and Political Government, were much better and easier to receive the Evangelical Doctrine preached unto them, than those incorant weresteen when the measurements. and Political Government, were much better and easter to receive the Evangelical Doctrine preached unto them, than those ignorant wetches who lived in their natural flupidity, and who to this day, after the space of 71 Years, that the Spanfards have been Masters of Pern, have made no step or improvement towards the Doctrine of Morality, or a rational Life. And now that we may proceed forward, to relate these obscure matters, I must acquaint the Reader, that having considered with my self of the ways and methods whereby I might most clearly make known the beginning and original of the Incas, who were the Natural Kings of Pern, I have determined with my self, that there is no more expedite course, nor means hereunto, than to repeat those stories which in my youth I received from the relation of my Mother, and my Uncles, her Brothers, and others of my Kindred, touching this subject, which certainly will be more authenticly and statisfactory than any account we can receive from other Authours, and therefore shall proceed in this manuer. fore shall proceed in this manner.

My Mother, refiding at Cozeo, which was her own Countrey, those sew Kindred and Relations of hers which survived, and escaped from the cruelties and Tyrannies of Acahnalpa, (as shall be related in the History of his life) came almost every week to make her a visit; at which their ordinary discourse was concerning the Original of their Kings, the Majesty, and greatness of their Empire, their Conquests, and Policies in Government, both for War and Peace, together with the Laws they instituted for the good and benefit of their subjects: in short, there was nothing great or prosperous amongst them, which they omitted in the Series of their Discourse.

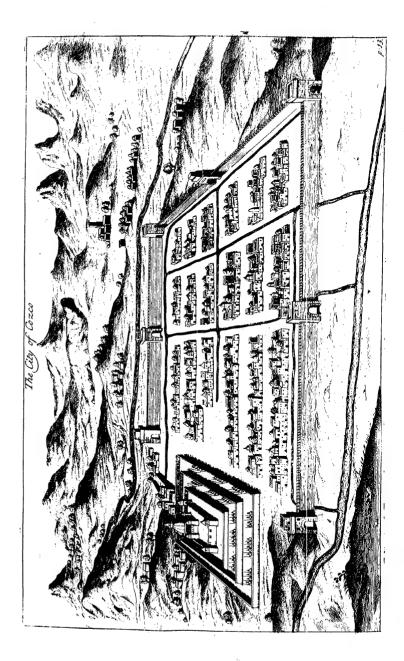
From their past Happiness they descended to their present condition, and bewailed the death of their Kings, by whole deltruction the government fell, and the Empire was transferred. Thefe, and fuch like discourses, the *Incas*, and the Ladies of quality, which we call *Palius*, entertained us with at their vifits, which they always concluded with tears and fighs in remembrance of their loft happiness, faying, that from Governours they were now become Slaves, &c. During these haying, that from Governous they were now become slaves, & Lotting their Difcourfes, I, that was a Boy, often ran in and out, pleafing my felf with fome pieces of the ftory, as Children do with the tales of Nurfes. In this manner days, and months, and years paffing, till I was come to fixteen or feventeen years of age, being one day prefent with my Kindred, who were difcourfing of their Kings and Anceftours, it came into my mind to ask the most elderly Person amongst them, and internate his Different in the most elderly Person amongst them, and interrupt his Difcourse in this manner. Inca, faid I, and my Onele, how is it possible, since you have no Writings, that you have been able to conserve the memory of things pass, and of the Original of our Kings? I observe that the Spaniards, and their neighbouring Nations, have their Divine and Humane Histories, whereby they learn the time that their own Kings, and the Princes of other Countries began their Reigns, when and how Empires were altered and transferred; may, so for they proceed, as to tell its how many thousand searce are past, since God created Hesven and Earth: all which, and much more,

they have learned from their book; but as for your parts, in what manner can you retain the memory of your Ancestors, or be informed of the Original of your Incas? as who was the first of them, or what was his name? of what lineage, or in what manner he began to reign? what Nations he conquered, and when he gave a being to this great Empire, and

with what Explaits our Ancestors atchieved their greatness?

The Inca was much pleased to hear me make these enquiries, because he took a delight to recount those matters, and turning himself to me, Consin, said he, I most willing comply with your request; for it concerns you to hear them, and keep them in your heart, (which is a phrase that they use, when they mean that it should be committed to Memory.) Tou must know therefore, that in ages past all this Region and Conintry you see round us, was nothing but mountains, and wild forest, and the People in those times were like so many brute Beasts, without Religion or Government, they neither sowed, nor ploughed, nor cloathed themselves, because they knew not the art of weaving with Cotton or Wool: They about by two and two, or three and three together, at they happened to meet in Caves, or holes in the Rocks and Mountains; their sood was Herbs, or Grass, Rosts of Trees, and wild Fruits, and Man's Fisher, all the coverings they had mere Leaves or Barks of Trees, and Shins of Beasts: In short, they were altogether savage, making use of their Vionen as they accidentally met, understanding no property, or single enjoyment of

And now I pray observe me with due attention, for I would not be troubled to make revetition of what I have laid. Our Father the Sun, (for this is the language of the Incar, which is a title of Reverence and Respect, which they always adjoin, so often as they name the Sun; for they avail themselves much of the Honour of being descended from him; and his Name is so pretious, that it is blasbhemy for any, and by Law he is to be stoned, who dares to take this Name into his mouth, who is not an Inca, or descended from that Lineage.) Our Father the Sun (faid the Inca) beholding Men such as before related, took compassion of them, and sent a Son and a Daughter of his own from Heaven to Earth, to instruct our people in the knowledge of Our Father the Sun, that so they might worship and adore him, and esteem him for their God: giving them Laws and Precepts, whereunto they might conform their Lives, like Men of Reason and Civility; that they might live in Houses and Society, learn to sow the Land. cultivate Trees, and Plants, feed their Flocks, and enjoy them, and other Fruits of the Earth, as rational Men, and not as brute Beafts. With these Orders and Instructions Our Father the Sun placed his two Children in the Lake Titicaca, which is about eighty Leagues from hence, giving them liberty to go, and travell which way they pleased, and that Leagues from name, Recong times to the front from the food first a little wedge of Gold into the ground, (which he had given them,) being about half a yard long, and two fingers thick, and where with one stroke this wedge should fink into the Earth, there should be the place of their Habitation, and the Court unto which all People should refort. Lastly, he ordered them that when they should have reduced People to these Rules and Obedience, that then they should conserve and maintain them with Reason, Justice, Piety, Clemency and Gentleress, performing all the good Offices of a pious Father towards those Children which he loves with tenderness: and that in imitation of him, and by his example, who doeth good to all the World, affording them light to perform their business, and the actions of Life, marming them when they are cold, making their pastures, and their feeds to grow, their trees to fructifie, and their flocks to increase, matering their Lands with dew from above, and in its season bestowing chearfull and favourable weather: and to manifest his care of all things, said, I every day take a turn round the World, to see and discover the necessities and wants of all things, that so as the true Fomenter and Parent of them, I may apply my self to their succour and redress. Thus after my example, and as my Children, sent upon the Earth, I would have you to imitate me, and to instill such Doctrine into this People, as may convert them from Beasts unto Men: and from henceforth I constitute and ordain you Lords and Princes over this People, that by your Instructions, Reason and Government, they may be conserved. Thus Our Father the Sun. having declared his pleasure to these his two Children, he dispatched them from him; and they taking their journey from Titicaca Northward, at every place where they came to repole. they tryed with their wedge to strike it in the ground, but it took no place, nor would it enter; at length they came to a poor Inn, or place to reft in, about seven or eight Leagues Southward from this City, which to this day is called Pacarec Tampu, which is as much as to firs, the Shining or Enlightned Dormitory. This is one of those Colonies which this Prince planted, the Inhabitants whereof boast of this Name and Title which our Inca bestowed upon it; from whence he and his Queen descended to the Valley of Cozco, which was then onely a wild and barren Mountain. CHAP.



#### CHAP. VIII.

The Foundation of the Imperial City of Cozco.

FIF first stop (proceeded the Incia) which they made in this Valley, was in the Diefart called Huanacauti, which is to the fouthward of this City, and there they again fruck their wedge of Gold into the Earth, which received it with great facility, and which sucked it in with so much ease, that they saw it no more. Then faid the Inca to his Sifter, and Wife, in this Valley Our Father the Sun hath commanded that we thould flar. and make our abode, and in to doing we thall perform his Pleature; in pursuance whereof it is necessary that we now sevarate each from the other, and take different wave, that so we may affemble and draw the People to 14, in fuch manner as we may be able to preach and propagate the doctrine amongst them, which he hath committed to us. Accordingly our first Governours proceeded by divers ways from the Defart of Huanacauti to convocate the Peaple, which being the first place, of which we had knowledge, that they had hallowed by their Feet, and from whence they went to doe good unto Men, we have describedly (as is manifest) erected a Temple, wherein to adore and worship our Father the Sun, and remember this good and benefit he bath done unto the World, Our Inca the Prince took his way northwayd, and the Princefs to the Southward, and to all the Men and Women which they met in the wild thickets, and uncultivated places, they declared to them, that their Father the Sun had fent them to be Teachers and Benefactours to those Inhabitants, and to draw them from that rude and savage Life, and to another method of living, more agreeable to Reason and Humane Society; and in farther pursuance of the Commands of their Father the Sun, they came to gather them from those Mountains, and rude places, to more convenient Habitations, where they might live in Humane Society, and to affigu them such food, as was appropriated to Men. and not to Beafts. These, and such like matters, these Princes declared to those savages, whom they found in Defarts and Mountains, who beholding these two persons cloubed, and adorned with such Habit as Our Father the Sun had vested them in, and observing that their Ears were bored through, for wearing Jewels, and more large and open than usual, that they might hear and receive the Complaints of the oppressed; (in which we also are like them, who are of their Offspring and Family,) and that by the gentleness of their words, and grace of their Countenance, they manifested themselves to be Children of the Sun, and such as were employed to affemble People into societies, and political ways of living, and to administer such sorts of food as were wholsome and appropriated to Humane Sustenance, they were firnck with such admiration of their figure and Persons, and allured with the promises they made them, that they gave entire credence to their words, adored them as Children of the Sun, and obeyed them as their Princes: And thefe poor wretches relating thefe matters one to the other, the fame thereof so encreased, that great numbers, both of Men and Women, flocked together, being willing to follow to what place foever they (hould guide them.

Thus great multitudes of People being affembled together, the Princes gave order that Provision should be made of such fruits, as the Earth produced for their Suffenance, lest being scattered abroad to gain their food, the main body (bould be divided, and the numbers diminished: others in the mean time were employed in building houses, of which the Prince gave them a model and form. In this manner our Imperial City began to be peopled, being divided into two parts, one of which was called Hanan Cozco, which is as much as the Upper Cozco, and the other Hurin Cozco, which is the Lower Cozco; those which were assembled under the King were of the Opper Town, and those under the Queen were of the Lower: Not that this difference was mide out of any respect to Superiority, for that they were to be Brothers, and Children of the fame Father and Mother, and in the fame equality of Fortune; but onely it ferved to distinguish the followers of the King from those of the Queen; and to remain for an everlasting Memorial of their first Beginning and Original; with this difference onely, that the Opper Cozco should be as the Elder, and the Lower as the younger Children. And this is the reason that in all our Empire this diversity of lineage hath remained, being ever fince distinguished into Hanan Ayllu, and Hurin Ayllu, which is the upper and the lower Lineage, and Hanan Suyu, and Hurin Suyu, which is the upper

and the lower Tribe.

BOOK I.

The City being thus Peopled; Our Inca taught his Subjects those Labours which appertained unto the Men, as to plough and sow the Land with divers sorts of Seeds, which were usefull, and sor soods to which end he instructed them how to make Ploughs and Harrows, and other Instruments, fit and necessary for that purpose; he shewed them also the way of enting chanels for the Water, which now runs through this Valley of COZCO, and to make Shoes for their Feet. On the other side the Queen instructed the Women in good Huswisers, as how to shin and weave Cotton and wood, and to make garments for their Husbands, their Children, and themselves, with other Offices appertaining to the House. In sum, nothing was omitted conducing to humane Welfare, which the King did not teach his Men, and the Queen her Women, making them both their Scholars and their Subjects.

#### CHAP. IX.

The Actions of the first Indian King, called Manco Capac.

And that I may not be tedious in the relation of what this Our first Inca acted, you must know; that he reduced all Eastward, as far as the River called Paucatampu, and eighty Leagues Westward, to the great River called Apurimac, and to the Southward nine Leagues to Quequelana. To these several quarters Our Inca sent out particular Colonies, to the largest a hundred Families; and to the lesser according to their capacity. These are the beginnings of this our City, and of this our rich and samous Empire, which your Father, and his Adhrents have dessoiled us of. These were our sirst Incas, and Kings in the sirst age of the World, from whom the succeeding Princes, and we our setues are descended: but how many years it may be since our Father the Sun sent his Ossermangs mongst us, I am not able precisely to declare, because my Admord may said me in it, but I imagine, they may be about 400 Fears. This our Inca was named Manco Capac, and his Queen Coya Manna of Huaco, who were, as I have said, Brethren of the Sun and Moon. And thus having at large stassified the request you made to me, in relation of which, that I might not incline you to saddes, I abstrained from venting tears at my Eyer, which notwithstanding drop with bloud on my Heart, caused by that inward grief I seel, to see our Incas, and their Empire runned and destroyed.

This large Relation of the Original of our Kings, I received from that Inca which was my Mothers Brother, from whom I requefted it; and which I have caufed faithfully to be translated out of the Indian into the Spanish Tongue; which though it be not written with such Majesty of words as the Inca spake it, nor with that fignificancy of termes as that Language bears, nor so large and particular (to avoid tediousness) as it was delivered to me, howsoever it may serve to give fiftien.

fufficient light to the nature and knowledge of this our Hiftory. Many other things of like fort, though of no great moment, this *Inca* often recounted in his Vifus and Difcourfes he made me, the which I shall declare in their due places; being now troubled that I made no farther enquiries into other matters, for which I have room here to place them with good authority.

#### CHAP. X.

Wherein the Authour alledges the Authority he hath for the Truth of his History.

Aving thus laid the first Foundation whereon to build out History, though as to the Original of our Kings of Pern, it may feem something fabulous; it now follows, that we proceed forward to relate in what manner the Indians were reduced and conquered, enlarging the particulars which the Inca gave me, with divers other additions concerning the Natural Indians, and their Kings. which the first Inca, Manco Capac, reduced under his Government, with whom I was educated, and conversed until I arrived to the age of twenty years; during which time I became informed of all the particulars concerning which I write, for in my youth they related thefe flories to me, as Nurfes doe tales, or fables to their Children.

Afterwards, in my riper years, I took a more particular notice of their Laws and Policies, comparing this new Government of the Spiniards, with that of the Incas, namely, what were efteemed faults and trespates, and what feverities and punishments were proportioned to the fame: they informed me also of the Methods which their Kings used in War and Peace, how they treated that VIGIA and the Courtee they will be the controlled to the same they informed me also of the Methods which their Kings used in War and Peace, how they treated that VIGIA and the Courtee they were the same than me alto of the Methods which their Rings nied in War and Peace, now they treated their Vaffals, and what fervices they required from them. They infructed me alfo in their Idolatries, Ceremonies and Sacrifices, teaching me to diffinguish between their more folemn feftivals, and the ordinary holy-days, and how they were to be observed and celebrated; they told me also what was eftermed superafitious, and of abuse in their Religion, what Omens there were of good and bad luck; in short, there was nothing either relating to their Government or Manness of which they gave me not a distinct Account. So that Savidle Idolesia. luck; in fhort, there was nothing either relating to their Government or Manners, of which they gave me nor a diffinct Account, for that should I describe every matter received from them, the particulars would be too large to be contained within the volume of this History. Besides what I have heard, I have been an Eye-witness for the most part of their Idolatrous Worship, Feasts, and other superstitious Customs, which untill the twelvth or thirteenth year of my age were not wholly abolished amongst them. For in regard 1 was born eight years after the Spaniards became Masters of my Countrey; and that, as I said, I was educated amongst the Indians till I was twenty years old, I had opportunity in all that time to observe, and be well acquainted with their Customs; besides all which, so soon as I rook a resolution to write this History. I acquainted my which, fo foon as I took a refolution to write this Hiftory, I acquainted my Schoolfellows, fuch as were taught the art of Grammar, of this my intention, defiring them to fearch into the Archives and Registers of their Countries, and to fend me the various fuccesses of them; the which purpose of mine they so well fend me the various successes of them; the which purpose of mine they so wen approved, that every one most readily contributed to this work, sending me the History of the Exploits and Actions of their respective meas, and is the same which the Spanish Historians relate on this Subject, though not so particularly, and largely as we have done. And in regard the Beginning and Foundation of this History confists of the actions of this suffer the way not be obliged to repeat them in the Lives of his Successors, who having a great value for his Person and Vertuse, made it their chief sine and intension to improve the Humony Action and Vertues, made it their chief aim and intention to imitate the Humour, Actions and Customs of this their first Prince Manco Capac; so that we shall endeavour

to represent the most important matters, which he acted, omitting things less pertinent and material. And though many things herein contained may seem fabulous, yet because they are such as the Indians make the Foundation of their History, and of those greatnesses which the Spaniards do now in reality enjoy, I cannot pass them by, without injury and prejudice to the Beginning, Progress and Period of this Monarchy: Howsoever having sucked in a sincerity with my Milk, I shall give a true Account of all that I heard, and received from my Parents, promising, that neither favour nor affection to my People and Bloud shall encline me either to conceal the bad, or beyond Reason applaud the good or natural Vertues of them; for though Gentilism be such a Sea of Errours, that every thing may be believed of it, which is new and prodigious; yet I shall deliver nothing but what the Spanish Historians have before intimated of those Kings and Countries; and that I may not seem to obtrude any thing out of partiality to my Kindred, I shall consine my self within the bounds of the Spanish Writers, intending that these Papers shall serve for a Comment to theirs, and to rectific the Errours they have made, as to Times, Persons and Countries: which indeed is no wonder, if considering the little knowledge they have in the language, they have been guilty of many miltakes relating to that People.

Royal Commentaries.

wonder, it confidering the incre knowledge they have in the language, they have been guilty of many miftakes relating to that People.

In fine, whatfoever I hall relate of thefe People, who were deftroyed, before they were known; either in reference to their ancient Idolatry, Government, Laws and Cuftoms, it shall be clearly laid down, without comparing it the divine or humane Histories, or the Governments of our time; because all comparing for a codious; but rather leave those reslexions to the Reader, who finding something of similitude herein to the stories of Holy Writ, and to the Fables of Ancient Gentilism, may apply them according to his own fancy and humour. For my part, I having been a natural Indian born, and educated in Arms, have little or no abilities or strength of my own, and therefore have need of the favour and

affiftence of the Candid Reader.

#### CHAP. XI.

Of those People which the sirst Inca sent to inhabit divers

But to return now to the Inca, Manco Capac: After he had founded the City of Coxeo, and divided it into two parts, (as we have already declared) he planted many other Colonies. To the Eaftward of this City he placed those People, which now extend themselves over that tract of Land which runs to the River called Pancar tampus; and thirteen several other Nations he seared on both sides of the Royal way, called Antison, which for brevity sake we omit particularly to nominate, being all or the most part of the Lineage, or Tribe called Paques. To the Westward in the space of eight Leagues in breadth, and about nine or ten in length, he planted thirty several Villages, which spread themselves on one hand, and the other as far as the Royal way of Cannison. These People formed three different Nations, namely Masse, which were distinguished by sour names, viz. Mayn, Cancu, Chinchapucyu, Rimac tampus, the remainder of the People seared themselves in the pleasant valley of Sacsabusuma, where the samous Battel was sought, wherein Gongulo Picatro was taken Prisoner. To the Southward of the City thirty eight or forty other Villages were planted, eighteen of which were of the Nation of Asarmarca, and extended themselves on one side and the other of the Royal high way of Callassym, for the space of chirty Leagues in length, beginning from those parts which are overagainst the Salima, and reach

within a little League of the City, where that fatal Battel was fought of Don Diego of Almagro the Elder, and Hernando Piçarro; all the other Nations have five or fix different denominations, which are Quefpicancha, Muyna, Vicos, Quehnay, Huarne, Cavinna. This Nation of Cavinna boaft themselves much of being defeended from Parents, who proceeded from a certain Lake, where they report that the Soulso of such who dye do enter, and thence return again to animate other Bodies. These People adored an Idol of a prodigious figure, and offered a ftrange fort of Sacrifice to it; but the Inca, Manco Capac, destroyed the Idol, and abolished their rites, and compelled them as he did all his other subjects to adore

These People, who were not much above a hundred in number, were but small in the beginning, the greatest not exceeding a hundred samilies, and the lesser consisting of about twenty five or thirty, which afterwards by the privileges and encouragements, which the Inca, Manco Capac, bestowed upon them, (as we shall hereaster declare) they increased exceedingly, many of them extending themselves into a thousand Families, and the lesser to three or four hundred at least; the which immunicies and favous being confirmed, and augmented by Manco Capac and his Successory, the people increased and stourished, till all was destroyed by the barbarous Tyranny of Anashadpa. Now in these our times, and about twenty years past those Colonies which Manco Capac planted on this side, and almost all the People of Peru do not now posses their ancient dwellings; because a Vice-Roy, as we shall shew in its proper place, joined them afterwards, uniting five or fix into one, and sometimes seven or eight, as was most agreeable to his purpose, from whence many inconveniences accrued to that People, which we omit, because they are grievous and ungratefull to repeat.

#### CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Inca taught and instructed his Subjects.

THE Inca, Manco Capac, as he planted his Colonies, so every where he taught them to plow, and cultivate the Land, how to make Aqueducts and Confervatories for their Water, and all other matters tending to the more commoditions well-being of humane Life; he gave them also some rules of Civility necessary in society for maintenance of Friendship and Brotherhood, as the Laws of Nature and Reason distated; that laying asside all animostites and passions one against the other, they should doe as they would be done by, maintaining without partiality the same Law for others which they allow for themselves: but above all he recommended to them a respect which they ought to bear towards the Bodies of their Wives and Daughters, for in that vice they were the most blameable and barbarous; and in order hereunto he made Adultery, Murther and Robbery mortal crimes, and punishable with death. He ordered that no man should have more than one Wife at a time, and that in their Martiages they should confine themselves to their Tribes, that they might not make a consistion in the Lineage, and that from twenty years and upwards they might marry, because before that time their prudence was not ripe enough to manage their Affairs, nor govern their Families. He employed others to gather the more gentle fort of Cartein of socks, which ran dispersed and wild through the Woods and Fields, causing them to make garments of their Wood), according to the Art which the Queen Mana Octho Huaco had taught them for spinning and weaving; he shewed them also how to make that fort of Shoes which they now wear, and which they called Visitas. Over every one of these Colonies he ordained a Chief, which they called Visitas.

BOOK L

Curaca, and is the same which Cacique signifies in the Language of Cuba, and Santto Domingo, which is as much as a Ruler over Subjects: and these were chosen Santto Domingo, which is as much as a Ruler over Subjects: and these were chosen for their merits; for when any one was more gentle, affable, pious, ingenious and more zealous for the publick good than others, he was presently advanced to Government, and to be an Instructor of the ignorant Indians, who obeyed him with as much reverence, as Children do their Parents; and till these things could be put into execution, and till the Earth could produce these fruits, which by labour and art of Cultivation might be expected, a general store of Provisions were collected into a common place, to be distributed agreeable to the necessities and largeness of Families. And that they might not live without Religion, he prescribed the Rites and Ceremonies for their Idolatry: he appointed out the place and design where and how to erect a Temple to the Sun, that they might facrifice to him: for in regard they esteemed him the great God of all, by whose prace and dength where and now to elect a Temple to the sun, that they high factifice to him; for in regard they efteemed him the great God of all, by whole heat and light they lived, the Fields produced their Fruits, and their Cattle multiplied, and that they received a thouland favours and benefits from him; it was tiplied, and that they received a thouland favours and benefits from him; it was but natural reafon for them to acknowledge their benefits, and especially they esteemed themselves obliged to render service and adoration to the Sun and Moon, for having sent their own Children to them, who had reduced them from a Life of Beasts, to the present condition and state of humane Reason. It was likewise ordained, that a House should be built for Virgins dedicated to the Sun, and that the same should be possessed by none, but such as were of the Royal Bloud and Family, and supplied from thence, so soon as the number of the Royal Race was sufficiently increased. All which he ordained and appointed to his People, that they should invokally observe in grateful acknowledgment of the benefits received. The proposed to the other side, that in reward thereof they might expect the ved; promiting on the other fide, that in reward thereof they might expect perpetual additions of good to them from the bleffings of the Sun who had revealed thefe fecrets, and fent his Meffengers to the *Indians* to instruct and guide them the ways of Wisedom! all which matters, and much more, the poor *Indians* believed, and by tradition have conserved to these our days; it being the main point of their belief, that the *Inaa* was a Child of the Sun; of which and of such like fables they greatly boalt, and that none but fuch as was of Divine progeny was able to have directed or prescribed things of such sublime and elevated an understanding, as these.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Of the Titles, and Dignities which the Inca for distinction fake, and to procure greater Honour and Reverence beflowed on his own Family.

THE Inca, Manco Capac, having employed himself for many years in the matters before related, for the good and benefit of his Subjects, and perceiving that thereby he had produced in their minds a real sense of gratitude towards ving that thereby he had produced in their minds a real lente of gratitude towards him, and a readineß to yield to him and his, who were Children of the Sun, all due Honour and Reverence; he judged it requifite for the more effectual imprefion of this Awe and Refpect, to dignifie himfelf, and those descended from him, with noble Titles, and Habits different from others. Wherefore first he ordered, that after his Example all his Posterity should go with their Heads shorn, wearing onely one lock of Hair; but this shearing was performed with great difficulty, for they had not yet arrived to the invention of Scissors, but with a sharp slint cut the Hair, as well as they were able; whence it was, that a certain young Incastaid to one of my Schoolfellows, with whom he was taught to write and reade, that that Had the Spaniards introduced no other invention among it us than the use of Scillors Toobing-Glasses and Combs, they had deserved all that Gold and Silver which our Countries produces.

The other Mark of Diffinction, was to have their Ears boared through, which the Women commonly did, with a fharp bramble, and by fome art made the hole fo wide, (as we shall hereafter describe) that it is wonderfull to conceive how it is possible for so small a piece of slesh, as the Velvet of the Ear, to be extended fo far, as to receive an Ear-ring as big as the frame of a pulley, for it was made in the form of those with which we draw up Pitchers from a Well; and of that compass, that in case it were beaten streight; it would be a quarter of a Yard long, and a singer in thickness; and because the Indians wear them thus big, the

long, and a finger in thickness; and because the *Indians* wear them thus big, the *Spaniards* call them *Orejones*, or slap-eared Luggs.

For the Dress of their Heads, the *Incas* wear a Wreath of divers Colours, which they call *Llautu*, and is the breadth of a finger, but not quite so thick, which they bind about their Heads sour or five times, in form of a Tulbant. These three particulars of cutting the Hair, boaring the Ears, and binding the Head with this *Llautu*, were the difficitions which *Manco Capae* appropriated to his family; for though the Subject might wear this Wreath, or *Llautu*, about their Heads, yet it was to be of black onely, and not of divers colours, which appertained onely to the Royal Blood. This beginn been the Fallion for some time, the was industrial Royal Bloud. This having been the Fashion for some time, the Inca indulging Add that their Hair flould be rounded; and clipped close on the top of their Hair, but in a different manner to those of his Family, and of one from the other; that so the divers Lineages and Nations might be diffinguished by their Heads. And that the Fashion of the mea might not be very different to that of his Subjects; he ordered that their Hair should be rounded; and clipped close on the top of their Heads; as far as their Temples, and that their Locks should hang on each side, to the biottom of their Ears; others he ordered to clip their Hair as sar as might teach to the middle of their Ears, and others shorter, but none was to wear it in fashion of the case. of the Inca. And thus these Indians kept themselves constant to their fallion, not to appear fantastical or varying, lest they should either seem to disapprove the Precepts of their Inca, or contemp the Customs of their own Lineage, which they ever had in great Esteem and Honour.

they ever had in great Effect and Honour.

In process of time the *Inca*, willing to enlarge the privileges of his People, gave them permission to boar their Ears, though not so wide as the *Inca*, and that the Pendents to them should vary according to the diversity of their Lineages and Countries. To the Nation called *Maju*, and *Cancu*, he gave leave to wear a Twist of Straw, about the thickness of the little singer. To the Nation *Poques* he ordained a Lock of white Wool to hang as big as the top of the Thumb. To the Nations Muyna, Huaruc and Chillani, he appointed Ear-rings of the common Junk or Reed, which the Indian cell Timera. To the Nation RimalFamps he appropriated an Ear-ring of a certain foft wood, which in the Isles of Barlovento they propriated an Ear-ring of a certain for wood, which in the lifes of *Bartovento* they call *Maguey*, and in the general Tongue of *Peru*, *Chuchau*, which, when the Bark is pilled off, is gentle, and eafily bended. To the People called *Vreas*, *Tucay*, *Tampu*, and others inhabiting on the Banks of the River *Tucay*, he gave the privilege, as a peculiar mark and note of his Favour, to wear their Ear-rings of a larger fize than other Nations, but left they should exceed herein beyond their due proportion, he gave them a measure and compass which they were not to pass, the matter of them was to be the reed called *Tatura*; these were called Ear-twists rather than Pendants, because they did not hang from the Ear, but were twined about it, as a rope is about the mouth of the Pitcher.

Besides these distinctions, the Inca appropriated other marks to every Nation, that fo they might not be confounded one with the other; those Names and Titles which most nearly related to those which the King himself had assumed, being reputed most honourable and of greatest renown: not that the Inca was partial to any, or favoured any beyond Reason or Justice, but as some were of a nature more docible and tractable than others, and laboured to instruct and teach the rude People in the ways of Humanity; to those he granted a higher testimony of his Favours, and fignal marks of honours, all which being confirmed by Revela-tion from the Sun his Father, the poor *Indians* without envy or emulation each to other, submitted unto, having already by good experience tasted the benefit of

their obedience to their Inca:

19

In process of time the *Inca* finding himself aged, and burthened with years, fummoned a general Assembly of the chiefest of his Subjects, at the City of Cocco, and in a solemn Oration gave them to understand, that he intended shortly to return to Heaven, and take his Repose with his Father the Sun, (which words the Kings descended from him did always after use before their death) and being now to leave them, the ultimate testimony of all his favours which he had to bequeath to them, was the Appellation of his own Royal Name, that so they and their Posterity might be honoured and renowned through all the world: and as a farther evidence of this affection, he did not onely bequeath this Honour to themselves onely, but to descend to their Posterity, and that without difference or distinction they might all assume the honourable Title of *Incast*; for having been his first Subjects, and such as had submitted to his Will and Pleasure, he loved them as Children, and therefore rejoyced to bestow upon then his Royal Name and Dignities, in hopes and expectation that they would ever after be obedien to their present King and his Successors, affisting them to reduce under their Dominion such other *Indians* as had not as yet submitted to their Empire; all which he desired them to lay up in their Hearts and memory, as loyal Subjects; yet notwithstanding he would not have it be understood that he intended to bestow the Name of *Pallas* on their Women, which was a Title still to be appropriated to their Royal Bloud and Family, for that Women not being capable to bear Arms, and serve in the War against their Enemies, were not worthy of a Title for truly magnificent.

Those Indians which obtained this favour, were properly those who inhabit Penn, and were called Incas, and the Spaniards, and other Nations, out of courtese, call their Women Pullus, and Copus: For there are very sew of the true Royal Bloud of those Kings remaining; and such as do, are by reason of their poverty and necessity unknown and obscure, unless it be here and there one; for the tyranny and cruelty of Arahusha had destroyed them wholly, and those sew which did escape, at least the principal and most famous amongst them, persished by other distresses and calamities, as we shall hereafter make appear in its due place. All the distinction which the Incas, Manco Capac, reserved to himself and his Successions, was a coloured border on his Wreath, in nature of a bringe, which bound his Head from one Temple to the other; the whilch was common to none, but the Inca and the Prince his Heir, who wore it narrower than his Father; and of a fallow colour. What Ceremonies were used at the Instalment of the Prince, and when he was fown, we shall declare in its due place, when we come to speak of the Hosemen which the Incas armed out against their Enemies.

men which the hasa armed out against their Enemies.

These Privileges and Favours proceeding immediately from the gratiousness of their Prince, the hadians received with great Thankfulness and Applause, because the heart made them to believe that it was by the appointment and order of the Sun, who observing their Compliance, docility, and other merits, had confered these marks of his good acceptance on them. And when they sarther considered the greatness of his last Favour, which was the Title of hear, and which was not onely allotted to themselves, but was to desend also to their Posterity, they were wholly ravished with the Bounty and Liberality of his Royal Mind, not knowing how to receive it with other sense than Transport of Admiration; so that it became the common subject of their Discourse, how that their hear had not onely transformed them from Beass into Men, and instructed them in all things necessary and the knowledge of their God the Sun, which was sufficient for ever to have obliged them to remain his Vassas and Slaves, and might justly have imposed on them Taxes and Tributes, but that instead thereof he had conferred on them the Majesty of his own Name, which being so Sacred and Divine, that none dust take it formerly in his mouth, without great Veneration, was now made so common, that every one might pronounce it with an audible voice; by which privilege being become his adopted Sons, they did for ever after dedicate themselves for Slaves and Vassas to him who was the undoubted Progeny and Child of the Sun. The hadians being associated when them, they recurred him all the blessings and praises imaginable, studying what Names and Tites they might confer on him, agreeable to the greatness of his Mind, and his Heroick Vertues; and on this consideration they invented these two Names, one of which

was Capac, which fignifies rich, not that they meant him to be rich in Goods, of Wealth of Fortune, but of Mind, fisch as Gentleneß, Piety, Clemency, Liberality, Justice and Magnanimity, with a defire and inclination to communicate his Benefits to all his Subjects; and for that Reason they deservedly gave him the Title of Capac, which fignifies rich and powerfull in Arms: The other Name they gave him was Hinae changac, which is as much as to say, a great Friend and Benefactour to the poor; for as the first denomination intimated the greatness of his Mind, so the other spoke the benefits which he had conferred; so that for ever after he was called the Prince Mance Capac, having been named no otherwise before, than Mance the Inca, for Mance is but the proper Name of a Person, and in the common Language of Pers hath no fignification; though in a particular Dialect which some of them have, (which, as some write me from Person, is entirely loss), it signifies something, as all the other Names and Titles did, which they gave to their Kings, as we shall in the sequel of this Story have an occasion to interpret: The word Inca signifies as much as Lord, or King, or Emperour, though in its strict sense, it is one of the Royal bloud; and therefore the Caracas though they were great Lords, yet they were not called Incas: Palks signifies a Lady of the Royal Bloud; and so for distinction of the King from other Incas, he was called Capa Inca, which is as much as rich, sole and supreme Lord. Hereafter, for the sake of the curious, we shall declare and interpret all the Royal Names of the Men and Women. Moreover the Indians gave to this first King, and his Posterity the Name of Tonip Chimin, which is as much as Child of the Sun; but this we may effecem rather a denomination, proceeding from their false belief, than a true and proper addition to his Titles.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Of the last Will and Testament and Death of the sirst Inca; Manco Capac.

Mano Capac reigned many Years, but how many it is not certain, some say, thirty, others forty, employing his whole time in the business and actions which we have before mentioned; and now finding the time of his death nearly approaching, he called his Sons together, as well those which he had by his Queen Mana Oello Huaco; as those which he had by his Concubines; which made up a great number; for as he told them, it was fit that the Children or Offspring of the Sun should be many. He also assembled the Chief of his Subjects, and in manner of a Testament he made this long Discourie to thein. He recommended to the Prince his Heir, a true Love and Affection towards his Subjects, and to the Subjects, Loyalty and Service to their King, and Obedience to the Laws, avouching again, that this was one of those Ordinances which the San his Father had in a most particular manner enjoined unto him. With this Lesson he distinsted his Subjects; afterwards in private Discourie which he made to his Children, he encharged them, that they should ever remember that they descended from the Sun, and that therefore they ought for ever to adore him for their God and Father, and that according to his example they should observe his Laws and precepts, that so their Subjects in imitation of them might the more easily be induced to awe and reverence this Deity: that they being gentle and plous, might allure the Indians by Love, and by the force of Benefits, for that those can never be good Subjects, who obey onely out of fear; in short, he told them that they should manifest themselves by their Vertues to be Children of the Sun, approving their words by their actions, for those shall never be believed, who say one thing and perform another. In sine, he said, that

that being called by the Sun, he was now going to rest with him, that they should live in Peace and Unity together, and that he beholding their actions from Heaven, would take care to favour and fuccour them in their extremities and diffress. Having uttered these, and other sayings of like nature, Manco Capac dved, leaving the Prince Sinchi Rea, his eldeft Son, which he had by Copa Mana Othe Hace, his Wife and Sifter, to be his Helr and Successor. Those Sons and Daughters which remained, befides the Prince, married one with the other; for they took great care to preferve that bloud which they fabuloufly believed to proceed from the Sun, clear and unmixed, because they esteemed it Divine, and was not to be defiled with any other humane mixture, though it were with those chief and principal Lords, whom they termed Curacas.

The Inca, Sinchi Roca, married with Mann Oello, or Mana Cora (as fome will have it) his eldeft Sifter, after the Example of his Father, and his Grandfather have it) his eldeft Sifter, after the Example of his Father, and his Grandfather the Sun, who, according to their Heathenith Doctrine, married with his Sifter the Moon. This Marriage was concluded not onely for confervation of the Bloud in its pure Chanel, but likewife that the Inheritance, which came as well by the Mother as the Father, might equally defeend to both Sexes. This Marriage in fuch proximity of Bloud, they report, was a Command of the Sun, but that no Brother could marry with the Sifter, except onely the Prince and Heir; for in all others this nearnefs was forbidden, the which was a rule always observed, as

we shall find in the sequel of this History.

we final find in the fequel of this Hittory.

The death of the Inca, Manco Capac, was greatly lamented by his Subjects; his funeral rites were observed, and celebrated for several Months; his Body was embalmed, that they might conserve it by them, and not loose the fight and presence of it; for they adored him for a God, and Child of the Sun, so that they facrificed Sheep and Lambs, tame Conies, Birds and Corn to him, confessing him to be Lord and Authour of all those good things which they enjoyed. What the Original of this Mano Capac might be, as far as I can guess by the nature and temper of this People, he must have been some Indian, of a more elevated Understanding and Prudence than ordinary, and one who had instructed them in the way of living, and carrying a fubtile manner of deportment towards them had the way of living, and carrying a lubtile manner of deportment towards them had perfuaded them that he proceeded from the Sun, and was come from Heaven; and that his Father had fent him to infruct and bettow benefits upon them. And to gain a greater belief, and credit amongst them, he habited himself in a different fashion to them, lugging his Ears to such a length, as is incredible to any but those, who have seen them, as I have done. Nor is it strange, that this ignorant and brittish People should be induced to believe his Genealogy to have been deand brittilh People Hould be induced to believe his Genealogy to have been derived from the Sun, fince we have the examples in Hiftory of a more refined People, who taught the Doctrine of Demons, believing Men of Wit, and Art, and Magnanimity, to have been the Sons of fapiter, and other Gods; and having received good and benefits from them, and observing their Actions to correspond with their Words, have readily after their death bestowed a place on them in Heaven, and without much difficulty have been persuaded ever after to adore them for Deities, giving them a share of Worship with their Gods.

BOOK

## Royal Commentaries.

### K

#### CHAP. I.

Of the Idolatry of the Second Age, and the Original of it.

HAT which we call the second Age, and the Idolatry, which was used in it at that time, received its first beginning from the bica, Manco Capuc, who was the first that raised the Monarchy of the Incas, who were the Kings of Peru, and who in a direct Line reigned for the space of sour hundred Years, though Fa-Line reigned for the space of sour hundred Years, though Father Blas Valera will have it, that their Government continued between five and fix hundred. We have already declared the actions of Manco Capue, how, and in what manner he reduced the Indians to live in a political way of Society, teaching them to sow and plant, to build houses, and provide all things conducing to Humane Life: and how Mana Oello, his Wife, instructed the Indian Women in the art of spinning and weaving, and all other ways of good Huster: We have declared also that it was this Manco Capue who taught them to adore the Sun, by representing to them the many benefits that he had conserved on them, saying that this Pacha Chamac (which signifies as much as the suffainer of all things) had in vain exalted them above the Stars, whom he had made their all things) had in vain exalted them above the Stars, whom he had made their Servants, if they did not advance his Worship above all other Creatures, and had ill conferred his benefits on them, in case they should stoop to the mean Idolatry of low and base things, such as Toads and Frogs and Lizards, forfaking the service of that true Deity, whose Glory and Brightness struck awe and reverence into all Creatures.

The Indians, convinced by these arguments, and more by the sensible benefits received, acknowledged the Sun for their God, without affuming a Father, or a Brother into fociety with him. Their Kings they ever flyled to be children of Brother into fociety with him. Their Kings they ever ftyled to be children of the Sun, and defeended from Heaven, and adored them with as much Veneration as the ancient Gentiles, fuch as the Greeks and Romans, did their Jupiter, Mars, Venu, &c. Thus the Idolatrous Worship of the Sun, and of the Incas, as they believed, descended from him, prevailed; and even to this day they never name their Kings (the Incas) but with wonderfull reverence and adoration; to that if they be asked, why they worship those for Gods whom they know to be but Men, they will presently reply; that it is true, they are now undeceived, and can consider them no otherwise in reality than as Men; yet having received so much good and benefit from them, they cannot efferen them less than of Difo much good and benefit from them, they cannot efteem them less than of Divine Race; and did others appear in these days equal or comparable to them, they would readily perform the same Honours and Adorations towards them.

Book II.

This was the fole and principal Idolatry which the *Incas* taught their Subjects; and though they believed the Moon to be Wife and Sifter to the Sun, yet they and thought they beneved the Moon to be vivile and officer to the only, yet they did not worship her for a Goddess, nor offer Sacrifices, or build Temples to her as they did to the only howsever they esteemed her with great Reverence for the Universal Mother, but proceeded no farther, nor gave her other Attributes

Howfoever their Superflitions were many, giving heed to Fables, and Dreams, and inspection into the Entrails of Beats. Thunder, and Lightenings, and Thunder-bolts they judged to be Servants of the Sun, as we shall understand hereafter, when we have occasion to name that Chamber which was built in that Temple at Cozco, which was dedicated to the Sun; but they never held them for Gods, as fome of the spanish Writers would have it, but rather fear and dread the House or Place where a Thunder-bolt chances to fall; for they have stopt up the door of that Chamber with Stones and dirt, that so none might ever enter in there again: and in that place or field where a Thunder-bolt happens to fall, they fay that their Father the Sun hath marked our that place as unfortunate, and accurfed to common use, and for that Reason they cover it with heaps of Stones; that none may tread or trample on it; the which I have seen and observed in the that none may tread or trample on it; the which is all observed in the Palace of Huaphtapac at Corto, in that quarter which was alligned to Antonio Altamirano, when that City was divided amongh the Conquerors; for in the time of Huaphtapac, a Thunder-both had pierced through a part of that Palace, the which was affigued to my lelf when the Spaniards had rebuilt it; three years after which another Thunder-bolt fell in the same place, and burnt it wholly, the which accident confirmed the Indians in their opinion, that places in such manner strucken with Thunder, were accursed; and therefore the Spaniards were in an Errour when they rebuilt those places, for they ought to have remained void and neglected. And whereas the Historians say, that they esteemed Thunder and Lightning for Gods, it is a mistake, for they did indeed account those places for sacred, saying that their Gods had by Thunder, and Thunder-bolts, and Lightning marked out those places for their Worship, and therefore not being to be prophaned by common use, they built their most samples thereupon. To these three they gave the common Name of Thapa, and for the similitude hereunto they called all Fire-arms by the same word. And as to those Names which they give to things, as they have in other things; for no such vords are compounded in the general language of Peru, nor have they any such signification as the Spaniards sanite, or would impose upon them. another Thunder-bolt fell in the fame place, and burnt it wholly, the which acciwould impose upon them.

#### CHAP. II.

By what means the Incas came to the knowledge of the True God.

**B**Esides the Sun, whom they worshipped for the visible God, to whom they offered Sacrifice, and kept Festivals, (as we shall hereafter declare,) the omered Sacrince, and kept Petrivais, (as we man nereated acciarce) the *Incas*, who were Kings, and the *Amatina*, who were Philofophers, proceeded by the mere light of Nature, to the knowledge of the True Almighty God our Lord, Maker of Heaven and Earth, as we shall hereafter prove by their own words and testimonies, which some of them gave of the Divine Majetity, which they called by the Name of *Pachacamae*, and is a word compounded of *Pacha*, which is the Libited and Carac which is the Soul, and is as much as he that animates the Universe, and Camae, which is the Soul; and is as much as he that animates the World. Pedro de Cieca, in his 62. Chapter, fays, that they called the Devil

by this Name; but I, who am an Indian born, and therefore better acquainted with the Language than he, know that they never took this name into their Mouths, but feldom, and when they did, it was with great Veneration, bowing their Heads and Bodies, cafting up their Eyes to Heaven, and then down to the Earth, lifting their hands open as high as their Shoulders, and kiffing the Air, which were the common manifestations of Reverence and Adorations, which were in use amongst the Incas and his People; these, and such like demonstratiwere in the amongst the meas and his People; there, and then like demonstrations of Honour they used when they were forced to pronounce the word Pachacamac; but the Name of the Sun they took in their mouths more frequently, as they did also of their meas, and with less ceremony, and of their Caraca, who were their Lords, with a more indifferent respect: And being asked, who this Pachacamae was, they answered, that it was he who gave Life to the Universe, fuftained and nourished all things; but because they did not see him, they could not know him; and for that reason they erected not Temples to him, nor offered Sacrifice, howfoever they worthipped in their Hearts, and esteemed him for the unknown God.

Royal Commentaries.

Augustin de Carate, in his second Book and fifth Chapter, reports, that Father Vicente de Valverde telling the King Australya, that it was Christ our Lord who created the World, he answered, that he knew nothing of that, but he was sure that there was no other Nourisher but the Sun, whom they esteemed to be a God, and the Earth their Mother; and that Pachacamac had created all things, &c. whence it is evident, that the Indians held our invisible God to be the Creatour

This Truth which the Indians had by the light of Nature discovered, the Devil himstelf, though the Father of Lyes, had much against his Will confessed and confirmed; for when he faw that our Holy Gospel was preached, and that many Indians were baptized; he told some of his Familiars in that Vale, which is now called the Valley of Pachacamae, (so named from that famous Temple which is there dedicated to the Unknown God,) that the God which the Sp.miards preached and he were the same, as Pedro do Cieca, and Geronimo Roman in their Writings of the West-Indies report: Howsoever they are mistaken where they fay that the Indians gave the name of Pachacamae to the Devil, for whom they have another Word, which is Cupay, which when they utter, they spit, with other figns of Deteftation. Notwithstanding this Enemy so far infinuated himfelf amongst these Insidels, that he caused himself to be worshipped by them by entering into all those things, which they called sacred, or Holy; for he spake to them in their Oracles, their Temples, and the Corners of their Houses, calling himself by the Name of Pachacamae, and by this subtilty the Indians worshipped every thing through which the Devil spoke, believing it to be a Deity; but had they believed that it was the *Cupas*, or Devil, whom they heard, they would certainly have burnt the things through which he spoke, as they now by God's Mercy do, who hath grationfly revealed and made himself known to them:

#### CHAP. III.

Of the Cross which the Incas preserved in a Consecrated place.

In the City of Coxco the Incos had a certain Cross of white Marble, which they called a Crystalline Jaspar; but from what time it had been kept there, is not certain. In the year 1560 I left it in the Vestry of the Cathedral Church of that City; I remember it was hanged upon a Nail with a List of black Velvet; which when it was in the power of the Indians, it was hanged by a Chain of Gold or Silver, but afterwards changed by those who removed it. This Cross was fquare, being as broad as it was long, and about three fingers wide. It formerly remained in one of those Royal Apartments, which they call Huaca, which signifies a Consecrated place; and though the Indians did not adore it, yet they held it in great veneration, either for the Beauty of it, or some other reason, which they knew not to affign: and so was observed amongst them, untill the Marques Don Francisco Picarro entred into the Valley of Tampiz, when by reason of some accidents which befell Pedro de Candia, they conceived a greater esteem and veneration for it, as we shall declare in its due place.

The Spaniards, after they had taken the Imperial City, they erected a Church in it to the Almighty God, and hanged this Croß in the Veftry (as we have faid) of that Church, without other ornament or ceremony, whenas they ought to have placed a Relique of that nature upon the High Altar, adorning it with Gold and pretious Stones which abounded in that Countrey: by which respect to a thing which the Indians esteemed Sacred, and by affimilating the Ordinances of our Holy Religion, as near as was possible, with those which the Law of Nature had taught to this People, preaching and recommending the Works of Mercy in such style of their own Genifer and allow; the lessons of Christianity would thereby have become more easie and familiar, and

Hellons of Christianity would thereby have become more easie and familiar, and not feemed so far estranged from the Principles of their own Gentissim.

And because we have here mentioned the Cross, on which it is usual for us to sive in our Courts of Judicatory; we shall take this occasion to say, that neither the breas themselves, nor yet any of the Nations under their Dominions did ever know the meaning of an Oath, for Swearing was not a custome, nor in use amongst them. For though the Names of Pachacamae and the Sun were taken sometimes into their mouths, yet it was always with reverence and adoration: For when they examined Witnesses in the most important cases what soer, the Judge, instead of an Oath, did onely ask the Witnesses, If he promised to speak the Trush to the Inca? And then his Answer was, That he did premise: Then proceeded the Judge, See that then declare the Trush without any disguise of fallshood, not conceasing any thing that passed, or that which thou spowess. This was all the formality they used in giving testimony; the which they so religiously observed, that with struple and tenderness they uttered Truth in its nakedness and simplicity: And in case any person did give a salle testimony in matter of importance, his crime was punishable with Death; not onely in consideration of the damage he had done to the injured person, but of his falshood to the bras, who had made it one of the Royal Commands. That he should not by and it was a common and known principle, that what a person declared to the Judge, he witnessed to the bras himself, who being reverenced by them as a God, they believed it impossible to conceal my thing from his crutiny and knowledge.

After the Spaniards had conquered this Empire, there happened a remarkable cate of this kind upon an enquiry about Murther in the Province of Quechnas. The Chief Juftice of Cocco fent an Officer to take the teltimony of a certain Cocco (which is as much as a Lord over many Subjects 3) and in performance hereof the Officer reached to him the top of his Staff, on which was a Crofs,

faying, Thou swearest to God and to this Cross, to speak the Truth: To which the Indian replied. That he was not as yet Baptized, and therefore ought not to swear after the manner of the Christians: Then, said the Officer, thou mayst swear by thy own Gods, by the Sun, and Moon, and the Incas: No, faid the Curaca, we never five ar by thefe, for it is not lawfull, we onely take their Names in our mouths with Advation, and in a Religious Worship: It is sufficient, that since you come to doe Justice in the Name of your King. that I promise to speak the Truth with as much sincerity, as if he were personally present, whom you represent, and no other manner of Oath do our Incas require from us: And for your farther satisfaction. I wish that the Earth may swallow me up alive, as I flund, in case I speak not the Truth. The Officer hereupon urged no farther, but accepted his tefilmony in this form, examining him by certain Interrogatories which were most pertinent in reference to the Murther; which when he had done, he would have proceeded no farther: but the Indian could not fatisfie his own conscience with the Answers he had made to the demands, without enlarging himself by a particular Narrative of the whole Story; For 10 feak the Truth (faid he) in some things, and to be filent in others, was the same as if he had lied in all. After which the Officer returned to Cozco, where this Dialogue between him and the Curaca gave subject of much discourse.

#### CHAP. IV.

Of the things sacrificed to the Sun; and that the Priests, Rites, Ceremonies and Laws were all taught and delivered by the sirst Inca.

THE things offered to the Sun were of divers forts: the chief and principal Sacrifice was that of Lambs 3 but befides, they offered all forts of cattel, as Sheep and barren Ewes, tame Conies, all forts of Birds which were catable, the fat of Beafts, Pulfe, all forts of Grane, the Herb Cuca, even cloths of the belt and fineft forts; all which they burnt in the place of Incenfe, rendring thanks and acknowledgments to the Sun, for having furtained and nourified all those things for the use and support of Mankind. They used also Drink-offerings, which were made of Water and Mayz, which is their fort of Wheat; and at the end of their usual meals, when drink was brought; (for they did never use to drink between their eatings) at their first draught they dipped the tip of their finger in the middle of the cup, and looking up to Heaven with great reverence, with a fillip they fyinted off the drop of water which wetted their singer, which was by vay of acknowledgment for it to the Sun, rendring him thanks for the water they drank; and giving two or three empty killes to the Air, which (as we have said) was a sign of Adoration amongst the Indians; they then drank up their liquour without farther ceremony.

This last Ceremony I have observed the Indians, in my time, who were not baptized to use, for there were many old men not then baptized; and for necessity, and want of a better, I have often my self performed that sunction. In this manner we may see that the Incus in their forms of Sacrifice differed very little from those of the first Age, onely they abstained from the Offerings of humane shesh and bloud; which Inhumanity they not onely detested, but made Laws against it: And whereas some Historians charge them with this unnatural and prodigious Religion, for their errour was caused by not making a due distinction between the first Age, and the times of the Incus.

I my felf can atteff; that I have heard my Father, and others of his time, in their discourses about the Customs and Government of Mexico and Pern to com-

mend

BOOK II.

mend and praise the Incas of Peru for disallowing the Sacrifices of humane blond : and on the contrary, to blame and abhor those of Mexico for suffering and making lawfull fuch Diabolical Worthips, and Sacrifices, both within and without their City as the History of the Conquest of that Countrey doth truly aver; which being wrote by the Pen of the General who made the Conquests, was not certainly authentick and true, and did deferve to have been owned by him, that fo they might have carried as great authority with them, as the Commentaries did

of Julius Cefur, for having his Name affixed to them.

At the entrance into their Temples, or at the time of their being there, the Chief amongst them clapped his hands to his eye-brows, pulling some of the hairs from thence, which he blew towards the Idol in token of reverence: And this fort of Adoration they never used towards their Inc. but onely to Idols, or Trees. or other things into which the Devil entred and spoke to them; the same was practifed by their Priefts and Sorcerers, before they entred into corners and fecret places to discourse with the Devil, imagining that by such submission and resign nation of their Persons, they obliged their Familiar to hear and answer them. And of this Idolatry I can give testimony, because I have seen it with my own

22

All the Priefts of the Sun, in the City of Cozco, were of the Bloud-Royal though for the inferiour Officers of it, such others were affigued, as had gained the privilege of being called Incas. Their High Prieft was either to be Brother or Uncle to their King, or some other of nearest Bloud; their Priests used no Vestments different from others. In other Provinces, those which were Natives, or related to the Principal men, were made Priefts, though the Chief Prieft amongst them was an bica, that matters might bear forme conformity with the Imperial City: which rule was also observed in all Offices relating to War and Peace, that for the Natives might have their flare in the Government, and not feem to be flighted or neglected. They had also some Houses for Virgins, which professed a perpetual Virginity, where they ever remained Recluses: of which, and of the King's Concubines, we shall have occasion hereafter to treat more at large.

All these Laws in Government, and Rites in Religion, they pretend for the greater authority of them to have received from their full Inca, Manco Capac; and that where Matters were imperfect, it was left to his Successours to establish and complete: For as they affirm that thefe Laws, both in Religion and Government, were derived from the Sun, and inspired by him into his Children the Incast, so it is hard to affirm, to whom in particular such and such Laws were to be

attributed.

#### CHAP. V.

The Division of the Empire into four Parts, and of the Regiflers kept by the Decurions, and what their Office was.

THE Licas divided their Empire into four Parts, which they called Tavan-tinfing, and fignifies the four Quarters of the Heavens, viz. East, West, North and South. The City of Core they effected the Point and Centre of all, and in the Indian Language is as much as the Navel of the Earth, for the Countrey of Peru being long and narrow, in fathion of a Man's body, and that City in the middle, it may aprly be termed the Navel of that Empire. To the Eastward they called the Countrey Antifigu, from the Province Anti, which extends all along that great Mountain, which runs through the fnowy defert Eaftward. To the Westward they called the Countrey Cantifuor, from that small Province which is called Canti; to the Northward lies the Province Chincha, and to the

Southward the Countrey Coll.i, which extends it felf to the Zur. In these four Provinces are comprehended many great Countries, and amongst the rest the Kingdom of Chile, which contains about 600 Leagues in length towards the Zin. and is within the Province of Colla; and the Kingdom of Quita, which is within the Divilion of Colla, runs 400 Leagues to the Northward: So that to name those Quarters, is as much as to say, East and West, &c. according to which, the

principal ways leading to the City were fo called.

The *Incar* laid one method and rule in their Government, as the best means to prevent all mischiefs and disorders; which was this, That of all the people in every place, whether more or lefs, a Register should be kept, and a Division made of ten and ten; over which one of the ten, whom they called the Decurion, was made Superiour over the other nine; then every five Divisions of this nature had a Decurion over them, to whom was committed the charge and care of fifty; then over the two Divisions of fifty a Superiour Decurion was conftituted to supervise a hundred; so five Divisions of a hundred had their Captain which commanded five hundred; and laftly, ten Divitions had their General over a thousand; for no Decurion had a greater number to govern or account for; the charge of one thousand being esteemed a sufficient care for any that by his Under-Officers would undertake to account for his people, and rule them

The Decurions of ten had a double duty incumbent on them, one was with diligence and care to fuccour, and fuftain those which were under their Divifion; giving an account to his Superiour Officer, in case any of them should be in want or necessity of any thing; as of Corn to fow or eat, or Wool to cloath them, or Materials to re-build their houses, destroyed by fire, or any other accident, or should fall into any extremity whatsoever. His other duty was to be Cenfor Marum, or Monitor of their actions, taking notice, and giving information of the faults and irregularities of those under him, which he was to report to his Superiour Officer; who, according to the nature of the Misdemeanour, had the power of punishment; howsoever, the lower Officers had power to chastise the leffer defaults; that fo for every petty Misdemeanour, they needed not to have recourse to the Superiour, or General of them all; whereby delays in Law-fuits were avoided, and long processes, which tire and consume the people, were speedily ended; and litigious Caufes and vexatious Actions determined without Appeals from one Judge to another; and in case of publick differences between two Provinces, they were always decided by the definitive sentence of one Justice, which the Irea constituted by a special Commission.

What Orficer foever, either of higher or lower degree, that was negligent or remifs in his duty incurred a penalty agreeable to the nature of his default. If he administred not the affistence required, or neglected to Indict an Offender, though it were but the omiffion of one day without a lawfull excuse; he was not onely liable to antiver for his own default, but to receive the punishment due to the crime of the Offendour. And in regard every one of these Decurions had a Superiour over him, who eyed and watched his actions, they were all diligent in their duties, and impartial in their juffice; no vagabonds or idle perfons durft appear, or trespaffes were committed; for the Accufation was readily brought in, and the punifiment was rigorous, which in many finall cafes was even capital; not so much for the fin it felf, as for the aggravation thereof, being committed against the Word and Command of the Inca, whom they respected as a God; and though the Plaintiff or the injured person were willing to let fall his Suit, and remit the penalty to the Offendour; yet the course of the Law will still proceed, imposing a punishment agreeable to the quality of the crime, either death, or ftripes, or banishment, or the like.

In Families Brieft severity was observed to keep their Children within the rules of modefty and decent behaviour: for there were Laws even against the ill manners of Children; for whose miscarriages the Decurion, as well as the Father, was responsible: So that the Children of the Indians, who are naturally of a genthe and complying temper, are educated in great awe, and made modeft by the correction and example of their Parents.

In times of War the Generals and Captains affumed the fame power over their Souldiery, and took the fame care of them, as the Decurions did in the time of

Peace, whose Offices (belides the matters before mentioned) obliged them to take

the other Subjects.

take an account of the Births and Burials of all those that were born, or died that year, under their jurisdiction, and of those who went to the War. Those people whom they conquered, though subdued by force of Arms, vet they did

never plunder or take away their goods. This word Decurion, which is composed from the Latin Decem, which is tenand cura care a that is, a care over ten; answers directly to the Indian word Chunca camayu, chunca fignifying ten, and camayu care; and by information of these the Incas came to a knowledge of the number of their Subjects in every Province, that fo according thereunto they might proportion the Taxes and Impositions for publick Works, such as the building of Bridges, making and repairing Highways, erecting Forts and Royal Palaces, with what number of Souldiers they ought to ferve the Inca in his Wars. By these computations also the Inca was better enabled to fend Provisions into those Provinces, which by reason of the fterility of the year occasioned by Flouds, or unseasonable weather, were become wanting of Corn, or Cottons, or Wool; all which were administred, and sent with such readiness and expedition, that as Blas Valera often says, the Incus took fuch care of their Subjects, providing for them in all their necessities, that they might rather be fivled Fathers of their Countrey, and Guardians of their Pupils. than Kings over Subjects; and to express this care in one word, the Indians gave them the title of Lovers of the Poor.

And lest the Superiour Governours should be remis, or negligent, in the execution of their Offices; there was a Monitor or Remembrancer appointed, called Tueny-ricot, which is as much as a Supervisor or Informer; and his duty it was to put the Officers in mind of the matters relating to their Government; fo that in case any of these should be found remis in his charge, or guilty of any crime. case any of these mound be sound terms in its charge, or guilty of any trime, his punishment was always proportioned to his quality, rather than his fault; it being an opinion amongst them, that the least evil was not to be tolerated in a Minister of Justice, who was chosen by the Sun and the *lnes* to eradicate Evils, and therefore was obliged to be more upright and observant of the Laws, than

#### CHAP. VI.

Of certain Laws Ordained by the Incas, and of the Opinion. That the Incas, and those of the Royal Bloud, can doe no wrong, or offend contrary to Law.

PEcuniary Mulcts, or Confileation of Goods, were never imposed by the Incas in way of punishment for any offence, they esteeming nothing satisfactory to Law but that which required the extirpation of the Evils, rather than the Life of the Offendour; for that all other remedies give but onely encouragement and liberty to transgress. If a Curaca, or Lord, rebelled, which was always punished with most severity by the Inca; and that thereby he forseited his life; the Estate notwithstanding descended to his Son, or to his Heir, but with due admonition, that by fuch example he should beware of the Treason and Rebellion of his Father; fo likewife if any Cacique, or Officer was deprived of his place, or his Seigniory for faults committed, the next Heir fucceeded in it, whether he were a Son or a Brother: the same rule also was observed amongst the Souldiery, whose Commanders were Natives of the Countrey, and their Generals, or chief Commanders, were Princes of the Bloud, under whom the Captains and Superiour Officers efteemed it for a particular honour and favour to ferve. No Judge had power to moderate the Sentence of Law by any Rule of Equity, but rather to exact the feverity of it, for being ordained by the Wifedom of the Incas, and the concurrence of Wife men, it ought neither to be controlled, or rendred more equitable by the fense and practice of particular Judges, who are capable of be-

BOOK II.

ing corrupted, or overcome by favour or affection to a party.

And though it may feem very barbarous and unreasonable that every offence should be punished with Death, and that there should be no difference between the crimes of a higher, and the faults of a leffer nature; yet confidering the benefit which the Publick received thereby, and that the Evils, rather than the Perfons, were taken away; such a constitution ought not to be esteemed unjust or fons, were taken away; fuch a conflitution ought not to be efteemed unjust or irrational: For in regard that men naturally love life, and fear and abhor death, they studiously fled from the appearance of any thing which might bring them within the danger of it; to that in all this great Empire, which reaches 1300 Leagues in length, consisting of divers Naticus and Languages, we scarce have heard in the space of a whole year, so much as of the punishment of a single person; and to this obedience and submission to Law, the opinion of the Sanstity of it did much avail; and the belief, that it was delivered by the Sun, who was their God, and by revelation inspired into the minds of the Incas his children; fo encreased the veneration and honour they had for it, that none could be effeemed a breaker of the Law, but who also therewith was guilty of facrilege or violation of the holy and divine Sanction. Hence it was, that many finding a remorfe of conscience within themselves, in sense of some fecret faults they had committed, have often, without accufation, prefented themselves before the Tribunals of Justice, confessing publickly their offences; by reafon of which, diseases, deaths and distresses had befallen their People and Nation; and therefore defired that their lives might be offered to their God, as an expiation, and an attonement for their fin. This fort of confession was the ground of the mistake of certain Spanish Historians, who report that Auricular confession was practifed amongst the Indians; whereas I am certain, that amongst those of Pern, (for I treat of no other) it was never accultomary to make other Confessions, than fuch as were publick. No Appeals (as we have faid) were allowable in any case whatsoever, for every people having its proper Judge, no Process was to continue longer than five days before it was finally determined: onely in obscure and difficult cases the matter was brought before the Superiour Governour, who refided in the capital City, rather than before the common Judge of the Province. The Inferiour Judges rendred every month an account to their Superiours of all the Law fuits which were brought before them, and of the Sentences they gave in the determination thereof; to the end, that they might fee and judge whether true Sentence were given, and the Laws rightly administred. This information from one to another came at length to the Inca; and in regard they were not as yet arrived to the knowledge of Letters, they gave these Informations to the Incas and his supreme Council by way of Knots of divers colours tied in a silken twift, the colours being as fo many cyphers, denoting the crimes they had puni-thed, and the bigness of them, and manner of making them up fignified that Law which was executed (as we shall hereafter more particularly declare) and in this manner by way of Knots, they kept all their accounts to exactly, and furnmed them up with fuch readiness, that to the great admiration of the Spaniards, their best Arithmeticians could not exceed them.

It is an opinion, and held for a certain truth amongst them, that there never was brea of the Royal Bloud that was punished, or that any of them did ever commit a crime, which incurred the penalty of the Law: For that the principles they received from their Parents, the example of their Ancestours, and the common belief of the World, that they were the Progeny of the Sun, born to instruct others, to doe good, and to refrain the people from Vice, were considerations that made fuch impressions in them, that they were rather the ornament than the scandal of Government, disdaining to stoop to such base and mean actions, as were transgressions of their Law: The truth is, they wanted the temptations which others had to offend; for neither the defire of women, or richnels, or revenge could be motives to them: For in case any one of them entertained a paffion for the Beauty of a Woman, it was but to fend for her; and the could not be denied, nay rather her Parents would receive the proposal with humble acknowledgments, that the Inc.t would vouchfafe to cast his eye on his handmaid that was his Slave. The like may be faid as to the delire of Wealth, they had to

F 2

necessities

necessities but what were readily satisfied; for being Children of the Sun, all the Wealth and Riches of their Countrey was effeemed their inheritance, and their occasions were satisfied by the Mandates sent to the Justices, and the Governous occations were fatisfied by the Mandates lent to the Juffices, and the Governours of Provinces for a fupply. Nor were they liable to the unworthy paffion of Revenge, for none could provoke them to anger by injuries, who fought all ways and means to pleafe and oblige them, for being adored as Gods, it was efterned blatiphemy and facilege to difgrace them by Words, or injure them in their Estates; and therefore it may be said, that never was Indian punished for disterpect, or a malitious action against the Person of an Inca. Hence it is that the Spanish Historians have reported, that an Inca was not capable of being punished for any Offence whatever; which is a miltake, and is as much as to fay, that the *Incas* were Libertines. that they might be arbitrary, and by Law act against it; or that there were one Law for them, and another for their People: whenas an *bea* was rather exposed to the greater feverities, than any other; for he forfeited his Privileges, was degraded of the Honours due to the Royal Bloud, and esteemed for Auch, which is as much as a Taytor and a Tyrant. Thus when the Spaniards commended and applauded the just and generous actions of the Incas, the Indians would make anfiver, that it was not firange, in regard they were beas; and if they disapproved at any time their proceedings, as in the case of Atahualpa, who by Treason and Rebellion dispossessed the Arafear, his elder Brother, and true Heir to the Monarchy. (as we shall relate in its due place,) their Reply was, that no *loca* could be guilty of such Enormities, and if he were, he was no true born *loca*, but some Baltard or Impostour of that Family.

of imposition of that rainly and the four Divisions, the *Inca* constituted his different Councils of War, of Justice, and of his Treasiny; every one of which maintained their fulbordinate Officers, one under the other, even to the Decurions of Ten, all which in their respective places rendred an account to their imposaliate Officers, till the Report came to the supreme Council. The chief Governoor of every Division had the Title of a Vice-King, and were always *locas* of the true Bloud, and Men approved for Prudence and good Conduct, both in the time of War and Peace. And so much shall suffice to have spoken concerning their Laws and Customs: We shall now proceed to the History of their Lives and Actions, relating those matters which are most famous and observable.

#### CHAP. VII.

Of the Life and Reign of Sinchi Roca, second King of the Incas.

Shehi Roca fucceeded his Father, Manco Capuc; this name Roca is pronounced with fome afpiration at the top of the Mouth, and as Blus Valera fays fignifies a prudent and experienced Prince; Sinchi fignifies valiant; for though he had no Wars with any, yet because he was active in wrefling, running, vaulting, throwing the stone and lance, and excelled all others of that age in those Exercises, he was surnamed the Valiant and Magnanimous.

This Prince having performed those Obsequies which were due to the solemnity of his Father's Interment, took upon himself the Crown of his Kingdom, which was no other than the coloured Wreath, bound about his Temples, determining in the first place to inlarge the Borders of his Dominions, he aftembled the principal Curacus and Counsellours which his Father had affigned him, and in a grave and serious Oration, amongst other things, he told them, that in performance of the Will of his Father, (which he declared to him at the time he was about to return to Heaven) he resolved to go in Person, and summon the neighbouring Na-

tions, to come in, and be converted to the knowledge and adoration of the Sun; and in regard they had the fame Title of *Ineas*, as well as their King, he conceived that the fame Obligation lay upon them, to ferve the Sun, who was the common Parent of them all, and therefore required them to join with him in the fame work and defign; that fo they might reduce those People from their brutih and bestial course of living to a Life more regular and rational; for that they seeing the improvements which the instructions of his Father; the *Inea*, had made in his own Subjects, might be more easily allured to forsake their old barbarous Customs, and embrace those which are more beneficial and refined.

Royal Commentaries.

Hereinto the Ciriacia gave this ready and chearfull Answer, that they were not onely willing to obey his Commands in this particular, but even to enter into the fire for his fake; and to ending their Difcourfe, they prefixed a day to begin their Journey: and accordingly the *loca* departed with a great Retinue of his Subjects, taking his Journey by the way of *Cellafiya*, which lies to the Southward from the City Cozco; and as they travelled, they perfuaded the *Indians* with fair words to follow their Example, and to become Subjects to the Inca, and Devotaries to the Sun, uniting with them in Religion towards their God, and Allegiance to their Prince. Those Indians which are of the Nations called Puching and Canchi, and are the next borderers, being a People very fimple and credulous, (as indeed all the Indians are.) feeing the effects which the Inva had operated on his own Subjects, which was the best argument to convince them, they immediately submitted to his Government; and thus by degrees, during the whole course of this Inca's Reign, without violence or force of arms, in a gentle and peaceable manner he reduced all the People, as far as Chancara, which is about twenty Leagues in length, with the Inhabitants of the parts adjacent to his Subjection, over all which he prevailed to far, as to plow and cultivate their Lands, to lead a moral Life according to the Rules of the light of nature, and that forfaking their Idols, and evil cultoms which they practifed, they flould worship the Sun, and observe mose Laws and Precepts which by Revelation his Father, Manco Capac, had delivered to them: all which the *Indians* readily accepted and embraced, being highly fatisfied with that benefit and improvement which the Dominion and Rule of Sinchi Roca had brought unto them, who after the example of his Father, studied all ways and means to endear that People to himfelf.

Some Authours report that this King proceeded much beyond the Countrey of Chimeara, and extended his Dominions over the Nations of Cancalla, Runnehaeli, Affilla, Afancatu, Huancani, and others; all which he gained with fuch gentle treatment, that he needed not Wars, or other Arms, than perfuafions to invite them; ufing these new plantations, as good Gardiners doe their Orchards, pruning and digging about their Trees, in hopes of plenty and abundance of

Sinchi Rora having thus lived in peace and quietness for the space of many years; and, as some will have it, for about thirty, finding himself at length decaying and aged, he declared that now after the labours and cares he had taken to reduce men to the knowledge of his bather the Sun, he was now going to take his rest and repose with him. His lawfull Son, by his legitimate Wise and Sister, Manna Cora, or as others will have it, Mima Octlo, called Lloque Tupanqui, he lest to succeed him, as Heir to all his Dominions: Besides this Prince he had other Sons by his Wise, and more Children by his Kinswomen, who were his Concubines, all which we may call legitimate. Moreover he had many Bastard Children by Women of other Families, all which was allowable according to the rule, and saying, that it was fit and requisite that the Generation and Family of the Sun should be many and numerous.

Book II.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Of the Third King Lloque Yupanqui, and the signification of his Name.

Loque Yupanqui was the third King of Peru, called Lloque, because he was lesthanded, and Tupanqui serves to denote his Vertues and generous Actions. The word *Tupanqui* fignifies as much as an account, or reckoning, as we fay a Man of Account, which is a Cypher, or Hieroglyphick, in that language, for a fun of Vertues, as Clemency, Piety, Gentlenets, &c. all which were qualities inherent in that Perfon, and is as comprehensive as the word Capac, which contains the Riches of Fortune, and the Wealth of Vertues, inherent in the mind, tains the Riches of Fortune, and the vegation vertices, infection in the finding, which Apellations, or rather Titles, they gave to none of their chiefest Lords, but to the King onely; it being esteemed a kind of Sacrilege to attribute such facred Titles to any other: for as the Romans gave the name of Augustus to their Emperours, in a particular distinction to all others; so it would have been a distinction of the control minution to their Maiefly to have made this peculiar Name common to their Subjects.

Lloque Yupanqui having taken a survey of his Dominions, resolved to extend his Jurisdiction farther than the Possessions of his Fathers, and being now the Lord of an Empire which had been established and radicated for the space of seventy years, he thought it a more expedite way by force of Arms to reduce that People. than by the flow infinuations which arguments and perfuafions made upon them. To this end having raifed an Army of about fix or feven thousand men, under the To this end having range an Anny of about its or leven thouland men, under the conduct of his two Uncles, and of his other Kindred, whom he made Captains, and Commanders over them, he took his march towards the Countrey of Occo-figur, leaving that of Limsfigur, which his Father had already conquered, (the feveral ways to which divide in the Province of Chancara) he paffed through the division

of Collasuru, which contains the great Lake of Thicaca.

The Inca having passed the frontiers of his own Dominions, entered the Countrey called Cama; and immediately dispatched Messengers to the natural Inhabitants thereof, requiring them to leave their bestial Sacrifices and superstitious manners, and with all readiness to submit unto the Obedience and Service of him who was descended from the Offspring of the Sun: The People of Cama desired time to inform themselves of all the particulars which the Inca commanded them, as what were his Laws, and what were the Gods which he enjoined them to worflip; in all which when they had been well inftructed, they readily confessed that their Religion and Laws were better, and more rational than their own, and therefore with a general confent they yielded and fubmitted to them, and fo went forth to receive their King with Joy, and acknowledge themselves his obedient Subjects. The Inca leaving Persons with them to instruct them in his Idolatry, and to teach them the way of manuring and cultivating their Land, he proceeded forward to that Nation which is called Appiri: but these being a sturdy and stubborn fort of People, were not to be wrought upon by perfuations, and promifes, or by the example of others, but obstinately perfused in a resolution to dye in or by the example of others; but obltinately perfitted in a refolution to dye in the defence of their Liberties; which was a new difficulty and opposition that the *lineas* had never as yet encountred. Thus both fides preparing for War, they came to an ingagement, which lasted long, there being many killed both on one fide and the other; and being at length as it were a drawn Battel, and the Victory doubtfull, both Armies retreated into fast places, which they had fortisted after their own manner, fallying out every day to Skirmishes and single Combats. The People of the *linea* avoided fighting what they were able, destring rather to overcome them with reasons and persuasions, than by sorce of Arms; but the *Apviri* interpreting this backwardness of the *linea* to be an effect of Cowardise, became interpreting this backwardness of the Inca to be an effect of Cowardile, became more obstinate, and encouraged to press harder upon him, so as almost to enter

his Royal Tents; but their force was repelled with force, and were always repulfed with lofs and difadvantage. The Inca confidering well the shame and dishonour it would be to him to be foiled by this People; for that others by their Example might take courage to rebell and refult him; he dispatched immediate Orders for new recruits to be sent him; but these he designed rather for terrour and oftentation, than necessity, and in the mean time he straitned the Enemy so. that there being a great fearcity of all Provisions amongst them, they were comthat there being a great feating of an in-rooman's amongst cattle, stey her pelled at length to make their way by force of Arms; the Battel was very hor and bloudy, many being killed and wounder on both fides, till at length the doctor viri being worsted, never durst shew their Faces any more in Battel. The Lieux not being willing to take this advantage to deltroy them utterly endeavoured rather by Famine to reduce them to his Obedience. During which Siege the recruits which the *Inca* had fent for, arrived in his Camp, the Report of which fo difinated the Enemy, that they immediately furrendred and fubmitted to the Mercy of the Inca, who first having severely reproved them with bitter termes, for having resisted the Offspring of the Sun, he pardoned their Contumacy and Rebellion; and leaving Officers and Instructours to teach them in the ways of Religion and humane Living, and to require from them that riches which they had forfeited to the Sun and the *Inca*, he proceeded against that People which they call Pucara. In this Countrey he built a Fortress, for better defence of his Frontiers and conservation of his Conquests; and the rather, because the situation of the place being by nature strong, was by Art and Industry rendred impregnable, and ferved to reduce the People of *Pucara*, which were by no other means to be subdued, but by a War; which having done, and furnished his Fortress with a strong Garrison, he returned with great Joy and Triumph unto Cozco.

#### CHAP. IX.

The Conquest of Hatun Colla, and the Fables which those of Colla report concerning their Original.

Any Years had not passed before *Lloque Tupanqui* returned again to the frontiers of his Conquests, that he might make a farther progress in reducing the *Indians*, and enlarging his Dominions. The Report which the *Inc.u* had spread from their beginning, of being sent from the Sun to instruct and reduce Mankind from a beltial way of living to Rules of Morality and Political Society, had made preparation in all places for reception of their Doctrine, and became most plausible and prevalent in the minds of those People, who knew not how to discourse that application of the team which they had convenied under the finetions. discover that ambition of the *Incas*, which they had concealed under the specious principle of the Sun's Commands: with this pretence the *Inca* sent to raise eight or nine thousand men well armed; and having set Officers over them, and chosen Counsellours for himself, he passed the Countrey of Collassim, and at length arrived at his Fortress called Pucara, where afterwards that great overthrow was given to Francisco Hernandes. Given; which is since called the Battel of Pucara; from those he form which is since called the Battel of Pucara; from thence he fent Ambatfadours to Pancar colla, and Haum colla, (which are Countries of a large extent, containing divers Nations) requiring them to yield ready Submiffion and Obedience to him; and that being admonified by the example of the Apaviri, they should fear to oppose the Progeny of the Sun, left the like punishments of Famine and Slaughter should be the rewards of their Rebellion. The People of Colla gave ear to this admonition, and affembling their Chiefs or most principal Men amongst them in Hatun Colla, which is Colla the great; they generally concluded, that all those Plagues and Mitchiefs which had befallen

4Í

the *Ayaviri*, and those of *Procura*, was sent from Heaven, as a judgment for having resisted the Children of the Sun; and therefore with unanimous consent they declared themselves Vassals of the *Inca*, that they would adore the Sun, and observe and keep all those Laws and Ordinances which he should impose upon them; and with this intention they went out to meet the *Inca*, and received him with Acclanations, and with new Songs, and Musick, which they had framed and composed for this occasion.

The Inca received their Curaeas with many kind and obliging Expressions; and to evidence the efteem he had of them, he bestowed on every one of them garments which belonged to his own Person, with other Presents, very acceptable; and in process of time afterwards these two People, and their Posterity, were ever highly favoured by the Incas, especially those of Haum Colla, both for the readiness with which they embraced the Worthip of the Sun, and for their docible and gentle Nature, which encouraged the Incas to build magnificent Temples in their Countrey, and found Monasteries for Virgins, which were matters of high admiration amongst the Indians.

The Collas confift of many and divers Nations, and report that their first Parents iffued from the great Lake Titicaca, which they efteemed to be their Mother: and before the times of the Ineas, amongst other Gods, they offered Sacrifices to this Lake upon the Banks of it. Some of them report that their Parent proceeded from a great Fountain, others that their Ancestours issued from Caves, and the hollow of Rocks, and accordingly at certain feafons they offered their Sacrifices to them 3 others that they originally iflued from a certain River, and therefore held that the Fish of it were facred, and that it was a fin to eat them. In this manner some adored Fifth of it were facred, and that it was a fin to eat them. In this manner rome adored one Deity, and fome another, howfoever because that People abounded much in flocks of Sheep, they had one God common to them all, which was a white Ram, saying, that there was a great sheep in the higher World, for so they call Heaven, which had a particular care of them, giving them a greater increase and number of Sheep, than to any other of the neighbouring People of Peru; and for that reason they offered up Lambs, and the fat of Mutton to this Sheep-faced Deity. But this God, and all others, the *Inca* took from them, allowing them no other but the Sun, whom he encharged and commanded them without any other Rival to adore and worthin; befides which he altered that infamous Custome of Disloluteness and Incontinence amongst single Women, to whom it was lawfull, and a laudible quality to be common Whores before their Marriage, though afterwards they were obliged to be true and faithfull to one Husband. But as to those Fables which relate the Original of these People, the *Incas* took no pains or care to consute them; for as they were obliged to believe the descendence of the *Incas* from the Sun; so the Incas in like manner would not feem to disapprove the Tables and Reports they made of their own Original.

Having laid these foundations of Government and Religion the *Inca* returned again to *Gozeo*, giving a stop for the present to his Conquests and Proceeding; for it seemed to be the most reasonable Policy to give time and space for these new Subjects to taste the sweetness and lenity of the *Inca*, and by their own experience to make report of it, and publish it to the neighbouring Nations, that so they might be more easily induced to embrace the like advantage: rather than overpowering all by cruel and hasty conquests, their Government should appear tyrannical, and partaking of an ambitious and covetous Spirit.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. X.

The great Province of Chucuytu surrenders on terms and conditions of Peace, and after the example thereof many other Provinces submit.

THE Inca was received at Cozco with all the demonstrations of joy and triumph imaginable; where having resided for the space of some years, which he employed towards the advancement of the common good and benefit of his people; he re-assumed his intentions of visiting again the Confines of his Dominions, that so he might afford his people the contentument of seeing his Person, and rectifying the corruption and negligence of his Ministers by his own personal appearance. With this occasion he ratised an Army of ten thousand Men, and with them marched to Hatim Colla, and the Confines of Chicapin, which is so famous a Province, and so abounding with people, that when the Spaniards divided that Countrey; they presented that parcel of ground to the Emperour. So soon as the Inca was entred into Chicapin, he sent Messengers to the Inhabitants, that leaving their ancient customs, they should receive the Laws and Commandments of the Sun, and should worship and adore him for their God: And they, in due compliance hereunto, answered, That they were ready and willing with all affection and cordiality to receive his Injunctions; for that he being descended from the Sun, they were well assumed of his gentlenes and vertues, and therefore with all joy they received him for their Sovereign, under whose shadow and protection they promised to themselves all happines and security.

The Inca, according to accustomed goodness, received them gratiously, pre-

The Inca, according to accustomed goodness, received them gratiously, prefenting them with such gifts as were in esteem amongst those Indians: And sinding the success of these messages to answer his expectations, he was encouraged to send the like Summons to all the Neighbouring Nations, as far as that place, where the Lake Titicaca empties it self; all which, after the example of Hatun Colla and Chuchyiu submitted themselves; the most principal of them were Hillavi, Chulii, Pumata and Cipita; all which surrended on the same terms, and with the same formalities that the others did; so that there is no need to make repetition of the questions formerly demanded, nor the answers thereunto.

Having in this peaceable manner fubjected thefe people, he disbanded his Årmy, giving them leave to return unto their respective homes; onely he retained fo many Souldiers as served for a guard to his Person, and as many as became the dignity and honour of his State; together with such as were sit to teach and instruct them in the Religion and Laws they were to observe; and that he might yield more vigour and encouragement to this work, he was pleased to attend and affist herein with his own presence; which being accounted a particular demonstration of his savour to those principal Provinces, proved afterwards of great use and benefit, as we shall hereafter make appear in the sequel of this History. And what did farther oblige the Curacas and others to the Inca, was his personal residence amongst them for the whole Winter-season, during which time his employment was to settle and establish himself in the affection and good will of his people; having now by his own experience learned, that the best expedient to invite and allure strangers to his subjection was Love and Beneficence to his own people; For by these means the Indians did every-where extoll the Excellencies of their Prince, and proclaim him to be a true child and off-spring of the Sun. And now whilst the Inca resided in Coltas, and that the Spring was returned, he again raised an Army of ten thousand Men, over which he constituted four Colonels, and appointed his Brother to be their General, (whose name is not certainly known) to all five of which, he gave special order not to use violence, or break

peace with the people, unless in case of absolute necessity; desiring rather, according to former examples, to reduce them by gentle and moderate terms, than by war and feverity, shewing themselves rather compassionate Parents, than Martial Captains. Accordingly this General and Officers proceeded in their design Westward, as far as that Province which is called Harin Pacassa, and with prosperous fuccess reduced all those they met for the space of 20 Leagues, as far as to the foot of the Mountain Cordillera, and the fnowy defart. In reducing these Indians, there was little or no difficulty, because they were a people which lived at large. without Political Society or Government, the weaker giving way to the pride and power of him that was ftrongeft; and being by nature simple and credulous, fo foon as the fame was foread of the Miracles which were performed by this Child of the Sun, they all flocked in to be received for Vaffals to this great and wonderfull Monarch: Howfoever, three years were spent in the reducing of these wonderfull Monarch: Howloever, three years were pent in the reducing of thele people, for they were of so dull and stupid a genius, that, like beasts, they were not capable to comprehend or learn those easie rudiments and principles which were instilled into them. Having completed this conquest, Officers were placed for their better government, with Instructors to teach them, and such Commanders and Souldiers as might serve to protect and defend them; and so the General and four Captains returned to render an account to the Inca of their Acts and ral and four Captains returned to render an account to the Inca of their Acts and Negotiations, who all that time was employed in vifiting feveral Countries of his Dominions, where he encouraged their industry, improved them in their Arts, and in cultivating Lands; raising publick Edifices, and making Aqueducts, Bridges and High-ways for the better communication of one Nation with another. After which he returned with his Captains, whom he gratiously received unto his Imperial Court, with intention to fix a term and limit to his proceedings, for having enlarged his Dominions 40 Leagues to the Northward, and more than 20 towards the East, he judged this addition a sufficient encrease for his

His reception into Cozco was with wonderfull joy, for his liberality and gentle rus reception into Cozzo was with wonderfun joy, for his incelarity and gentle nature was generally obliging; the remainder of his life he paffed in quietness and repose, performing actions of Justice and Beneficence towards his Subjects; during which time, he sent Magna Capac his eldest Son and Heir twice to visit his Dominions, accompanied with Wise and Aged men, that so he might know and be known to his people, and might have fome trial and practice in affairs before he came to handle the Government. And now the *mea* finding himself weak, and near his end, he called his eldest Son, with his other Brethren, and in manner of his last Will and Testament, he earnestly recommended to them the obfervation of those Laws and Ordinances which their Ancestours had prescribed a that they should take care of their Subjects, and in every thing behave themselves that they should take care of their Subjects, and in every thing behave themselves like those that are worthy of so pure and bright a Family, as that of the Sun: And lastly, he encharged the Incas, who were Captains, and the Curacas, who were Lords of the people, that they should be mindfull of the Poor, and obedient to their Prince; and especially that they should live in peace and unity, for that now he was to leave them, being called by his Father the Sun to ascend unto him, that he might rest and desist from his former labours and travels. Having ended these sayings, Lloque Tupanqui leaving many Sons and Daughters of his Concubines, though but one who was his true Heir and Successour, and two Daughters by Mama Cova his lawfull Wife, died. The Death of this Inca was greatly lamented through his whole Dominions, for his gentle temper had gained him the affection of all, and his Vertues procured him the efteem of a God. and rank affection of all, and his Vertues procured him the efteem of a God, and rank with the other Children of the Sun, whom they Adored for Deities. And now for diversion of the Reader, we shall defist a while from profecuting the Wars and Conquests, which were almost all atchieved after the like manner with the former, and shall relate fomething of the Customs they practifed, and the Scien-

ces they attained.

### CHAP. XI.

Of the Learning and Sciences to which the Incas attained: and first of their Astrology.

HE improvement which the Incas had made either in Aftrology or Philofophy, was as yet for want of Letters very imperfect, how/foever there were fome certain men amongst them of good wit and understanding, which they called Amantas; who were subtile in their Argumentations, and laid down certain Phenomena of natural things; but in regard they were unacquainted with Letters, they could leave none of those conceptions they had formed unto posterity, unless some few principles discovered by the Light of Nature, which they denoted by Glyphicks, or fome uncouth and rude figures; yet in Moral Philosophy they attained to a greater degree, for their Laws, Cuftoms and Practices were their daily leffons, and the doctrine of good manners being the work of the Magistrate, an easie and constant improvement was made therein.

Of Natural Philosophy indeed they had studied little; they knew not how to fearch into the fecrets of nature, or lay down the first principles of it; they knew not what the qualities of the Elements were, or could fay that the Earth was cold and dry, and the fire hot and dry; they onely observed the effects of things, that fire would warm and burn them: Howfoever, they learned fomething of Medicines, and of the Vertues of certain Herbs and Plants which experience and ne-

ceffity had taught them.

In Aftrology they had proceeded yet farther, for the apparent objects of the Sun, and Moon, and Stars yielded them more fensible matter for speculation: they had observed the various motions of the Planet Venus, the increase, full and decrease of the Moon; and when it was upon the change and conjunction with the Sun, they called it the Death of the Moon. The Sun especially afforded them the most profound matter of speculation; they observed that by his motion the seasons of the year were distinguished, the hours of the day counted, and the days and nights measured; in all which they attained not to a farther fearch or confideration than what was visible, and materially presented it self before their eyes: they admired the effects, but laboured not to penetrate into the cause, or know the reason of the various changes of the Moon, or motions of the Planets. They called the Sun Tai, the Moon Quilla, the bright Star of Venus, Chasea, which fignifies radiant; other Stars also of greater Magnitude they observed, but did not diffinguish them by their particular names, but onely under that general denomination of Costur, which lignifies a Star. And yet for all this fortill flupidity, the Incas had observed that the Sun accomplished his course in the space of a year; which they called *Hunta*, though the Commonalty divided it onely by its feafons, and reckoned their year to end, or be finished with their Harvest. The terms of Summer and Winter Solftices, they denoted by the large characters of eight Towers, which they had erected to the East, and as many to the West of the City Cozco; being ranked sour and sour in several Positions, those two in the midthe being higher than the other two at each end, and were built much in the form of the Watch-towers in *Spain*: When the Sun came to rife exactly oppofite to four of these Towers, which were to the East of the City, and to set just againft those in the West, it was then the Summer Solftice; and in like manner, when it came to rise, and set just with the other four Towers on each side of the City, it was then the Winter Solftice. Pedro de Cicca and Acofa, make mention of these Towers, which served for their Almanacks, and were the best cyphers they had to distinguish their times and seasons, for they had not attained as yet to other measures by Days and Months, though they kept an account by Moons, as we shall hereafter declare; by which and by their Solftices they divided one year from another: these Solstitial Towers I lest remaining in the year 1560, and

may still be seen, unless the Wars and Alterations have demolished those dura-

ble reliqu

44

They had likewise observed the Equinoctials; for in the Month of March, when they reaped their Mayz, or Indian Wheat, they celebrated their Harvest with joy and seasting, which at Cosco they kept in the Walk of Colcan, otherwise called the Garden of the Sun. At the Equinoctial of September, they observed one of their four principal Feasts, which were dedicated to the Sun, which they called Citua Raymir; and then to denote the precise day of the Equinoctial, they had erected Pillars of the finest Marble, in the open Area, or place before the Temple of the Sun; which when the Sun came near the Line, the Pricits daily watched and attended to observe what shadow the Pillars cast; and to make it the more exact, they fixed on them a Gnomon, like the Pin of a Dial; so that so sone as the Sun at its rising came to dart a direct shadow by it, and that at its height or mid-day the Pillar made no shade, but was enlightned on all sides; they then concluded that the Sun was entred the Equinoctial Line, at which time they adorned these Pillars with Garlands and odoriferous Herbs, and with the Saddle they had dedicated to the Sun; saying, That on that day he appeared in this most glittering Throne and Majesty, and therefore made their Offerings of Gold and pretious Stones to him, with all the solemnities of ossentation and joy, which are usual at such sessions. Thus the Inean, who were their Kings; and the Amazumi; who were their Philosophers; having observed, that when the Sun came to the Equinoctial, these Pillars made little shadow at moon-day, and that those in the City of Luins; and those of the same degree to the Sea-coast made none at all, because the Sun is then perpendicularly over them; they concluded that the Position of those Countries was more agreeable and pleasing to the Sun, than those on which in an obsique manner onely he darted the brightness of his rays; for which reason the Pillars of Luins were had in so great veneration and esteem amongs them, that they worshipped and adored them; and therefore Sebastia

The Months (as we have faid) they counted by Moons, and therefore called the Months Quillus; the Weeks they called the Quarters of the Moon, having no names for the Days. They took great notice of the Ecliptes both of the Sun and of the Moon, but knew them onely by their Effects, and not by their Caufes; wherefore they were greatly affrighted when they observed the Sun to hide his face from them, believing that for their fins he obscured his countenance, and was angry, framing the like Prognostications of Famine, Pestilence and Wars,

as our Astrologers predict from the influences of Eclipses.

When they observed the Moon begin to grow dark in her Eclipse, they said, she was sick; and when she was totally obscured, that she was dead; and then they seared, left she should fall from Heaven, and overwhelm, and kill them, and that the World should be entirely dissolved. With these apprehensions, so soon as the Moon entred into Eclipse, they sounded their Trumpets and Cornets, beat their Kettles, Symbals, and all the Instruments which could make notice and sound; they tied their Dogs in Strings, and beat them till they cried and howled; saying, That with their Voices they called upon the Moon; who having received certain Services from them, was very inclinable to hearken to their call; and that all these varieties of Sounds together served to rowse and awaken her, being fallen into a drowziness and flumber, which her sickness had caused; and then they made their Children cry and call Mana Quilla, or Morher Moon, Do not dye, left we all perith.

Concerning the Spots in the Moon, they conceived another Fable more ridiculous than the former, and may be compared with that, which the more refined Ancients framed of Diama, and that the Moon was a Huntrefs, though this feems more bettial and abfurd; for they feigned that a certain Eox feeing the Moon fo beautifull, fell enamoured of her; and that his Love gave him wings, with which he afcended Heaven; and being ready to embrace the Moon, the clofed and clung fo clofe to the Fox, that ever fince that time the Spots have appeared in the brightness of her Body. Of all which particulars, concerning the Moon, I my felf have been an eye-witness; The Day they called Punchan, the Night Tina,

the Break of day, or the Dawning, *Pacari*, befides other proper words to denote bloom. Midnight, and other Hours.

Lightning. Thunder and Thunder-bolts (as we have faid) they gave onely one denomination of Thapa; and that though they did not acknowledge them for Gods, yet they honoured them as Servants of the Sun; as they also did the Rainbow, and because they observed that the beautifull variety of its Colours was an effect of the Sun-beams reflecting on a Cloud, they placed it in their Banners, and made it the Arms of their Incar. That which we call the Milky-way, they fantied to be an Ewe giving suck to a Lamb; and have often shewed me, pointing to it, Seeft thou not there the Head of the Sheap? and there the Head and Legs of the Lamb? But my imagination was never so strong as to sanste a greature there of that sigure.

The force of their Attrology did never reach to far as to make Predictions from the Sun, or Moon, or Cornets, or Conjunctions of Stars, unlefs it were of fornething of great and notorious importance, fuch as the Death of their Kings, or the Defunction of Kingdoms; but rather deduced their Prognoffwarions from their Dreams, or the entrails of the Beafts, which they offered in Sacrifice: But the fuperlition they had of their Dreams was so idle and vain, that we shall omit to mention them; the like they imagined of the Star Venus, which because it appears at the beginning of the night, and again rifes with the morning, they fanfeed, that being so bright and beautiful beyond the other Stars, the Sun was pleafed to give it a double course, making it in the Evening to follow him, and in the Morning to precede, and be the mellenger to advise his approach.

When they saw the Sun set within the Sea, (as they may every night observe to the Westward from the Coast of Porn) they fantied that the Waters were parted by the force of his sire and heat; and that being a good swimmer, he plunged himself into the Waves, and dived quite through the Sea to appear next morning in the East. And so much shall suffice to have spoken of their Astrology; let us now proceed, and see what knowledge they had attained in Physician and Medicines, which they administred to their sick in their several diseases.

#### CHAP. XII.

Of their Physick and Medicines, and how they applied them.

They had gained so much knowledge in Physick, as to know, that Bleeding and Purging were two necessary evacuations: the Bloud they drew from the Legs, Armes or Forehead; and because they were not acquainted with the Anatomy of the Veins, they opened that which was nearest to the pain: Their Lancet was made of a sharp-pointed Flint, set at the end of a small Cane; which being laid on the Vein, with a gentle fillip cuts it with less pain than our ordinary Lancets do: And as they are ignorant how the Veins branch themselves through the whole body, so likewise are they unacquainted with the particular humours, such as Flegm, Choler and Melancholy, and consequently have not the judgment to apply the most specifick Medicines to purge them: They most commonly purged, when they sound a Plethory of humours, rather than when the disease had prevailed upon them: the Ingredient which they used in their Purges, was a fort of white root; in sassion of a small Turnip; of which, they say, there/is Male and Female; of both which they mix an equal proportion to the quantity of a bout two ounces, which they beat to a Powder, and take it in water or their ordinary drink, without other Herbs or Drugs; and then the Patient sets himself in the Sun, that his heat and blessing may contribute to its operation. In an hours

hours time it begins to work with fuch fqueamifiness in the Stomach, and such giddiness in the Head, that they feel the same indisposition, as those who labour of Sea-fickness, and purges them both upwards and downwards with fuch violence, that it brings away worms, and all kind of indigefted matter, notwithstanding which, having finished its operation, it leaves the body strong and without decay of Spirits, and with a sharp and hungry appetite: All which I can boldly attest, having my self proved it, and taken it twice for a pain in my Sto-

These Cures by purging and bleeding were commonly performed by old Women, or by fome certain Botanifts, who in the times of the *lucia* were famous for the knowledge they professed in the virtue of Herbs; and these by Tradition transferred the fecrets of their learning to their Sons, who did not profess to be Physicians common to all, but to apply their Art onely for medicining their Kings, and Curacus, and such as were lineally descended from them; but the ordinary and Curacat, and tuch as were lineally descended from them; but the ordinary People cured one the other, by such Medicines as were of common Report. When sucking Infants were sick of any disease, especially if it were a Fever, or Calenture, they washed them every morning in Urine, and then wrapped them up, giving them some of their own Water to drink. At the Birth of their Children, when the Midwise cut the string of the Navel, they left it at least a singer in length, which when it fell off from the Child of it self, they conserved it carefully and are not recommend in dissipation. fully, and on any occasion of indisposition, of which a whiteness in the Mouth of the Child was their usual symptome, they gave it to suck of this string, which commonly proved an affured remedy.

What Reasons they had for these Secrets of Nature I know not, nor did I ever

ask: I am fure they made no conjectures by the throbs of the Pulfe, much lefs by Urine, having no other Symptoms of a Calenture, than what appeared by the exceffive heat and burnings of the Body. Their Purges and bleedings were more commonly used when the Patient was but a little indisposed, and was able to walk, but not after he had yielded to the Disease, for then they committed him waik, but not after he had yeliced to the Ineact, for then they committed him onely to the strength of Nature, and a regular Diet, they never arrived to the knowledge of Clysters, or to Unquents or Plasters; the cold and shaking fit of a Quartan they called *Chucchu*, the hot fit *Rupar*, which is burning, the which Indispositions they greatly seared by reason of the uneasiness they selt both by cold

and heat.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Of their Medicinal Herbs, and Phylical Plants.

They have a certain Tree which they call Mulli, and the Spaniards Molle, which tweats forth a kind of rasomy juice, which hath a most sovereign quality for the cure of green Wounds, the herb or shrub, called Chillea, being heated in an earthen pan, hath done wonderfull effects on those who have been troubled with a pain in the joints and bones, taken by cold; they have a certain root, like with a pain in the joints and bones, taken by cold; they have a certain root, like the root or Fibres of Grafs, but fomething groffer, and fuller of knots, the name of it I do not well remember, which they make use of to ftrengthen the Teeth, and fortify the Gums; and in the preparing of it they roaft it in the hot embers, and when it is very hot they apply it to the Gums on each fide of the mouth, keeping it untill it is cold, which is of great torment to the Patient, for it fealls the mouth exceedingly. This Remedy they apply in the Evening, and next morning doe the like, so that their Gums and Mouth look like roafted fielh, and for the or altered day are not able to them. for two or three days are not able to chew, or receive other nourithment than by a fpoon, afterwards the white flesh of the Gums, which hath been cauterized in this manner, begins to fall off, and a new and well coloured fort of Gum,

Royal Commentaries. Воок ІІ.

from and hard returns, which fortified the Teeth closer and better than before Though and hard returns, which roved, and being willing, though without necessity to try it on my felf. I was fo scalded at first, that I had not the resolution afterwards to perfect the Experiment.

The herb, or plant, which the Spaniards call Tobacco, and the Indians Sayri, is of The herb, or plant, which the Spaniards call Tobacco, and the Indians Sayri, is of admirable use in many Diseases amongst them, particularly being taken at the Nostrils in south, serves to purge the Head, and the other qualities and vertues of it, are well known and esteemed in Spain, so that they give it the name of Terva sastella, or the holy Herb. They had also the knowledge of another Herb, of an excellent quality for the Eyes, called Manaccu, it hath but one stalk, and that is covered with a single Leaf, and no more, and is like that which they call in Spain Abbats Ears, and grows in winter upon \* the roofs of houses, the Indians eat it \* Perhaps it raw, having a pleasant reliss, when he is bruised they spire some of the jusce into the may be a for

Eyes, and at night, when they go to bed, they lay of the herb, being bruikd, on of Houseek the Eyes lids, binding it on, left it should fall off, and in one nights space it discusses all matter, and disperses those mists which obscure the Eyes, and offend

I my felf have laid it on the Eye of a Youth, which was fo swelled and inflamed, that it was flarted out of his Head; the first night I applied it the Eve returned again to its place, and the fecond time it was perfectly cured; and the Youth hath fince told me, that he fees better with that Eye than the other; and a Spaniard confidently affured me, that he knew one, who being absolutely blinded by a film or skin which covered his Eyes, had by the mere application of this herb for two nights onely, recovered his fight. Those who had received this benefit by it, did afterwards kis the herb with great affection, rendring thanks to Almighty God, that he was pleased to bestow such a sovereign and blessed virtue on this herb, for the good and use of Mankind. The *Indians*, who were my Relations, used divers other herbs, but the names and qualities of them I cannot

The Indian Kings did never attain to the knowledge of compounded, but onely of simple Medicines, and seeing that in so necessary a study, as that which conduces to the confervation of health, they made to little a progress; how can it be expected in matters less important and usefull, such as Natural Philosophy and Aftrology, they should make any considerable improvement? much less can we suppose them skilfull in Divinity, who being wholly guided by sensible objects. were never able to raise their Intellects to invisible and immaterial Beings, more than what their Incas had taught them, and included in that word of Pachacumac, which fignifies the Maker of this Universe. Since which time the Spaniards have improved their Physical Science to a higher degree, having discovered the fecret virtues of many herbs growing in that hot Climate, of which the Indians were ignorant; and particularly that the Mayz, which is Indian Wheat, and of a substantial nutriment, hath moreover a peculiar quality against the Collick, and is an excellent Remedy for the Stone, either in the Kidneys or the Bladder, and clears all obstructions of Urine; the knowledge hereof the Spaniards collected from the constitution and temperament of the body of the Indians; for having obferved, that they were never subject to these distempers, they concluded that the drink which they commonly used, made of Mays, was the cause; whereof the Spaniards making now divers Preparations, have with good success experienced most admirable effects of it; and the Indians have also of themselves made many Plasters and Balfams of it, which they applied for Aches and other Pains.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XIV.

Of the Geometry, Geography, Arithmetick and Musick known to the Indians.

They had attained to much Geometry as served them for to measure our their Lands, and make out limits and bounds to their feveral partitions: but this was not done in an artificial manner, but by their lines, and finall stones. which they used in all their Accounts.

As to their Geography, they knew how to decypher in colours the Model of every Nation, with the diffinct Provinces, and how they were bounded. I have Gen an exact Map of Cozco, with the parts adjacent, and the four principal ways to it, perfectly described in a fort of Mortar, compounded with small stones and fraw, which delineated all the places, both great and finall, with the broad Streets, and narrow Lanes, and Houses which were ancient and decayed, and with the three ftreams running through it, all which were described with great curiofity.

Moreover in this Draught the Hills and Valleys, the turnings and windings of

the Rivers were made to appear so plain, that the best Cosmographer in the World could not have exceeded it. The use of this Model was to inform the Visitors, which they called Damian, of the extent and division of the Countries. when loever they went by the King's Commission to survey the Province, and number the people within the precincts of Cozco, and other places; this Model which I mention, was made in Manna, which the Spaniards call now Mobina, and is distant about five Leagues from the City of Cozco towards the Zurz, the which I had opportunity to observe, being then present with the Visitors, who went to number the Indians that inhabited the Division of Garcitasso de Vega, My Lord and Master.

In Arithmetick they knew much, and were skilled in a peculiar manner and nature in that Science; for by certain knots of divers colours they summed up all the accounts of Tribute, and Contributions, belonging to the revenue of the Inca; and thereby knew how to account, and discount, to subtract, and to multiply; but to proportion the respective Taxes on every Nation by way of division, they performed it in another manner by granes of Mare, or Pebbles, which served in the place of Counters. And because it was necessary that Accounts should be kept of all charges relating to War and Peace, that the People, and the Flocks and Herds of Cattle should be numbred, that the payment of Tributes, and the like, should be registred and noted, there were certain Persons appointed for that work. who made it their study and business to be ready and skilfull in Accounts; and because perhaps one Person was appointed to keep the reckonings of three or sour diffinet things, as Accountant General, which feems difficult to be performed by the way of their threads and knots, we shall discourse it hereafter more at large, in what manner they diffinguished their Accounts of divers businesses.

#### Of their Musick.

In Musick they arrived to a certain Harmony, in which the Indians of Colla did more particularly excell, having been the Inventors of a certain Pipe made of Canes glued together, every one of which having a different Note of higher and lower, in the manner of Organs, made a pleafing Mulick by the diffonancy of founds, the Treble, Tenor and Baffe, exactly corresponding and answering each to other; with these Pipes they often plaid in consort, and made tolerable Musick, though they wanted the Quavers, Semiquavers, Aires, and many Voices which

perfect the Hatmony amongst us. They had also other Pipes, which were Flutes with four or five stops, like the Pipes of Shepherds; with these they played not in confort, but fingly, and tuned them to Sonnets, which they composed in meetre, the Subject of which was love, and the Passions which arise from the Layours or Displeasures of a Mistress. These Musicians were Indians trained up in that art for divertifement of the Incas, and the Curacas, who were his Nobles, which, as ruftical and barbarous as it was, it was not common, but acquired with great Industry and Study.

Every Song was fet to its proper Tune; for two Songs of different Subjects could not correspond with the same Aire, by reason that the Musick which the Gallant made on his Flute, was defigned to express the satisfaction or discontent of his Mind, which were not fo intelligible perhaps by the words as by the melancholy or chearfulness of the Tune which he plaid. A certain Spaniard one night late encountered an Indian Woman in the Streets of Cozco, and would have brought her back to his Lodgings; but she cryed out, For God's sake, Sir, let me go, for that Pipe which you hear in yonder Tower calls me with great Passion, and I cannot rufule the summons, for Love constrains me to go, that I may be his wife and he my Hus-

The Songs which they composed of their Wars, and grand Atchievements. were never fet to the Aires of their Flute, being too grave and ferious to be intermixed with the pleasures and softnesses of Love; for those were onely sung at their principal Festivals when they commemorated their Victories and Triumphs. When I came from Peru which was in the Year 1560, there were then five Indiams refiding at Cozo, who were great Mafters on the Flure, and could play readily by book any Tune that was laid before them; they belonged to one fluor Robigues, who lived at a Village called Labor, not far from the City: and now at this time, being the Year 1602 'tis reported, That the Indians are so well improved in Musick, that it was a common thing for a Man to found divers kinds of Instruments, but Vocal Musick was not so usual in my time, perhaps because they did not much practife their Voices, though the Mongrils, or fuch as came of a mixture of *Spanish* and *Indian* bloud, had the faculty to fing with a tunable and a fweet Voice.

#### CHAP. XV.

The Poetry of the Inca's Amautas, who were Philosophers: and of the Haravec, who were Poets.

THe Amautas, who were Men of the best ingenuity amongst them, invented Comedies and Tragedies, which on their folemn Festivals they represented before their King, and the Lords of his Court. The Actors were not Men of the common fort, but Curacas, or some of the young Nobility, and Officers of the Souldiery, because every one acted his own proper part; the plot or argument of their Tragedies was to reprefent their military Exploits, and the Triumphs, Victories and Heroick Actions of their renowned. Men; and the fubject or defign of their Comedies was to demonstrate the manner of good Husbandry in cultivating and manuring their Fields, and to flew the management of domeftick Affairs, with other familiar matters. So foon as the Comedy was ended, the Actors took their places according to their degrees and qualities. These Plays were not made up with interludes of obscene and dishonest farles, but such as were of ferious entertainment, composed of grave and acute sentences, fitted to the place and auditory, by whom the Actors were commonly rewarded with Jewels and other Prefents, according to their merit. Their

Their poetical Verses were composed in long and short Meetre, fitted to amorons Subjects, and the Tunes to which they were fet; their Kings, and the Exploits and great Actions performed in their respective Reigns, were also matter for their Poetry, which they recorded in verse, and served in the place of History; their Sonnets were not long, but short and compendious, so as they might more eafily be committed to Memory; they used not rhimes, but loose verse, like our Heroick Poems. I remember four Verses of an amorous Song, which for curiofity take, and to they their flort but compendious fense, I shall repeat here; being thereby best accommodated to the Aire of their Flute: the Tune also I would gladly fet down, but that the impertinence thereof may easily excuse me. The Sonner in four verfes is this:

> Caylla Llapi To the Sona T mill fleen In English Chaupituta thus, At midniabt T shall come. Samulac.

Many other forts of Verses the Incas, who were Poets, composed, who had the Name of Haravec, which properly fignifies an Inventour. Blas Valera in his Writings mentions certain Verfes, which he calls Spondels, confliting of four fyllables, the *Indian* words he hath translated into Latin, the Subject of them is philosophical, and treats of those second causes which God hath placed in the Air, such as Thunder, and Lightning, Rain and Snow, all which are described in verse, and are agreeable to the sancy of their Fables, one of which is this: That the Maker of all things hath placed in Heaven a Virgin, the Daughter of a King, holding a Bucket of Water in her hand, for restellment of the Earth, when occasion requires; and that sometimes her Brother knocking upon this Bucket, causes Thunder and Lightning to proceed from It; these noises, they say, are effects of the violent nature of Man, but Hail, and Rain, and Snow, falling with less noise and impetuosity, are more agreeable to the gentle nature of a Woman. They fay, that an Inca, who was a Poet and an Astrologer composed many Verses in praise of the Vertues and Excellencies of this Virgin Lady, which God had bestowed upon her for the good and benefit of his Creatures. This Fable and Verfes Blas Valera reports to have found expressed in the knots and accounts of their ancient Annals, represented in the threads of divers Colours, and preserved by those to whom the care of the historical Knots and Accounts were committed; and he so much wondred at the ingenuity of the Amanaa, that he thought those Verses worthy to be committed to Memory and Paper. I remember in my Infancy to have heard this Fable, with many others, recounted by my Parents, but being then but a Child, I was not very inquisitive to understand the fignification. Blas Valera hath translated this Song out of the Indian Language into Latin, and which runs in this manner:

Cumac Nusta Torallayquim Puynuy quita Paquir cayan Hina Mantara Сипининип Tlla Pantac Camri Nusta Unuy quita Para Munqui May nimpiri Chichi Munqui Riti Munqui

Pulchra Nympha, Frater tuus Urnam tuam Nunc infringit Cujus ictus Tonat, fulget Fulmináto: Sed tu Nympha Tuam lympham Fundens pluis,

Interdumq;

Grandinem seu

Nivem mittis.

Fair Mound, Thy Brother Strikes now Thine Urne, and slotter Is Chunder And Liabtning. But thou Momph Pouring forth Thy water Dzoppell rain, And again Bendelt Bail D: Snow.

Royal Commentaries. BOOK II. The Baker of the Wiozld Pacha rurac Mundi Factor \* Viracocha Viracocha

Cav-hinabac Churasunaui Camalungui.

Ad hoc munus Te sufficit Et præfecit.

Virácocha bath committed and encharged this Dffice unto thee.

51

\* A Name of

one of their Gods.

With such trifles as these I have enriched my poor History; for whatsoever I have collected from Blu Valera, are all pearls and pretious curiofities, and fuch ornaments as my Countrey dorn not deferve; which now, as they report, in these days improves in Poetry; for that the Mongrils, or those of *Spanish* and *Indian* bloud have taken a good strain in Verse, whose subject is Divine or Moral, God

bloud have taken a good strain in Verse, whose subject is Divine or Moral, God give them his grace that they may serve him in all things.

In this imperfect and gross manner had the Indians of Peru the knowledge of Sciences, which is not to be attributed to their want of natural parts and abilities of mind; for had they been instructed in letters, their capacities are such as might have improved every little beginning: And as the first Philosophers and Astrologers delivered the principles of their Sciences to their posterity, who erected on those foundations the more lofty buildings of reason; so these people were endued with the like capacities, sufficient to advance such learning as descended from their Parents, especially we find that they were well disposed to the learning of that Morality which contained the Customs and Laws of their Countrey; and which did not onely extend to those rules relating to justice and decent comport-ment of one Subject to another, but as it had reference to that obedience which Subjects and Vaffals owe to their Sovereign, and those Ministers which act under their command; for these being a people who were inclined to live according to those Laws which the light of nature dictated, and rather to doe no evil, than know well, were more easily made capable of that Science which was directed by material and exteriour objects, than of that which was converfant about more abstruse and immaterial notions. Pedro de Cieca in the 38th Chapter of his Book. fpeaking of the *Incat* and their Government, fays, That they acted fo well, and that their Government was fo good and political, as might be compared to the Wifedom of the best frame and Model of Common-wealths in this World. And Father Maestro Acosta, in the first Chapter of his 6th Book, makes a discourse

in favour of the Inc.a, and the people of Mexico, in these words;
"Having in the preceding discourse laid down the Particulars of that Religion which the Indians profess; I design in the following Treatise to declare their " Customs and Political Government, for two ends: First, that I may undeceive " the World of that false opinion which they have framed concerning this people, as being to brutish, and of to little understanding, as deferve not the name of rational creatures: From which erroneous conception, many grievous calamities have been imposed on them without pity or compassion; and being esteemed no other than beasts, all that respect which is due to humane nature. or the person of Mankind hath been lost towards them. But this false notion, which none but the vain-glorious and confident of themselves ( who are the common fools of the World) have entertained, hath been fufficiently confuted by more folid and confidering men, who have made it their bufiness to travel and converse amongst them, and to discover the secrets of their Customs and Government. To remove which prejudicial centure from them, the most expedite means will be to declare the Justice and Customs which were in use amongft them, at that time, when they lived by their own Laws; with which, though there was a great mixture of Barbarifm, and many things without four dation; yet their Government contained many excellent things, and worthy of admiration, and fuch as may be compared with the belt Model of our Common-wealths, and may afford us fufficient evidence of the genius of that people, and of that natural readiness of mind capable to be improved to greater and higher matters. Nor ought it to seem strange, if some erroneous fancies have intermixed with their Customs; for even Plato and Lycurgus, and other excellent Legislatours have been guilty of some follies, and interwoven superstitions, and vain rites, with their more fubfiantial Laws. And indeed in those wise Common-wealths of Rome and Athens, many ridiculous Customs have been in-H 2 "troduced 3

Pacha

"troduced; which to confidering men would appear as idle as any of those practices which have been in use amongst the Mexican or the Peruvian Commonwealths. But we who entred by the Sword, and afforded not time to these missers through the Mountains, and drew them as brutish creatures to bear the burthens of our slavish service, could not entertain any great opinion of their Wisedom: Howsoever, some observing men, who have been so curious, as to penetrate into the secrets of their ancient Government, and into the methods of their proceedings, have found that the Order and Rules they sollowed, were worthy of admiration. Thus sar are the words of softph Acosta, who also adds, that they had certain compendious Systems of Morality, digested into Verse way of Poetry; in which also many of their Laws, and the great Actions of their Kings were rehearsed, and kept in a kind of tradition for better instruction of their posterity; which savouring rather of Truth, than Romance, the Spaniards esteem them to be true and particular passages of their History: But many other things afford them matter of laughter, being ill-composed Fables, superstitious and vain, and such also as are contrary to common honesty.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Of those few Instruments which the Indians attained to, and made use of in all their Works and Handicrast-Trades.

H Aving already declared how far they were proceeded in their Moral and Natural Philosophy, and in their Poetry; it follows now that we should declare something of their Mechanicks, and how much they failed in the Art of making those Instruments, which are necessary for shaping and framing those Utensils which are required for convenient living and well-being. And first to begin with their Silversmiths; of which, though there were great numbers, and constantly laboured at their Trade, yet they were not so skillul as to make an Anvil of Iron, or any other Metal; caused, perhaps, for want of knowledge in what manner to dig their Iron, and separate it from its Ore; of which they had several Mines, and called it Quillay; and therefore instead thereof they made use of a certain hard Stone, of a yellowish colour; which being planed, and made fmooth, was rare, and of great value amongst them: They knew not the invention of putting a handle of Wood to their Hammers, but worked with certain Instruments they had made of Copper, mixed with a fort of fine Brass. Neither did they know how to make Files or Graving tools, or Bellows for Melting down Metals; but instead thereof used Pipes made of Copper, of about a Yard long, the end of which was narrow, that the Breath might pass more forcibly by means of the contraction: And as the Fire was to be more or less, so accordingly they used eight, ten or twelve of these Pipes at once, as the quantity of Metal did require: And still they continue this way, though our Invention of Bellows is much more easie, and forcible to raise the Fire. Nor had they the use of Tongs to take their heated Metal out of the Fire, but rather drew it thence by a piece of Wood, or some Bar of Copper; with which they cast it into a heap of wet Earth, which they kept purposely by them to cool their Metal, untill such time as they could take it into their hands: Notwithstanding this want of divers Infroments, they made many things with great curiofity, especially in Boaring Metals, as we shall hereafter discourse more at large. And notwithstanding their simplicity, experience had taught them, that the Steam and Essluviums from

Metals, is dangerous and prejudicial to Man's health; and for that reason, they founded all their Metals in the open Air, and not under Coverts. But above all. their Carpenters feemed to be worst provided with Tools; for though ours use many Instruments made of Iron, those of Peru had no other than a Hatcher, and a Pick-axe made of Copper; they neither had Saw, nor Augre, nor Planer, nor any other Tool for the Carpenter's work, fo that they could not make Arches or Portals for doors, onely they hewed and cut their Timber, and whitened is, and then it was prepared for their Building: And for making their Hatchets and Pickaxes, and some few Rakes, they made use of the Silversiniths, for as yet they had not attained to the Art of Working in Iron. Nor did they know how to make Nails, or use them, but tied all their Timber with Cords of Hemp. Nor were their Hewers of Stone more artificial, for in cutting and shaping their Stones. they had no other Tool, than one made with some sharp Flints and Pebbles, which they called Hibuana, with which they rather wore out the Stone by continual rubbing, than cutting. For lifting or carrying up their Stones, they had no Engines. but did all by the strength and force of their Armes; and notwithstanding all this defect, they raifed such mighty and stately Edifices, as is incredible, which appears by the Writings of the Spanish Historians, and by the Ruines of them. which still remain. They knew not how to make Scissars, nor Needles of Metal, but in place thereof they used a certain long Thorn, which grows in those parts; for which reason they sowed very little, but rather patched or cobled, as we shall hereafter declare. With this fort of Thorns they made also their Combs for the head, which they fixed within a Cane, which served for the back of the Comb, and the Thorns on each fide for the Teeth. The Looking-glaffes which the Ladies of Quality used, were made of Burnished Copper; but the Men never used any, for that being esteemed a part of effeminacy, was also a disgrace. if not ignominy, to them. In this manner they passed, as well as they could, in providing those matters which were onely necessary for humane life; and though these people were endued with no great capacity of invention, yet, when the Spaniards taught them, they learned with great facility, and imitated fo well the patterns given them, that in time they excelled their Masters in their Artificial workmanship and contrivances. This ingenuity and aptness to attain Sciences. was evidenced by a genius they had in Personating and Acting Comedies, which the Jesuits and some Friars, and other Religious had composed for them. I remember the argument of one to have been the Mystery of Man's redemption, and reprefented by the *Indians* with gracefull and proper action; nor were they altogether ftrangers to this divertilement, because in the times of the *Incas* they usually represented their own Stories in Dialogues, and therefore more eafily improved in that Art to which they were formerly inclined by a natural aptitude. It is observable how well they Acted a Comedy, made by a Jesuit, in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which he wrote in the Tongue Asmara, which is different from the Language of Peru: the Argument was on those words in the 3d Chapter of Genesis, where it is faid, I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and that the shall break thy Head, &c. This was Acted by Children and Young men in the Countrey, called Sulli. And at Potow they rehearfed a Dialogue, which contained all the Particulars of our Faith, at which about 12000 Indians were present. At Cozco another Dialogue was recited of the Child Jesus, at which were all the Nobles and People of the City affembled. 'Another was recited in the City, which is called the City of the Kings, where the Lord Chancellour and all the Nobility were prefent, together with an innumerable company of Indians: the Argument of which was, the Most Holy Sacrament, composed in Spanish, and the General Tongue of Peru; which was repeated by the Indian Youth in Dialogues, and pronounced with such grace and emphatical expression, with such air and handsome gestures, intermixed with Songs fet to pleasant Tunes, that the Spaniards were much contented, and pleafed to behold them; and fome flied tears for joy, to fee the ingenuity and good inclination of those poor *Indians*, that ever after they conceived a better opinion of them, confidering them not to be blockish, rude and filthy, but docible, gentle and capable of improvement.

When these Indian Youths defire to commit any thing to memory, which is given them in writing, they go to those Spaniards who are acquainted with letters, defiring them to reade the first lines to them four or five times over, untill they have learned them by heart; and to fix them better in their memories, they re-

peat every word often to themselves, and mark it with Pebbles, or little Granes of divers colours, of about the bigness of Pease, called by them Chuy, which serve of divers colours, of about the bignets of reate, called by them Chuy; which ferve for helps to their Memories; and fuch indultry and care they use, till at length they have perfectly overcome the difficulty, and learned their part or lesson. Those Spaniards to whom the Young Indians have recourse for their Learning, how great soever they are, do not yet disclaim to teach and inform them, giving them all the encouragement they are able. So that these Indians, though naturally deligible of investigations have yet an artified as indicates and their which their parts. rally dull of invention, have yet an aptitude to imitate any thing which is pro-

John Guellas, a Scholar, who was a Native of Medina, and Canon of the Cathedral of Cozco, who taught the Grammar to the Children which were of Spathedral of Cozco, thedral of Coxco, who taught the Grammar to the Children which were of spa-nift and Indian Parents, and to others of best quality in that City, can give us the most clear testimony thereof: For he was moved to perform this charitable Of-fice at the intreaty and instance of the Scholars, whose Masters and Tutours, in exchange for better preferments, had forsaken their Charge; for though every exchange for better preterments, had fornaken their Change; for though every Scholar gave ten pieces of Eight a Month for his Learning, yet it was but little, in respect of their small number, which perhaps were not above 17 or 18 in the whole Town. I knew one amongst them who was an Inca, called Philip, and was Pupil to a rich and honourable Priest, named Father Peter Sanchez, who obwas Pupil to a rich and honourable Priett, named Father Pater Sanchez, who observing the ingenuity of this Youth, took pains to instruct him in his Studies, in which he profited so well, that he became as good a Grammarian as any that was of the Spanish and Indian Bloud. The change of many Masters was a great obstruction to their Learning; for every one of them having a different way of Teaching, they began not from the rules and principles formerly taught them, but made them to begin from their own methods, and forget what they had before but made them to begin from their own fletcheds, and longet what they had before learned, which was a great prejudice to their proceedings; untill this good Canon undertook to inftruct them in the Latin Grammar, which he continued for the space of two years, amidst the Tumults and Wars raised between D. Sepastian the space of two years, amidst the Tumults and Wars raised between D. Sebastian de Castilla, and Francisco Hernandes Giron; which were the cause of much bloud, fire and destruction; and were of that continuance, that scarce was one fire extinguished, before another slame broke forth. At this time this Canon Guellas observing the great docility of his Scholars, and their inclinations to be improved in all Sciences; and the want of able and industrious Masters to cultivate the minds of this people; would cry out, and say, Oh, Children! what pity it is that I do not see a dozen of you Students in the University of Salamanca! And indeed this good Canon had reason so to say, because his attendance at the Choire took him off from the employment of Teaching his Scholars with such sedulity, as to make them perfect in the Latin Tongue: Howsoever, the little improvements they made were good evidences of their natural wit and understanding, which now in these days (praised be God) is much advanced by that abundance of Learning, and light of Sciences, which the Jesuits have introduced amongst them. And so much shall suffice to have discoursed on this subject, it being now time to return to the History of the Succession of the Incas, and of their Contime to return to the History of the Succession of the Incas, and of their Conquests and great Actions.

BOOK

# Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. I.

Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca, gains Tiahuanacu, and what fort of Buildings were found there.

HE Inca, Marta Capac, having performed the Ceremonies due to the Objequies of his dead Father, refolved to vifit the remote parts of his Dominions; and though he had already in the time of his Father travelled those Countries, yet being then in his Minority, and under the Tuition of his Parents and Counselof his Vertues, nor yet to be observed by his people, as he was now, being an absolute Prince. Wherefore after the example of his Ancestours he honoured and satisfied the several Provinces of his Kingdom with the lustre of his Presence, giving fuch testimonies of liberality, courage and generous disposition to his Curacm, and all other his Subjects, that they remained with great admiration of his Royal Vertues and Abilities of mind.

Having accomplished this Visitation, he re-assumed the design of enlarging his Dominions after the example of his Ancestours covering his ambition and covetousness under the specious pretence of reclaiming the Nations from their barbarity and vain superstitions, to a more civilized life, and to the true and religious worthip and adoration of the Sun: Accordingly he raifed an Army, and in the Spring following he began his march with twelve thougand Men under the Command of four Generals and their Inferiour Officers, taking his way as far as that place, where the Lake Titicaca empties it felf; which being the Countrey of Col-Mo, plain and even, and the people fimple, and yet docible, it was the more inviting, and more cafily fubdued.

Being come to this ftream which runs from the Lake, he made floats, on which he Ferried his Army to the other fide, and then fent his usual Summons to the next Inhabitants, requiring them to fubmit to his Government and Religion. These Indians having heard the report of those Miracles which the Incas had performed, without much difficulty submitted to his Commands; and amongst the rest, the people of Tiahnanacu were reduced to obedience; of whose great and incredible Editices, it is requifite, that we thould declare fomething in this place. Amongst the mighty Works and Buildings of that Countrey, there is a certain Hill, or heap of Earth thrown up by hand; which is so high, that it is a subject of great admiration; and left with time it should settle, or fink lower, it is founded on great Stones cemented together: And to what end this was clone,

BOOK III

no man can coniecture, Unless it were like the Pyramids in Egypt, to remain for a Trophy of the Greatness of that Monarch who erected it. On one side of this mighty hears are the Statues of two Giants cut in Stone, with long Robes to the ground. and Wreaths or Binders about their heads; which being much impaired by time. thews the Antiquity of them. There is also a strange Wall to be seen, raised with Stones of an extraordinary bigness; and what is most wonderfull to consider, is, how, or in what manner they were brought thither by force of Men, who had not yet attained to the knowledge of Engines fit for fuch a work, and from had not yet attained to the knowledge of engines ht for luch a work, and from what place they were brought, there being no Rocks or Quarries but fuch as are at a far diffance from thence. There appear also many great and lofty Edifices; and what is more ftrange, there are in divers places great Portals of Stone, and many of them whole and perfect, made of one fingle and entire Stone; which being raifed on Pedeftals, are found by those who have measured them to be 30 foot in length, and 15 in breadth, which Pedeftals, as well as the Arches of the Portals, were all of one fingle Stone: And then we may confider how great those Stones were before they were thaped, and what tools of Iron were requisite for

fuch a labour. The Natives report that these Buildings, and others of the like nature not mentioned here, were raifed before the times of the Incas, and that the Model of the Fortress at Cozco was taken from them, as we shall hereafter more particularly defcribe: Who they were that erected them, they do not know, onely they have heard fay by tradition from their Ancestours, that those prodigious Works were the effects of one nights labour; which feem, in reality, to have been the beginnings onely, and foundations for fome mighty Structure. Thus much Pedro de Ciega in his Remarks concerning Peru, and its feveral Provinces relates; to which I shall farther add, what a certain Priest called Diego de Alcobaça, who was my School-fellow; and whom I may call my Brother, because we were both born in the fame house, and his Father educated me as my Tutour and Master: This perfon, I fay, amongst the many relations of things which both he and others sent In 1 day, amonght the many relations of things which both he and others lent me, concerning my own Countrey; coming to speak of the Buildings of Trahmanacu, hath these words: "In Trahmanacu, which is a Province of Collas, amonghe many other Antiquities worthy of immortal memory, there is one particularly famous, adjoining to the Lake, which is called by the Spaniards Chaerytu, though its true name be Chaquivitus; this is a Pile of Monthrous Buildings, to which is an open Court of 15 Yards square every way, the Buildings is two Stories high; and on one side of this great Yard or Square is a large Hall of 45 soot is the state of the sta ingh; and on one intee of this great Yard or Square is a large Hall of 45 foot in length, and 22 in breadth; the Covering appears to be Thatch, like those on the Temple of the Sun, in the City of Cozco: All this Court, or Yard, which we mention, with its Walls, Floor, Hall, Roof, Portals and Jams of the doors, and back-gate to this Building, is all of one entire Stone, hewed out of a Rock; the Walls of the Court, and of the Hall, are three quarters of a Yard thick, and such also is the Covering or Roof; which though it may seem to be Thershed with Straw is yet of Stone. For the Indian beauty medical is the contraction of the Indian beauty medical is the contraction. to be Thatched with Straw, is yet of Stone; for the *Indians* have worked it fo artificially, and with those natural lines, that the Stones appear like Straw laid artificially, and with those natural lines, that the Stones appear like Straw laid in the most curious manner of Thatch: the Waters of the Lake beat against the side of these Walls; and both this, and all the other Edifices here about, were all, as the Natives report, dedicated to the Maker of the Universe. Moreover, besides these Works, there are divers other figures of Men and Women cut in Stone, so naturally, that they seem to be living: Some of them are drinking with Cups in their hands, some are sitting, some standing, some are walking in the stream which glides by the Walls; other Statues there are of Women carrying Children in their armes, and in the folds of their gaments; others with them on their backs, and in a thousand other manners and postures. The Indi-"any of these days report, that for the great Sins of that people, in having stoned a Stranger, who passed through their Province, God in his judgment had converted those Men and Women into Stone. These are the words of Diego de Alcobaça, who hath been Vicar-General of many Provinces in that Kingdom, and Preacher of the *Indians*; for being a Native of *Cozco*, and of *Spanifh* and *Indian* Bloud, and confequently acquainted with the *Indian* Language, was most able to inform and instruct that people; and in all probability, he was the most likely Man to deliver the most true and authentick Relation of those Countries.

#### CHAP. II.

#### Hatunpacassa reduced, and the Cac-vayiri conquered.

**DUT** returning now to Mayta Capac, we find him bufied in reducing the Pro-But I returning now to have the left hand of that thream by vince of Hatmpacaffa, which is a Countrey to the left hand of that thream by which the Lake empties it felf; and in performance of this work, he used no other means or force, than Doctrine and Instruction, teaching them the way to cultivate and manure their Lands, and the art to live in humane and political fociety; which method, as some report, the *Incas* onely used in the first beginnings of their Monarchy, which, fo foon as it was grown up and fortified, they turned to open violence and compulfion. But whether this subjection were effected by one way or the other, it matters not much here, nor how many days journey one way of the other, it matters not flucture free, nor now many days journey every King proceeded; for fuch repetitions would be both tedious and impertinent; and therefore we shall onely recount in short what every *Inca* gained, and what additions he made to his Empire. This *Inca* therefore proceeding in his Conquests, came at length to that People which is called *Cacepaviri*, who were the Inhabitants of a great number of Villages, spread all over that Country without nabitants of a great number of vinages, spread an over that Countrey without order or rule; over every one of which some petty Lord presided. These having received the Allarm, that the *luca* was coming to conquer and subdue them, slocked all together to a little hill, which had been raised by labour in that plain, being about a quarter of a League high, and picked at the top like a Sugar loaf. This Hill, whose beauty was the more remarkable, for being the onely lofty and In the Hill, whole beauty was the more remarkable, for being the onely lofty and eminent fituation in those Plains, was esteemed facred by the *Indians*, and the place appointed whereon to adore their Gods, and offer Sacrifice: Hereunto they sled for fuccour; and hoping that their God would make this place their Sanctuary, to desend them from their Enemies, they built upon it a dry Wall of Stone, and laid a turf of Earth over it; the Men laboured in the stone-work, and for better dispatch the Women cut and brought the turfs; and to this Fortress, which they had furnished with great stone of Provisions. had furnished with great store of Provisions, Men, Women and Children, in great numbers reforted.

The Inca, according to his custome, fent them his Summons to furrender, particularly affuring them, that he came not to take away their Lives, or their Estates, but to confer upon them all those benefits, which the Sun, his Father, had combut to conter upon them all those benefits, which the Sun, his Father, had commanded him to perform towards the *Indians*; and therefore that they fhould be cautious how they wanted of paying due respect towards his Children, who were, by the help and affistence of the Sun, (who was the God which they adored,) strong and invincible in battel: This, or such like, Message the *Inca* tent often to these *Indians*, but they persisted obstinate in their results; saying, that they lived well already, and had no need of his Instructions to teach them to live better; and as to his Father, the Sun, they did not much value him, for that they lad Gods of their own, one of which was that fortified Hill, which favoured them, and would preserve them, and that the thous might be pleased to depart in them, and would preferve them, and that the Lucas might be pleased to depart in then, and wound preferve mem, and that the mem ingin be pleated to depair in Peace, and teach others, who were willing to receive their Influctions, for that they had no need of their Doctrine. The mea, who had no great mind to overcome them by fight, but rather to win them with fair words, or at worst to compell them by Famine, divided his Army into four parts, and therewith be-

fieged the Hill.

These People of Colla continued many days in this Resolution not to surrender, expecting when the Enemy would affault their Fortress; which when they found, that the Inca declined, they attributed this backwardness to weakness, or cowardife; with which being encouraged, they made divers Sallies from their Fort; in all which, though the Souldiers of the *Inca*, according to the command of their Prince, did rather defend themselves, than seek to offend them, yet these People, like brute Beafts, without order, or wit, throwing themselves on the weapons of their Enemy, perished in great numbers; the which gave occasion to that report

which was common amongst the People of Collao, and afterwards was spread over all the Dominions of the Incas, That the Indians sallying out one day to fight, all the Stones they threw, and the Arrows they shor, returned upon themselves, so that many of Colla were Rilled and wounded by their own Weapons, which retorted against their own Breasts; the which sabulous report we shall relate more at large hereaster. With this great destruction and mortality the Collaons being affitighted, especially their Caracas, and fearing that greater evils would be the effect of their obstinacy, resolved to submit; and accordingly disposing their People in several Squadrons, or Bands, they marched orderly to crave Mercy. In the first place went the Children, next sollowed the Mothers, then the old Men, and then the Satuldiery, with their Cautains and Commanders, and last of all the Cabtrit place went the Children, next followed the Mothers, then the old Men, and then the Souldiery, with their Captains and Commanders, and last of all the Captains with their Captains with their Captains with their Captains with their hards bound, and halters about their necks, as a sign that they had deserved death, for having resisted the Children and Family of the Sun; and to make their huttiliation the more formal, according to the custome of Pern, they walked descaled, or bare-soot, for greater reverence to that Majesty or Deity which they went to adore.

#### CHAP. III.

The Collaons upon Surrender are received to Pardon, the Fable is explained.

THE feveral foundrons prefenting themselves before the Inca, with all humility proffrated themselves to the ground before him, and with loud accla-

THE feveral fquadrons prefenting themselves before the *Inca*, with all humility prostrated themselves to the ground before him, and with loud acclarations saluted him by the stile of the Son of *Phabius*, which ceremony being performed by the Commonalty, the *Curacus* followed next, who having made their humble reverence after the salhion of their Countrey, they begged his Majesty's Pardon for the citines and offences they had committed against him; but in case it were his pleasure that they should be put to death, at least that he would be pleased to forgive the multitudes of those poor Souldlers, who being seduced by their ill example, had been persuaded to raise Arms against his Majesty's and that he would be pleased also to extend his Mercy farther to the Women, and to the old Men and Children, who having no part in the guilt of the Rebellion, were objects of his Compassion, but as for them, they were at his seet, ready to receive the Sentence he should pass upon them in farisfaction for all the others.

The *Inca* when he received them, was sitting in his Chair, encompassed with his Men of War, and having heard the Speech of the *Curacus*, commanded that they should be loosed from their bonds, and the halters taken from their necks, telling them, that he did not onely give them their Lives, but their Liberties also, and with gentle words assured them, That he came neither to deprive them of their Lives, nor of their Estates, but to doe them good, by teaching them to live according to the rules of Reason, and the Law of Nature, and that leaving their Idols, they should hencesonward adore the Sun for their onely God, by whose gratious command he had received them to pardon, and in testimony here of he did again confirm to them their Houses, Lands and Vassas, without other intent than onely to bestow savours and blessings on them, which should be proved by a long tract of experience to them and their posterity; and fo much, he said, the Sun had required him to communicate unto them, and therefore now they mi felves, and obey him, for that would be for the common good and benefit of them all: And for the better affurance of their Pardon, and evidence of the *Inca's* gratious Favour, he ordered that the *Curacus*, in behalf of all their People, thould accept the terms of Peace on their left knee; and be permitted the ho-

nour to touch his Person, that for ever after they might be acknowledged for his nour to touch his retion, that for ever and they might be action/redger for his Subjects, the which privilege was effected as a most condescending favour, be-Subjects; the which privilege was electriced as a most condending havour, because none under the degree of the Royal Bloud, or any other, without his own licence, could be admitted thereunto under a less penalty than that which is due for the offence of Sacrilege. In this manner the *Inca* giving testimony of his gratious and gentle mind, cleared the Curacas from all fuspicions of fear, who humtious and genue minus, cleared the curracia from an impetions of lear, who minu-bling themfelves to the Earth before him, promifed to be his faithfull Vafflist, for that having demonstrated fuch an unexemplary act of Mercy towards those that had deferved death; he did thereby give undeniable proofs of his descent from the Sun.

And now to explain the Fable in the preceding Chapter, it is faid, that the Captains of the *Inea* observing the boldness which the *Collams* every day used by their obstinate refiltence, gave orders to their Souldiers to treat them with all rigour, and subdue them with Fire and Sword, for that their bold attempts against the Inea were no longer tolerable. The Collegen making their utilal Sallies in a fierce and enraged manner, cast themselves without desence or order on the Weafierce and enraged manner, cast themselves without desence or order on the Weapons of their Eiremies, who receiving their attempt with more Martial discipline, killed the greatest part of them, and in regard the Souldiers of the Inea had untill now rather dallied than sought in earnest with them, being desirous to save their Lives, and reduce them without bloud; did at length use their best endeavours to subdue them by violence, which took such effect upon them, and with such ruine and slaughter, that the Collisons believed the Report which the Ineas made of this bargel, That their destruction was not performed by their Arms, but by the power of the Sun, who, in punishment for their obstinacy and rebellion, caused their own Weapons to be turned upon themselves; to the belief of which the graduates and supple toldient being easily personal to were further thereby adone. their own vycapons to be tained upon themselves, to the belief of which the credulous and fimple *Indian* being ealily perfunded, were farther thereby admonified by the *Inc.u.*, and the *Amantus*, their Philotophers, how dangerous it was to fight againft the Sun, who was their God, and difobey the *Inc.u.*, who were his Children.

#### CHAP. IV.

How three Provinces were reduced, and others conquered, what Colonies were planted, and the punishment of those who used Poison.

This Fable, with the great fame and applicate which the Piety and Clemency of the King had gained, was divulged through all the neighbouring Countries of Hatunpacaffa, where these things were acted, and caused so much love and admiration amongst those People, that they voluntarily submitted to the Inca, Majta Capac, whom they acknowledged to be a true Child of the Sun, and therefore came to adore and serve him; amongst which three Provinces especially were worthy of note, namely, Canquicura, Mallama and Huarina, (where afterwards that Battel was sought between Gonçalo Picarro and Diego Centeno,) being all of them ountries large in extent, rich in Cattle, and powerfull with the numbers of warlise People. These being received into grace and favour, the Inca veryiffed of warlike People. These being received into grace and favour, the *lnea* repassed the River towards *Cosco*; and from *Hatun Colla* sent an Army, under Command of his four Generals, towards the Western parts, ordering them, that having passed the desolate Countrey of *Hatunpuna*, (the borders of which *Lloque Tup.tuqui* had once stocked with Cattle), they should proceed towards the People on the other fide, who inhabit the Coast of the Sea of Zur, and should try all fair

means to reduce them, and though they should find some so obstinate and pertinacious, as not to be prevailed with by any terms of friendly accommodation: nacious, as not to be prevailed with by any terms of friendly accommodation; yet notwithstanding that they should not presently break into open Hostility with them, being assured, that what opposition soever the barbarous people made, it would be more disadvantageous, and of loss to themselves, than their voluntary submission could prove of benefit to the Inea. With these Instructions, and great supplies of Provisions, which they daily gathered in their march, they passed the showy Mountain with the more difficulty, because they found no path to guide them, travelling for the space of at least thirty Leagues, through an unpeopled, and a most desolate Country; at length they came to the Province Cnechuna, which was well inhabited, though they lived not in Towns or Villages, but scattered over the Country, where every one was most placeful to raise him. peopled, and a most desolate Countrey; at length they came to the Province Cuchuna, which was well inhabited, though they lived not in Towns or Villages, but scattered over the Countrey, where every one was most pleased to raise his Cottage. The Natives being allarmed with the approach of this Army, built a Fortress, and retired into it with their Wives and Children; the place was so weak, that it might easily have been forced; but the Income in obedience to their King, encompassed it with their Army, and offered them conditions of Peace and Friendship; all which they refused, and for the space of above fifty days persisted in their obstinate Resolution; during which time the Incom had frequent opportunities to have destroyed them; but the orders of their King, and their former Customs and Principles of Mercy and Gentleness forbad them to make use of the advantages which offered. Howsoever at length Famine, the usual destroyer of the besieged, began to rage amongst them, having not had time to make their provisions for a Siege, which they could not imagine would have endured so long; but being much distressed by Hunger, which the Men and Women more easily suffered than their Children, were forced at length to permit the younger fort to adventure abroad, and gather the herbs of the stell for their sufference; many of them fled to the Enemy, which the Parents more willingly suffered, than to see them die with hunger before their faces. The Incom scizing those that were sent abroad, gave them to eat, with some Provisions to carry with them to their Parents, and with the same occasion offered the usual and accustomary terms of Peace and Friendship. The Indiana observing this kind treatment, and being without all expectation of Succour, resolved to commit themselves to the Mercy of their Enemies, concluding, that if they were so patiently and Pleasure: With these hopes they left their Fortress, and furnended all to the Command of the Incom; nor were they deceived in their expectations, for all kind and friendly rece perience, Garments, and other Prefents, were given to the most principal Commanders of them, in the name of the *Inca*; and the common fort being feasted, at leaft their present hunger satisfied, they were all dismissed, and sent to their own homes with entire contentment and affured fecurity.

The Generals after this diffeeded Intelligence to the *Inea* of all that had paffed, desiring that People might be sent them for planting two Colonies in that Countrey; for in regard the soil was rich and fruitfull, it was capable to maintain a considerable number of People; and that it would be requisite also to establish a Garison in those parts, both for security of the late Conquests, as also for prevention of such mischiest as may arise for the siture. The *Inea* accordingly sent them Women with their Children, sufficient for two Colonies, one of which they planted at the soot of the Mountain, where the Fortress was built, which they called Cuchum, after the name of the Mountain, and the other Mopuchus, which People are distant five Leagues one from the other, and the Provinces conserve still their denomination, being within the Jurisdiction of Collison. Whilst these Commanders were buffed in regulating these People, and giving orders for heir instruction in Religion and Laws, they came to understand that these Indians were notoriously skilled in the arts of posioning, which was not so deadly as to kill presently, but with time reduced the body to a languishing and macerated

condition; fuch as were of fo strong a Constitution, as to resist the Poison and live; were yet rendred loathsome by botches and boils, which broke from their Bodies, and became overspread with a white Leprosie, nor did it onely affect their Bodies, but their Minds also, making them sools, or stupid, or else mad and raving; which were all pleasant effects to the revengesual adversaries, though non-thing could be more grievous and heavy to their Parents and Relations. The Captains being informed of this evil which was amongst this People, gave advice thereof unto the mea, who thereupon immediately commanded, that whosoever should be found guilty of that Crime, should be burnt alive, that no reliques or memory should remain of them. This Law of the Inca was so joysfully received by the Natives, that they themselves gave information against the Criminals, and readily with their own hands executed the Sentence, burning not onely the Offenders, but whatsoever moveables also were found in their Houses, which they demolished, and laid level with the ground: With them also they burnt their Flocks and Herds, rooted up the Trees which they had planted, and destroyed every thing that they possessed by the Natives, that they never after dust more attempt this wickedness, during the time of the Incas; though so son as the Spaniard came amongst them, they revived this evil again, which till then was out of use, and forgotten. The Captains having in this manner settled their Plantations, and reformed this abuse by the rigorous punishment of the Delinquents, they returned to Cozco, to render a more large account to the Incas of their Negotiations, who gratiously received them, and gratified their good Services with due Rewards.

#### CHAP. V.

The Inca gains three Provinces, and conquers after a bloudy Battel.

A Free some years Maria Capae resolved to make another sally abroad for the Conquest of new Provinces, for the Coverousness and Ambition of the Inca increased with his Dominions and Success. Wherefore having raised his Army, and supplied them with sufficient Provisions, they marched towards Pneara of Dinasping, which were the most remote, or last, People which his Grand-Father (or as some will have it) his Father had reduced. From Pneara he bended his course Eastward, to that Province which they call Lluricass where the Natives surrendred themselves without resistence, being much contented to receive the Inca for their Lord and Master. Then he proceeded to the Province called Sancavan, which submitted with the like readiness and facility; for the Fame of the Inca being now spread over all Countries, and the great Honours atchieved by the Father and Grand-Father of this Prince being the common discourse, so moved the Nations in all adjacent parts, that with unanimous consent they ran to embrace those conditions of Vasslage which the Inca should impose upon them. These two Provinces are about sifty Leagues in length, and about twenty at one place, and thirty another in breadth, and are both populous, and abounding with Cattle. The Inca having given orders for instructing the Natives in the doctrine of his Idolatrous Religion, and regulated the civil Assairs, passed forwards to the Province of Pacassairs.

down before him with fuch Obedience and Veneration, as was agreeable to one whose birth and descent was from the Sun.

This Province is part of that which we have already mentioned to have been reduced by Lloque Yupanqui, so that now by the Father and Son this Countrey, reduced by Lloque Tupanqui, to that now by the Father and Son this Countrey, which contained many People, was entirely fubjected. Hence entering upon the Royal Way of Tonafforu, they marched towards that People, which to this day is called by the name of Huayebu, where they received intelligence, that a great number of People were affembled in a Body to oppose him in his paffage, the which report rather haltened than retarded the march of the Inca in purfection of the Inca in purfe fuite of his Enemies, whom he first encountred at Huychu, where they appeared fuite of his Enemies, whom he hitt encountred at Higher, where they appeared in defence of a pafs on that River, so called, and were about thirteen or fourteen thousand in number, all of them Indians, bearing arms, and though they were of divers Nations, yet they called themselves by the common appellation of Cola. The Inc., according to his usual Method, sent frequent Messages to of Colla. The Inca, according to his utual Method, fent frequent Medlages to the Enemy, offering them terms of Peace and Friendhip, which were all rejected by them, and interpreted to be effects of fear; and thence took fuch reouragements, that they daily became more inflexible, and at length fo daring, and impudent, as to attack the very Royal Quarters of the Inca; notwithfanding which, the Inca perfifted with fuch patience in his forbearance, that his Soulding which, the Incar perfifted with fuch patience in his forbearance, that his Soulding which the Incar perfit of the Incar to Incare began to murmur, and fay, That it was no longer tolerable to permit those Barbarians to infult over the Majesty of him who was descended from the Sun, nor could their infolence bedonger supported, without losing that Reputation which

they had formerly acquired.

Howfoever the Jaca endeavoured to moderate the displeasure of his People, by

they had formerly acquired.

Howfoever the Inca endeavoured to moderate the displeasure of his People, by telling them, that it had been the custome of his Ancestours, and the Command of his Father the Sun, whose design was to doe good unto the Indians, to save their Lives, and advance their wellsare, and not break immediately into War and Bloud, but rather to expect with patience, and see whether they would come to any sight or knowledge of that good which was designed for them. With such fair words as these the Inca for some days restrained the sury of his Captains from engaging with the Enemy, untill one day being importuned by his Souldiers, and moved by the infolence of his Enemies, who pressed had upon him, he gave order to put his Army in Array, and provide for a Battel.

The Incas, who greatly desired to sight, readily entred the Field, and the Enemy, who had often provoked them to an Engagement, as willingly joined, so that the Fight began, and was maintained on both sides with great heat and courage, one part (as they imagined) contending for their Liberty, resolving to submit to none, though he were of the Race and Offspring of the Sun, and the other, not supporting such insolent obstinacy towards their King, were animated to contend unto the utmost in desence of his Honour and Dignity. The Collust notwithstanding sought with great Courage and Resolution, but yet with so little Art or Discipline, that like desperate Men, they threw themselves on the Weapons of their Enemies, which occasioned great flaughter amongst them. The Battel continued the whole day, in which the Incas behaved himself like a great Captain, some time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again ventual himself like a great Captain, some time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again ventual himself like a great Captain, some time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again ventual himself like a great captain, some time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again ventual himself like a great captain. Captain, fome time ordering and encouraging his Squadrons, and again venturing his Person in the midst of his Enemies, and in both Offices deserved the merit of a good Souldier.

CHAP

#### CHAP VI

Royal Commentaries.

The Anaychines yield themselves, and are Gratiously receined to Pardon.

OF the Collagon (which is the common Name of these people) were killed F the Collabors (which is the common Name of thele people) were killed according to their own account, fix thousand in this Battel; the which slaughter was chiefly occasioned by their own unskilfulness; and want of art to defend themselves; when, on the other side, by reason of their Discipline in War, there perished not above five hundred: Howsever, the Battel was sought with such courage, that it ended not untill the darkness of the night separated both parties, and caused them to retire to their respective quarters: The day following the Collabors viewing the heaps of their dead, and seeling the sinart of their wounds now cold, began to droop, and lofe all their former hopes and courage, not knowing what course or resolution to take; for to overcome, and fight their way through Ing what confie or refolution to take; for to overcome, and fight their way through their Enemies, was impossible, and to escape by slight was equally as difficult, being encompassed on all sides by their Enemies; and to surrender and yield to Mercy seemed dangerous, for having already refused those advantageous Conditions which the lines had profered; and having provoked him to anger by their obstinate resistence, they seared, lest they had put themselves beyond all hopes or expectations of pardon. Howstoever, in this perplexed condition, they embraced the counsel of the most aged and wisest amongst them, which was to yield and invoke the Clemency of the Prince; for having heard the report of that Mercy which this lines, after the example of his Ancestours, had used towards all, as well towards Rebels, as to the obedient, they conceived some hopes, that they also might brow the effects of his natural compassion. Wherefore to soon as it was thight prove the effects of his natural compaffion. Wherefore to foon as it was day, they attired themselves in the most penitent and humble manner that they were able; the attires of their heads were put off, their feet bare, and no other garment on their bodies, than their Shirts; their Captains and Leaders appeared with their hands bound, and in this humble pofture they proceeded with filence to the Gates, where the Inca was quartered; and there kneeling down before him. they faid, That they came not to ask his pardon, for that they well knew, that their offence and rebellion had put them befides all hopes of obtaining it; onely they were before him to prefer themselves to the Swords of his Souldiers, that their Bloud might expiate their Rebellion, and serve for caution and example to other Nations, how they resisted or disbeyed him whose Father was the Sun.

In answer whereunto the Inva commanded one of his Captains to tell them

in his Name, that his Father the Sun had not fent him on the Earth to kill or deftroy the Indians, but on the contrary had commanded him to fuccour, comfort and doe them good; and that teaching them to reform their bettial manner of life, he should instruct them in the true Religion and Worship of the Sun, who was their God: To which end, and to no other purpose (for he the Sun, who was then God: To which end, and to no other purpole (for he frood in no need of their fervice) he travelled from Countrey to Countrey, that he might publish these Laws and Ordinances of rational Government amongst them, which he had received from his Father the Sun: And as the pious Off-spring of such a Father, he received them to pardon, though their Rebellion deserved punishment, of which his intercellion on their behalf with his Father the Sun, had procured a release; conditionally, that for the surure they should reform their Manners, and obey the Sun, under whole Laws and Protection they might expect all blessing of two services of the surgiciar order most. all bleffings of prosperity and repose. With this answer he commanded that they should be cloathed, and care taken of the wounded, and all of them feasted and refreshed with provisions; and with such entertainment dismissing them to their own homes, they acknowledged that Rebellion was the cause of all their mischief, and that Submission and Obedience was by the Clemency of the Inca their onely

remedy.

BOOK III.

How many other People were reduced; and in what manner the Inca made a Bridge of Ofiers.

THE News of this bloudy battel was foon spread over all the Neighbouring Countries, and every-where interpreted as a just judgment tent from the Sun on the Indians, who had refused his beneficial conditions, and disobeyed the Inca; on the mann, who had returned his beneficial conditions, and another the man, on which apprehension many of those people, who had taken up Arms, and formed their Camp with intent to oppose the mea, did now lay aside their thoughts of War, resolving to submit and depend on the Clemency of the Mea, who accor-Way, relolving to lubmit and depend on the Clemency of the Meas, Who accordingly received them with grace and favour, prefenting them with Vefts, and other gifts, with which the Indians remained greatly fatisfied, and in every place published the Incas to be the true and undoubted off-fpring of the Sun,

The people which were thus reduced, were the Inhabitants from Huspehn to Callamara, which is thirty Leagues to the Southward. Hence the Inca proceeded from Callamara, twenty four Leagues farther, by the high-way of Charcas to Cara-

collo, Summoning all the Natives to his fervice both on one hand, and the other as far as to the Lake of Paria; thence taking a compass to the Eastward as far as Antis, he came at length to that Vally, which to this day is called Chiquiam, which in the common tongue is as much as to lay, the principal or chief Lance; in which division he planted several Colonies, because he had observed, that those nn which divinion he planted reveral Colonies, becaute he had observed, that those Valleys being fruitfull and warm, were a better Soil for producing Mayz (or Indian Wheat) than any of those Provinces within the Precincts of Colla. From the Vale of Caracatu he continued his March Eastward, to the skirts of the great Snowy Mountain of Ania, which is above thirty Leagues distant from the Royal way of Umasuyu.

In these Marches, and in the employment he had of settling Colonies, and conflituting Laws and Government in his new Conquests, the Inca spent three years, and then returned again to Cozco, where he was received with expressions of joy and acclamation. And having there reposed two or three years more, he comand accumation. And having inter-tended two or time years most promanded, that preparations should be made against the next Spring, both of Men and Provisions, for a new Conquest; for his active mind not suffering him to sit idle, moved him to enterprize something in the Countrey of Consistent, which is to the West of Cozeo, containing many great and large Countries under it: And because they were to pass the River called Apurimae, he commanded a Bridge to be made for transporting his Army; for framing of which, because it was a thing as yet new and unknown, he consulted with the most ingenious Indians in the contrivance; and because it was the first Bridge of Osiers that was ever made in Pern, I shall describe the manner how it was made; not agreeing with the Writers of Pern, who tell us Stories of Bridges made of Feathers, but omit to declare the manner and fashion of them.

the manner and fathion of them.

In making this Bridge they twifted, or weaved, great quantities of Ofiers together, which are not of the fame fort which we have in Spain, but of a more fine and pliable Sprig: Of three Ofiers they made one Twift for the length, and another for the breadth which the Bridge was to be; to thefe Twifts of three Ofiers, they added another of nine, and weaved three of thefe together, fo that it came to be twenty feven Ofiers in thickness; and fo they went on Weaving in this manner, till it came to be as thick as a Man's body, and of this fort they made for the specific projects.

Having thus prepared their Bridge, some Indians either swam or serried themselves over on a Float to the other side, carrying with them the end of a small Cord, which was faltned to a Baffe-rope, made of Ruthes, called by the Indians Chahuar; this Rope or Gord was tied to the end of one of the twined or matted pieces, and by the force of many hands they drew it over to the other fide of the Ri-

ver, as are also the other four; all which they strained very hard, by help of the Rocks on the other fide; and where they found not the convenience of Rocks. there they drove in Stakes, or cut into Quarries of Stone, as strong and stable as there diev drove in Stakes, or cut into Quarries of Stone, as throng and thable as the Rock it felf. The Bridge of Aparimac, which is now in the King's High-way of Cozco, is fixed on one fide to a living Rock, and on the other fide to a Pillar hewed out of a Quarry. These thores or supports of the Bridge are made with great holes and trunnels, through which the Ropes pass; and for strengthing them the better, they are fortified with Walls on each fide; through this hollowness of the Rock five or fix Beams are crossed from one Wall to the other, and placed one above the other, like the steps of a Ladder; on each of these ther, and placed one above the other, met the treps of a Ladder; on each of there Beams they give a turn of the Rope belonging to the feveral pieces, which are Matted with Ofiers, and strain them as hard as by a Capstone, so that the Bridge may not fink with its own weight: Howsover, this Bridge is not so tight, but that it finks in the middle, whereby those who pass it descend at first, and afterwards mount again, untill they come to the end, so that it remains in the fashion of a Bow; nor is it so firm, but that it shakes as often as the Wind blows harder than ordinary.

Royal Commentaries.

Three of these thick matted pieces were laid one on the other for the sloor and foundation of the Bridge, and the other two ferved for the Rails or Walls on each fide: the floor they covered with thin Boards, which they laid croßways, fo that the length of the Board took the whole breadth of the Bridge, being about two Yards: the Boards ferved to strengthen the matted pieces, and ing about two Yards: thele Boards ferved to ftrengthen the matted pieces, and keep them from being fuddenly worn out; and also they were crossed with Rims or Ledges of Wood, which served to keep the seet of the Beats, which passed from slipping: the Rails or Walls of the Bridge were greatly fortisted with thin Boards, close tied to the matted pieces, which served to strengthen it in that manner, that both Man and Beats might pass securely over it. This Bridge of Apurimac, which is the most considerable of any, is about two hundred paces in length. For my own part, I cannot say that I ever measured it, but that discoursing thereof with some in Spain, they affured me that the length was rather more than less, and that several Spaniards had passed in horse-back, and some of them running, which thems perhaps more rashues than jurience, and less with the running, which flews perhaps more raffiness than prudence, and less wit than fear. This great Machine, which is begun onely with a Twift of three Oliers, tear. This great Machine, which is begun onely with a Twift of three Oliers, is at length brought to a mighty and flupendious work, and is more curious and wonderfull than I have been able to describe; the usefulness of it hath proved so great, that it hath been untill these days kept in repair at the publick charge, and not suffered to fall to decay like other greater Machines which the Spaniards sound in that Countrey. In the times of the Incus those Bridges were yearly repaired by the Neighbouring Provinces, which were appointed to provide the Materials, and pay the Workmen according to a Tax laid on them respectively, and proportioned to their nearness and ability; which also is in use to this day.

#### CHAP. VIII.

The Renown and Fame of this Bridge is the cause that many Nations Submit themselves.

THE Inca being informed that the Bridge was finished, commanded his Ar-my to meet at their rendezvous; which confishing of twelve thousand able Souldiers, under the Command of experienced Officers, he marched towards the Bridge, which he found well guarded against any attempt the Enemy could make to burn it: But instead thereof, the Indians of Peru, who to the very time that the *Spaniards* invaded them, were fo fimple as to admire any new invention, did K

now fland aftonished at the fight of this wonderfull Fabrick, and needed no other testimony and evidence to prove the Inca's descent from the Sun, than than prodigious and mysterious work, which (as they thought) nothing less than a Divine Power and Wifedom could prefent before their eyes. Such apprehending the state of the Spaniards, when they saw them sighting on sierce creatures, fuch as their Horses appeared to them, and to kill their Enemies at a distance of nucn as their fromes appeared to them, and to kin their enemies at a diltance of two or three hundred paces with Fire-arms, which they called Thunder and Lightning; and with the fame ignorant Spirit of admiration are they fill affected, as often as they behold any new invention not known to them before; as Mills to grind Corn, Oxen to Plow, and Bridges of Stone crecked in Rivers with Arches, which they fanfie to be placed and poised in the Air; and with altonishment of these and other things, they break out, and say, worthy are the Spaniards to be Masters of the Indians. And in the time of Masta Capac, the Indians being yet more simple than in these days, might well be strook with such admiration at the fight of this Bridge, that many Neighbouring Provinces needed no other argument than this to perfuade them to receive the Inca; one of which people was gument than this to perfuade them to receive the *Inca*; one of which people was called *Champivillea*, fituated in the Division of *Contiguy*, containing about twenty Leagues in length, and ten in breadth; all which received him as a person of high degree and merit, both for the greatness of his Birth, being descended from the Sun, and for the stupendious work which he had framed, and which none but a Divine Wisedom could contrive and accomplish, onely a fort of people alled *Pillili* made some weak resistence; for having encompassed a small sortess at the dread of the approach of the Enemy, they all crouded into it; but the *Inca* begitting them round, and sending his usual Summons, and gratious roundings. of Peace; in the space of twelve or thirteen days they all surrendred, and were of Peace; in the space of twelve or thirteen days they all surrendred, and were received to grace and pardon; and having settled this Province in a peaceable condition, he crossed the desolate part of Consispus, containing about fixteen Leagues, where he came to a Moor or Marish ground, of about three Leagues broad, which hindred the passage of his Army. Here the Inea commanded a Cawse-way to be made of great and small Stones, which they filled up with Earth, and covered with Turf: And for better expedition and encouragement of the transfer of the tran his people, the Inca himfelf worked, helping to raile and lay the greatest Stones; which to animated the Souldiers to labour, that in a few days they finished the Cawfe way, which was fix Yards broad, and two Yards thick; and i hich the Indians, even to these times, have in so great veneration; both because part of it was the proper handy-work of the *luca*, as also for the convenience and benefit was the proper handy-work of the *bica*, as allo for the convenience and benefit of it, whereby the way is made florter, when formerly with much labour and travel they were forced to take a large compass to avoid the Moorish Countrey: And for this reason they keep it still in good repair, so that scarce a Stone decays, or finks from it, but another is put into its place by the care and industry of the Surveyors, who are appointed, thereunto by the bordering people, who having severally their distinct divisions and parcels allotted to them, do endeavour strains the distinct of the convenience of the convenience and source. to out-vy each the other in confervation of that common benefit and convenience: the like rule is observed for maintenance of all other publick Works, fuch as Bridges and Royal Palaces, Fortresses, and the like. In making the Cawseway, the Turf they laid upon it was of great use; for it did not onely make the way fmooth, foft and easie, but also the Roots of the Grass extending themselves within the Stones, did greatly bind, and keep all close together.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. IX.

The Inca gains many other great Provinces, and dies in Peace.

THE Causeway being in this manner finished, the Inca, Maria Capac, vassed over it to the Province called Allca, and here he encountred the Indians of that Countrey in a warlike pofture, who being encouraged by the advantage of the pass, which they designed to defend, being such as was asperous, craggy, and horrid to behold, and even such as was difficult to Passengers to travell over, how much more must it be, when guarded and defended by armed Men; and yet such was the prudence and good conduct of the *Inca*, and his Military Art and Prowes, was the pluchee and good conduct of the *ma*, and his Military Art and Prowers, that though People were killed both on one fide and the other, that ftill he gained ground and advantage on the Enemy, which they with great admiration observing, did unanimously conclude, that the *Inca* was of the true Offspring of the Sun, and therefore was invincible, and on this vain belief with common confent refolved to submit, and accordingly received him as their Lord and King, promifing him all Loyalty and Obedience.

The Inca passing in a triumphant manner through this People, called Allca, pro-The heap patting in a trium hant manner through this People, called Alla, proceeded farther to other greater Provinces, whole Names are Taurifina, Cotahuaci, Punnatampu, Parihmuna Cocha, which fignifies the Lake of \* Pinguins; for in the part Bird in that Countrey which remains unpeopled, there is a great Lake, which the haliant Bird in that in their Language call Cocha, or the Sea, as they do all great Waters; and Purihuanis that fort of Bird, which abounding in that Province, gives the denomination to it, and is a Countrey rich, fertile and pleafant, and where great quantities of Cold aries, the Country by correction will be provided by the Country. Gold arise, the Spaniards, by contraction, call it Parina cocha. Pumatampu signifies a Den of Lions, Puma is a Lion, and Tampu a Den, because it is a Countrey

where many Lions are found.

BOOK III.

From Parihuina Cocha the Inca marched forward, and croffed the defolate Countrey of Coropuna, where is to be seen a most lofty and beautiful Pyramid of Snow, which the *Indians* most properly call *Hunca*, which amongst many other apt significations hath this of wonderfull; and indeed it seemed so great to the simplicity of the ancient *Indians*, that they adored and worshipped it for its Beauty and Eminence. Thence the Inca proceeded to the Province called Arani, which runs along as far as to the Vale of Arequepa, which, as Blas Valera affirms, fignifies a founding Trumpet.

All these Provinces and Nations Mayta Capac added to his Empire, with much ease to himself, and gentleness towards those he subdued; for they having generally heard of the difficulties the Inca had overcome, and the passages he forced generally neared of the difficulties the mea had overcome, and the panages he forced through inacceffible places, could not imagine, that fuch Actions as these were possible to be performed by any other than one of Divine Extraction, and descended from the Sun, by which opinion they chearfully submitted, and became proud of their subjection: In every of which Provinces he continued so long as was required, for the settlement of Affairs, and peace of the Government; and finding the state of the continued so the settlement of the that the Vale of Arequepa, was defolate, and without inhabitants, notwithstanding that it was a most fruitfull situation, and an Air pure, and serene, he therefore resolved to cause the Inhabitants of other parts less agreeable, which he had conquered to came the innabrants or other parts lets agreeable, which he had conquered to transplant themselves to this more commodious and happy soil; and such effect had his persuasions on the people, allured by the pleasures of that Climate, and the commodiousness of the Habitation, that not onely some Colonies of the conquered Countries, but also several of the natural Subjects of the Incatant pleasant Valley, which became the Original of sour or five distinct Nations, one of which is called Chimate and another Security and Development and Source of the Property of the Incatant Valley, which became the Original of Sour or five distinct Nations, one of which is called Chimate and another Security and Development Source of the Property of th of which is called Chimpa, and another Sucabusas. And having supplied all places with Governours, and necessary Officers, the Inca returned to Cosco, having in this fecond expedition spent three years time; during which, and the former in-

BOOK III.

vasion, he made an addition to his Empire, in the Division of Contigura onely, of almost ninety Leagues in length, and ten or twelve in breadth one way, and fifteen another way; all which tract of Land was contiguous, or adjoining to the other parts subjected to his power. The Inca returning home, was received at Cocco, with all the Festivity, Joy and Triumph imaginable, and mer with Songs and Musick, chanting out the praises of his mighty and heroick Actions. The Inca having rewarded his Souldiers with Presents agreeable to their merit, disbanded having rewarded his Souldiers with Pretents agreeable to their merit, disbanded his Army, it feeming sufficient for the present time the atchievements already made; and that now it was seasonable to give rest and repose from military actions, and attend to the Execution of the Laws, and to the Government of his Kingdom, a great part of which he considered to be the care of making provisions for Widows and Orphans, and other poor and disabled People; in which good works he passed all the remainder of his days; his Reign having continued for thirty Years, as is faid, but the truth is, there is so little credit to be given to Rethirty Years, as is faid, but the truth is, there is to little credit to be given to Reports of this nature, where are no Registers, or Letters, that we know not what to believe in the Case; onely this is certain, that he dyed full of Honour, and Trophies, having acquired a great name, both in War and Peace; and being much beloved and honoured. His Death was lamented with fincer grief by all, which, according to the Custome of the heast, continued for the space of a full Year. His Eldest Son, Capac Tupanqui, born of his Wise Manna Cuca, he less this Universal Heir of all, besides whom also he less other Sons, and Daughters as well, such as were legitimate, as fuch as were termed illegitimate.

## CHAP.

Capac Yupangui, the fifth Monarch, reduces many Provinces in the Division of Contisuvu.

THE Inca, Capac Tupanqui, (the interpretation of whole Name we have already declared amongst the proper Names of his Ancestors) after the death of his Father, bound his Head with the coloured Wreath, in token of his entrance into the possession of his patrimonial Inheritance, and having performed the Obflequies of his Father's Interment, he immediately took a Journey through all parts of his Dominions, making enquiry into the Behaviour and Lives of his Officers, and in what manner Juffice was administred amongst them. In this Progress he and in what manner Justice was administred amongst them. In this Progreß he passed two years, and then returned to Coeco, where he commanded that Souldiers should be levied, and Provisions made for the following Year, intending to extend his Conquests into those parts of Contisur, which lie Eastward from Coeco, where he was informed, that there were many and great Provinces, and abounding with People. For the more easie passes to those parts he ordered another bridge to be made over the great River of Apurimac, at that place which is called Huacachaca, below Accha, which was accordingly performed with all diligence, surpassing the former bridge in length and breadth, because the River was wider in those

In this manner the Inca departed from Cozco, attended with twenty thousand Men of War, and being come to the bridge, which was about eight Leagues Men ot War, and being come to the bridge, which was about eight Leagues from the City, through a rough and afperous way, three Leagues of which are a freep descent to the River, though in height it may not be perpendicular above half a League, and the ascent on the other side may likewise contain about three Leagues sarther. Having passed and this difficult way, they entred into the pleasant Country of Tanaharaa, which at that time contained thirty Nations, what those People were then, and how numerous, we have no certain account, onely we are affired, that the Inhabitants on that side, called Piii, so soon

as they heard of the approach of the Inea, came forth to meet him, both Men and as they heard of the approach of the Inea, came forth to meet him, both Men and Women, old and young, and with Songs and Mulick, Acclamations, and all things that might tellifie their Joy, they received him for their King, vowing all Obedience and Vassalage to his Person. The Inea on the other side received them with a gratious Eye, bestowing on them such Vests, or Garments, as were in the mode and sashion of his Court: Of this kind treatment the Pits sent advice to their Neighbours, being of the same Nation with them of Tandhuara, signing them to understand that the Inea had taken up his aboad amongst them, and that they had received him for their Lord and Master, according to which example of the Pitis, the Curacas of divers Nations came likewife in and submitted them-

The *Inca* received them all with his accustomed goodness, and as an evidence of his greater favour, he was defirous to shew himself to his People, and visit their Countrey, which contained about twenty Leagues in length, and about fifteen in breadth. From this Province of Yanahuara, he passed into another, called Armara, between which two there is a foace of ground wholly defolate and an appeared of about fifteen Leagues over. On the other fide of this defart, a great number of People were gathered into a body within a certain inclosed ground called *Mucanfa*, to ftop the paffage of the *luca*, and entrance into their Countrey, which contains thirty Leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, and is rich in Mines of Gold, Silver and Lead, and abounds in Cattle and People, and conflitted of at least eighty Nations, before they were reduced to the Obedience of the Inca.

At the Foot of this Inclosure the Inca commanded his Army to encamp, fo as to cut the Enemy off from all supplies, who being barbarous, and ignorant of War, had dispeopled all the Countrey, and gathered them into one body, not considering that by this means they were cooped up on all sides, and hemmed in, as it were in a Cage. The *lnea* continued feveral days in this manner, with an unwillingness to attack them, inviting them to submission with all fair terms and unwillingnels to attack them, inviting them to submission with all fair terms and proposals of Peace, and offering no other violence to them than to hinder them from provisions and sustenance; that so what Reason and Argument could not effect, Famine and Hunger might enforce. In this resolute condition the Indians remained for the space of a whole month, untill being constrained by the necessities of Famine, they sent Messensers to the Inca, giving him to understand, that they were ready to receive him for their King, and adore him, as the true Offspring of the Sun, conditionally, that he, on the Faith and Word of his Divine Progeny, promise, that so soon as they shall have yielded themselves to him, he will conquer and subject under his Imperial Command the neighbouring Province of Umassers, which being a numerous and walke People living upon Region and proposed themselves. of Umasuyu, which being a numerous and warlike People living upon Rapine and Spoil, did make frequent incursions to the very doors of their Houses, eating up spoil, did make requent incurions to the very doors of their Houles, eating up their provisions and paffures, and committing many other mischiefs and outrages; for which injuries they had often made War upon them, which ended in bloud and confusion on the one side and the other; and when at length Peace was made, and terms of accommodation agreed on, they suddenly broke out again into new violences, not considering the Faith and Promises they had given: Wherestone is pleased to avenge them of these Enemies, and restrain their incursions on them for the summer they would wised and adequated him for their program of their states. the future, they would yield, and acknowledge him for their Prince and Lord.

To this Proposal the Inca made answer by one of his Captains, That the design of his coming into those parts had no other aim than to relieve the oppreffed, and reclaim the barbarous Nations from that bestial manner of living, whereto they were accultomed, and that he might inftruct them in the Laws of Reason and Morality, which he had received from his Father the Sun; but as to the avenging them of their Enemies for the injulice and injuries they had done them, it was the Office and Duty of the *Inca* to perform; howfoever it became not them to impose conditions on the *Inca*, who was their Lord and Sovereign, and was to give rather than receive terms, and therefore that they should refer all their grie-vances to his Wifedom, who inheriting the justice of the Sun, his Father, was inclinable of himself to redress their Oppressions, and reduce their Enemies to terms of Reason and Justice.

With this Answer the Ambassadours returned; and the day following all the Indians that were retired within the inclosure to the number of above twelve thouand fighting men, with their Wives and Children to about thirty thousand souls, came forth, and in feveral Divisions presented themselves on their knees before

BOOK III.

the Inca, professed themselves to be his Slaves and Vassals, and in testimony thereof offered unto him Gold, and Silver, and Lead, and whatsoever else was the product of their Countrey. The Inca receiving them with his accustomed Goodness,
ordered that meat should be given them to satisfie their present hunger; and likewise provisions for their journey, that so they might all return to their respective
Habitations lest they should faint by the way, and want due refreshment and care
in their Travel.

## CHAP. XI.

The Conquest of those of Aymara: The Curacas are received to Pardon: Marks are set up for boundaries on the Consines.

THese People being sent home to their respective dwellings, the Inca proceeded to another rate of the first sent the first sent to their respective dwellings, the Inca proceeded to another rate of the first sent to their respective dwellings, the Inca proceeded to another rate of the first sent to their respective dwellings, the Inca proceeded to the first sent to their respective dwellings. ded to another part of the same Province of Aymara, called Huaquirea, which even to this day contains two thousand Families; from thence he dispatchwhich even to this day contains two thousand Families; from thence he dispatched Messengers to summon the Caciques, or Lords of Umasym to appear before him; for that being descended from the Sun, he claimed it as his Prerogative, to hear and decide the differences between them and their Neighbours of Amara, about the pasturage, and places where they seed their Cattle: and that residing now in Huaquirca he expected their coming thither, so that he might impose Laws and Rules of Reason on them, whereby to measure their actions, that they might not like brute Beasts destroy one the other, for causes of so similar import or moment, as that of pasturage, since it was evident that the Countrey was large, and the grounds abounding with Grass, sufficient to feed the Flocks both of one and the other People. The Curracus, or Chiefs of Umasym, being assembled together to consult of this common concernment, gave this general answer, That they had no business with the Inca, so as to oblige them to repair to his place of Residence, but if he had any occasions for them, that he should seek them within their own Territories, where they were ready to attend and receive him with Arms in their but if he had any occasions for them, that he should seek them within their own Territories, where they were ready to attend and receive him with Arms in their hands, whether the Sun were his Father, or not, they did neither know nor care, and if he were, yet the Sun was no God of theirs, for they had natural Gods of their own, whose Protection and goodness they had so well proved, as not to change them for any other: That the Inca might below his Laws and Ordinance on his own Subjects, for that they would accept of none which restrained them from a liberty of taking that, to which their Arms and Power gave them a right and title; and by the same Arms they would defend themselves and their Countrey against any who should dare to disturb them in their Peace and enjoyment. This, they said, was all the answer that they would give, and that in case the This, they faid, was all the answer that they would give, and that in case the Inca required any other, he should appear in the field, and decide the controverse Inca required any other, he should appear in the field, and decide the controversie like a valiant Souldier. The Inca, Capac Tupanyan, entering into consultation with his principal Officers, upon this answer of those of Tupasyan, agreed and concluded, that the success of this War depended on dispatch, and therefore that they should without delay make an attempt upon them, the suddenness of which would fo distract and confound them, that the surprise and the treal hurt, would affright them into submission; for that it being a Law and Maxime of the first Inca, Massoc Gupac, and from him derived to all his Royal Posterity to spare the bloud of the Indians, and gain them by all arts and contrivance of Gentleness and Invitation; and that War and Force were to be the last remedies: In consideration of which, Capac Tupanyani thought fit to make use of this Strategeme, commanding eight thousand select Men of his Army to march day and and night into the Province of *Umafigu*, so that by the speedines of their march they might surprise the Enemy, who did not expect the motion of so great a body in less than the space of a whole month; but seeing them already in the midst of their Countrey with a slying Army, and the groß Body on their march towards them, and considering that it was impossible for them to assemble so soon together, as to make a head sufficient to result; began to repent of their pertinacious answer.

Royal Commentaries.

them, and confidering that it was impossible for them to assemble to soon together, as to make a head sufficient to resist, began to repent of their pertinacious answer; and now laying asset the thoughts of War, the Curacas with speed and haste assembled together from all parts, resolving that the onely expedient in that exigency was to ask pardon, and mercy for their late offence; so that one after the other, as they chanced to come in, prostrated themselves before the suca, acknowledging him for a true Child of the Sun, and as such they sover and vowed unto him all

Faithfulness and Obedience.

The bica, contrary to the expectation of the Curacas, who expected nothing less than death, or punishment, received them with a grations Clemency; telling them by one of his Captains, that when he considered their Barbarity, and that they were wholly ignorant of all kind of Morality, he did not admire at their refusal to accept his Religion, and the lenity of his government, being affured that when they shall have once learned and proved those things which conduce to humane Life, they will bless the hour in which they were persuaded to forstake chose their Idols, which were formed in the similitude of Beasts, and vile Creatures, and capable of nothing but contempt; wherefore now he commanded them, that in every thing they should resign themselves with implicite Faith, and entire Obedience to the Religion, Laws and Government which the bica and his Ministers should impose upon them, for such was the pleasure of the Sun his Father.

dence to the Religion, Laws and Government which the *Inea* and his Ministers should impose upon them, for such was the pleasure of the Sun his Father.

The *Corraeas* with most prosound humility answered. That they did promise and vow to acknowledge no other God than the Sun, nor no other King than the *Inea*, whose Laws and Ordinances being sounded on Reason and Justice, were the best Rules whereby to make his Subjects happy. The *Inea*, in favour and honour to these his new Subjects, settled his Court for a while in the Province of *Chirirqui*, which is the chief and capital Seat of this People; at which place informing himself of the situation and position of their pasturages; and of the Causes and Original of the differences arising between these People and their Neighbours, did after mature consideration determine where the confines of each Countrey should be limitted; and in testimony thereof caused heaps of Stones to be thrown up at such places, where he thought fit, to remain for Boundaries and Marks to distinguish the Lands of one People from the other; the which Land-marks are to this day conserved, and continued in great Veneration, because they were the first of that Nature, which had been raised in *Peru* by order of the *Inea*.

The Curaeas of both Provinces being entirely fatisfied with this Sentence and Determination of the Ineas, with profound humility kilfed his Hands, and returned to their respective abodes, whilft the Inea in the mean time visited at his leis fure the chief places of both these Provinces, that so he might settle his Government, and establish his Laws amongst them, after which not judging it fit to proceed farther in his Conquests, though his Prosperity and Success was greatly inviting, he returned back again to Cozeo, where he entred in this triumphant manner into his Imperial City. First the Curaeas and Nobles of the two late reduced Provinces, who came out of curiosity to see the Imperial Seat, carried the Ineas on their Shoulders in a Chair of Gold, in token of their servitude and subjection, the Souldiers marched before in their military order, their Captains, and Chiefs followed immediately after the Chair; every Squadron keeping its due order, according to its degree of precedency, the which was allotted them according to their Seniority, the new Conquests giving place to the more ancient subjects: and thus the triumph being ranked in this order, the whole City concurred to the solemnity, going forth according to their usual manner, to meet and receive their Ineas with Mussick, and Songs, and all Festivity.

BOOK III.

#### CHAP. XII.

The Inca fends to Conquer the Quechuas, who with great willingnels lubmit themselves.

THE Inca having for four years attended onely to the administration of his Government, and the benefit of his Subjects, thought it not fit to spend more time in quietness and ease, lest his Souldiers living in peace and repose, should grow refty and luxurious, and forgetfull of their Military Discipline; wherefore he commanded, that the Souldiery should be in a readiness, and Pro-

72

visions made for War against the following year.

And now the time of entring into the Field being come, he appointed his Brother Augus Titu for his Captain-General and four other Incas of his nearest relations, who were well practifed in the affairs both of War and Peace, to be Maior-Generals, every one of which had an equal share of 5000 Men committed to his charge, and all five of them in joint commission commanded the Army: The nis charge, and an inve or them in joint communion commanded the Array: The defign was to carry on that Conqueft which they had already begun in the Division of Contifurn; and for a good beginning and omen to their future proceedings, the Inca was pleafed in perfon to accompany them as far as to the Bridge of Huacachaca; where having recommended to them the example of his Ancestours as the control of the College of Children and the control of the College of Children and the control of the College the pattern for them to follow, he returned again to his City of Cozco.

The General, with his other Commanders, entred into the Province called Cotapampa, where they were met by the Lord thereof, accompanied with one of his Kinfinen, who likewife commanded another Countrey called Cotanera, and both of them Natives of *Queebna*. The Cariques having intelligence that the *Incahad* fent an Army into their Countrey, affembled together, and unanimously refolved to receive him, as their King and Lord, with all readiness; for having many days expected and defired his coming, they all upon news of his approach went forth with Songs and Dances to meet the Inca, Anqui Titu, making great demonstrations of joy and contentment, one of them in behalf of all the rest, expressing himself in this manner: Inca Apu, (which signifies General) thou art welcome, because thou art here to give the a new Being, and a new Title of being Servants and Subjects to that great Prince, who derives his Pedigree from the Sun: And because that thou art his Brother, we honour and adore thee; giving thee to understand, that hadst thou not come in a short space to have reduced us to this Service of the Inca, we were all resolved to 90 the next year unto COZCO, there to have owned and acknowledged our selves for Servants of your King, befeeching him to receive us under his mighty defence and protection; for the fame of those great atchievements and miraculous actions performed by this Off spring of the Sun both in War and Peace, have affected su with fuch wonder and love towards him, that every day scems a year, untill we enjoy the bonour and privilege of being his Subjects: And indeed hereby we promise our selves the happiness of being delivered from the Tyrannies and Cruelties with which our Neighbours of Chanca and Hancohualla have for many years from the times of our Ancestours and Foresathers most grievously vexed and oppressed is; and fo if thou wilt receive us under thy protection, our defires will be fulfilled, and our happinels confummated, and may thy Father the Sun evermore defend and preferve thee. Having faid these things, they made their Obeisance to the Inca and his Generals, delivering a great quantity of Gold to be fent as a prefent to the *lnea* their Sovereign. This Province of *Compampa*, after the War of *Gonçalo Piçarro*, was the portion allotted to Don Pedro Luss de Cubrert, a Native of Seville, and the Province Gonera, and another called Humanipalipa, of which we thall have occasion hereafter to speak, was the possession of my Master Garciasso de la Fega, and was the fectord Dividend which was made in *Peru*; and of the first we shall speak in its due place. In answer hercunto the General *Aqui Tiu*, and his Captains, replied in the name of the Inca; that both their defires and affectionate expressions towards them were very acceptable, and to obliging, that they promifed to recount every fyllable of them to the Majesty of their Inca, who, no doubt, but would remain so sensible of their good will, that he would not omit to make surable returns in the same, if not in a higher degree, than he had towards others. autable returns in the table, it has a major tagger, that he are work should have the honoir to reach the Ears of the hoas, and therefore every day gave new testimonies of their affection, by their readiness to execute what Commands soever the Captains imposed upon them. And having left in this place such instructions as were convenient for the orderly government thereof; they proceeded to another Province called Huamampallpa, which yielded it felf without any contradiction or opposition whatfoever. Thence the Incas passed a River which divides the two Provinces by two or three streams, which afterwards a little lower falling in together, make that famous River of Amancas.

that tamous kiver of Amancay.

One of those streams passes thorough Chiquiinea, where the Battel was sought between Francisco Hernandez Giron, and the Mareschal Don Alonso de Alvarado; and some years bestere, on the very same place, a Battel was sought between Don Diego de Almagro, and the said Mareschal; in both which Don Alonso de Alvarado was overthrown, as we shall recount in its due place, if God gives us life to arrive so far in this History. Thus the Incas continued their progress in reducing the Countries both on one fide and the other of this River Amancas; which though they be many in number, yet they are all contained under the common appellation of *Quechna*, which abounds with Gold and Cattel.

## CHAP. XIII.

Many Plains and Vallies by the Sea-coast are reduced, and the Sin of Sodomy punished.

Such Orders being given and eftablished as were requisite for the better government and administration of affairs in the conquered places, they proceeded into the desolate Countrey of Huallaripa, which is a defart much famed for the great quantities of Gold extracted thence, and where much more remains to be ftill digged; and having croffed one fide of the defart for about 35 Leagues, they descended into those Plains which run along by the Sea-coast: All this Countrey by the Sea-coast, the Indians call Tunca, which is as much as to say, the Hot Countrey, under which name are comprehended all the Vallies which border on the Sea; and the *Spaniards* call the Low grounds Vallies, which are watered by the ftreams that fall from the Mountains; for in that Countrey, that part is onely habitable which lyes towards the Sea; all the reft being dry, is nothing but dead and barren Sands, where grows neither Graß, nor Herb, nor any thing for the fustenance of Mankind.

On that fide, by which the Incas passed into those Plains, lyes the Vale of Hacari, which is wide, rich and well peopled, and which in times past contained 20000 Indians; all which with much willingness submitted to the obedience and fervice of the Inca. This Vale of Hacari led them into other Vales called Vuinna, Camana, Caravilli, Pitta, Quellea, and others, which run for the space of 70 Leagues North and South along the Coast of the Sea of Zur: All which Vales here named, are each above 20 Leagues long from the defart to the Sea, and all watered by streams on one fide and the other; some of which are so full and plentifull, that after they have supplied the Lands with sufficient moilture, the remainder empties it felf into the Sea 3 and others perhaps having refreshed the Lands for two or three Leagues from their Source or Fountain-head, are afterwards absorpt, or drank up by the drines of the Earth. The General Aqui Tiu, and his Captains, having reduced all these Vallies to obedience without fighting one stroke L. rendred

Book III.

rendred an account to the Inca of their success; and particularly, that having made enquiry into the fecret customs of those Natives, and into their Rites and Ceremonies, as also what Gods they worshipped: They observed and found, that their monies, as also what Goos they wornipped: They observed and sound, that their chief Deity was the Fish which they killed and eat; and also, that there were Sodomites amongst them; but howsoever, that this wickedness was not general or common to all the Vallies, but to some few; nor was it openly practifed, but in secret, being that which nature and the light of humane reason did abhor. They farther likewise acquainted the mea, that being arrived to the utmost bounds which are terminated by the Sea, there remained on that fide no other Land to fubdue. The Inca was much pleafed with the Relation of these Conquests, and much more, that it had coft no bloud; wherefore he fent to Command his Souldiers, that having left and established such Orders as were necessary for the government and security of those Countries, they should return to Corco; but first, that they should make strict inquisition concerning those who were esteemed guilty of that unnatural sin of Sodomy, and not onely burn those alive in a publick place, who were evidently convicted of that crime, but even those who were but so much as suspected thereof; that they should also burn and destroy their Houses, their Trees and Inheritance, leaving them a sad spectacle to their neighbours and acquaintance. And farther, the Inca commanded that they should proclaim and publish this his Edict against Sodomy for the suture to be, That whosoever should be found guilty of this abomination, that not onely he should be destroyed in particular, but likewise his Relations, his Neighbours, and all the Inhabitants of the parts round should be purished with the same destruction, ruine and desolation.

All which being performed exactly according to the pleasure and direction of that it had cost no bloud; wherefore he sent to Command his Souldiers, that ha-

round should be punished with the tame destruction, ruine and desolation. All which being performed exactly according to the pleasure and direction of the beat, this new Law was with great admiration and association as the Natives put into execution on the Ossendours; for being a crime so shamefull and detestable to the beat, and his proper Subjects, the mention and name thereof was not without some abhorrence taken into their mouths; so that if any bodian, who was a Native of Cocco, should at any time in passion revile his neighbour with that word and opprobrious term, he was presently looked upon as one defiled, and for many days polluted, untill his mouth were cleansed from a word so filthy and detestable.

and detellable.

The General and his Officers having in this manner executed all the Com-The General and his Officers naving in this manner executed all the Commands of the *Inca*, they returned to *Cozco*, where they were received in great triumph, and rewarded with honours and favours agreeable to their merit. But many years had not paffed after these Conquests, before the *Inca*, *Capac Tipanqui*, resolved to begin a new Expedition in person for enlargement of his Dominions on the side of *Collasging*; (for as yet in his late Marches he had not passed the Divisions of *Comission*) to these in order beginning to compare the triumphy they visions of Contifusu) so that in order hereunto, he commanded that twenty thouvilions of Contiferal) to that in order hereunto, he commanded that twenty thou-fand felect men should be put in a readiness against the following year. And that in the mean time nothing should be omitted, which might contribute to the due administration of his Government, he appointed his Brother Agai Titu to re-main Deputy in his place, and that the four Major-Generals which had accompa-nied him in the last Wars should be his Counsellours. Into their places he chose four other Generals, and both they and all the Captains and Officers of the Army were not of less degree or quality than that of an Inca, for though the Forces which came from diverse Provinces were conducted by their own Chief or Comwhich came from divers Provinces were conducted by their own Chief or Comwhich came from divers provinces were conducted by their own Chief or Commander, yet afterwards, when they came to be united with the Imperial Army, an Inca was given to prefide over them, so that the Chief became, as it were, his Lieutenant; by which means the whole Army had Incas for their Officers, and yet none seemed to be displaced or acquitted of his charge. By which method and policy in convenient thing was professed in their in Palvane. policy in government, things were preferved in their just balance; for unless it were in matters of Law and Justice, which admitted of no dispensation, it was a Maxim amongst the *Incas* never to disoblige their *Curacus*, but in every thing to render their Yoke so casse and gentle, that the Indians might be fond of it; and that the love of the people might be the basis and soundation of their Government. Moreover, the Inc.t thought fit to take his Son, who was his Heir, to accompany him; for though he were young, yet his years were capable of education and practice in the War.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Two Curacas, of great Power and Authority, refer their differences to the Arbitrement of the Inca, and become his Subjects.

THE appointed time for this expedition being come, Capae Tupanqui departed from Cozco, and marched as far as the Lake of Paria, which was the ultimate bound or limit of his Fathers Conquest; and in the way, as he marched he gathered the recruits which divers Provinces had made ready for him, not omitting to visit the Nations, as he passed, that so he might savour and honour them with his presence; the which they esteemed so high an obligation, that in divers Countries they have noted the places with a particular remark, where the Inca-pitched his Camp, or where they fent, him provisions, or refreshed himself: the which places to this day the Indians conserve in great Veneration, as if the

ground had been hallowed by his facred feet.

So foon as the Inca arrived at the Lake of Paria, all the neighbouring People fubmitted themselves to his Service and Jurisdiction; some of which inclined to Obedience out of an esteem they had of his gentle and wife Government, and others out of fear, and dread of the power, which they were not able to refilt. In these Marches Messengers arrived at the Court, from two great Captains in the Division of Collasuyu, who made War one on the other. These two powerfull Curacas were descended from two great Generals, who in times past, before the Empire of the Incas, being Souldiers of Courage and Bravery, raised separate Armies, and began each to set up for himself, and lay soundation for Authority and Power: But as Rule and Empire can bear no Equal, or Competitor, these two great Men turned their Arms one against the other, and continued a War during the whole course of their Lives: the which created such animosities between their People, that their Children inherited the like anger, and took up the same occa-sion of Quarrel, which was never decided untill the Inca, Capac Tupanqui determined their differences.

For these People observing the constant miseries of War, in which they were engaged, destroying one the other without advantage; for that their courage, and skill in war being equal, neither submitted to the other, or reaped other benefit than desolation, and the fatal consequences of War; they therefore agreed with mutual confent, and with concurrence of their Captains and Relations, to remit all their differences and quarrels to the sole Arbitrement and determination of the Inca, Capus Tupunqui, relolving to stand to whatsoever he should sentence in determination of Right, and accommodation of the Quarrels, and for moderating the heats and sury between them. These terms being resolved, they both desired and courted the acquaintance of the Inca, whose Fame and Reputation for Justice and Equity, derived from his ancient Progenitors, and the great Actions which he had performed, with the affiftence and help of his Father, the Sun, were published and made known to all those Nations. One of these great Lords was called Cari, and the other Chipana, both which were the Names of their Fathers, and which each of them conferved from Father to Son, fucceffively for many Generations, in remembrance of their Ancestours, and for a motive to imitate and follow their Bravery and Valour. Pedrode Gieça in his History touches this passage briefly, and calls one of these Curacas Cari, and the other Capana. These Persons having understood that the Inca proceeded in his Conquests, in all parts adjacent, dispatched their Messengers, to render him a particular account of all the Wars. Differences and Disputes which were between them, beseeching him that he would be pleafed to permit them licence to appear in his prefence, that they might kils his hands, and give him a more large relation of the grounds and causes of

their Quarrels and Differences; being defirous to remit all their pretentions to the fole determination, and arbitrement of his Majefty, for in regard that he was descended from the Sun, they were affured of his Juftice and Rectitude, and that his Sentences were infallible; and therefore protefted that they would adhere unto and reft fatisfied with whatfoever he should declare to be his Judgment and ultimate Decision in their Controversic.

The Inea having heard the Meflage, gave answer, That the Capracas might be pleased to come at such time as would best suit with their convenience, and that then he would use his best endeavours to bring them to a right understanding of each other; of which he did not entertain the least doubt, in regard that he, resolving to consult the Wisedom of his Father the Sun in their case, and apply his Ordinances and Laws to the present difference, the Judgment he should pronounce would be infallible, and uncapable of any Errour or Mistake.

This gratious Answer was very satisfactory to the Ciracai, so that they both met before the Inca at the time appointed, and both at the same time cast themfelves on their knees, and kiffed his Hand, that neither might feem to have a preference before the other. Can, whose Lands bordered nearest on the frontiers of the him, was the first that had the privilege to speak in the name of them both, rendring a large account of the differences which were between them, and of the Original from whence they did arife; he declared, That their Quarrel was enflamed by Envy and Emulation, whenfoever one observed the other to gain and advance in honoury and to be more prosperous than himself; sometimes Covetousness was the motive, when both designed on each others Territories; but most commonly the Boundaries and Limits of their respective Jurisdictions was the occasion of their Wars: For determination of which they presented themfelves before his Majerty, handly imploring his facred Sentence and Arbitrement to determine those Wars; of which they were weary, and which had for many years wasted their Countries, to the great Misery and Desolation of each others People and Subjects. The time heard and received their Request with his accu-fromary gentletics and through and ordered that for the present two of his Cap-tains, who were Inclus, and ancient Counsellours, should severally take one of the Curation into his chaffed and tuition, to teach and infruct him in the Laws of Nature, which were the Rules the Incas observed in the Government of their People, that so they might live in peace and unity, and giving unto every one his due and right, both in Estate and Honour. And as to the differences which arose about the Bounds and Extent of their respective Jurisdictions, he told them that he would send two been, who were of his Kindred, to take informations that he would fend two being, who were of his Kindred, to take informations from the Canaca of the Provinces, concerning the Caufe and Original of their long continued War and Quarrel. The which being performed, and the breat maturely advised in every particular, the debated the matters with his Council, and their advised in every particular, the debated the matters with his Council, and their advised in every particular, the told them in few words, That his Bather the San had revealed unto him, that the onely way and means to reconside their difference Parties, was to conferve Peace and Concord in the World, and that Third War produces nothing but Destruction, a proof and evidence whose of they had by their own, which had wasted each others force, they should now its singlified advised to bace; left they both become a prey to some other, who blied wing their advised to bace; left they both become a prey to some other, who blied wing their despetite and consumed conditions may take his opportunities to invade them in their weakness, and destroy them both: And as to the Limits of their respective Territories, he appointed that heaps of Stones, or Mounts of their respective Territories, he appointed that heaps of Stones, or Mounts should be east up; for Landmarks and Boundaries of their Frontiers, which being passed and invaded in a hostile manner, should be accounted a breach and violation of the Peace on the side of the first Aggressor. Lastly, he rold them, Thig tills was the Sentence and final Determination of his Father the Sun, for procuring Peace, and ending all strife and variance between them; and that since they had by mutual constituted him the Umpire and Arbitrator of their Differences; the protected that he constituted him the Umpire and Arbitrator of their lost the shade of the constituted him the Umpire and Arbitrator of their lost the shade of the constituted him the Umpire and Arbitrator of their last the same of the sun the same of the sun the same of their sun the same of the sun that the same late the fame.

The Curacas replied, That they would fincerely obey his Majesty, and that out of a respect they bore to his Service, they promised to be his true Friends and faithfull Allies.

Afterward these Caciques, Cari and Chipana, being in private together, entred into Discourse concerning the Laws of the Inca, the Government of his Hou and Court, and the rare administration of Justice through his whole Kingdom, where no Injury or Offence passed without punishment; but more particularly they observed the gentle compulsion and soft violence he used in his War, as also the sweetness of his temper, and impartial Behaviour towards them both; all which being rare and admirable evidences of his Excellencies and Vertues, they both resolved, after some short conference together, to yield themselves and Subjects to the Service and Devotion of the Inca. And hereunto they were more calily inclined, because they perceived that the Inca began to approach near to them, and to have his Confines contiguous with their Frontiers, and therefore considered that it was good to make a Vertue of Necessity, and seem to doe that out of Choice and siee Will, rather than by being compelled to what is irressible, loose all the merit of a voluntary Submission. With this Resolution presenting themselves before the Inca, they implored His Majessy's Protection, vowing unto him all Homage and Obedience, destring also that he would be pleased to send Instructors to them, who might direct them and their Subjects in the Laws of his Father the Sun, and inform them of all particulars which may be requisite for his service.

In answer whereunto the *Inca* told them, That he accepted their good Intentions, and would watch all occasions to requite them; then he commanded that such Vests should be given to the Caciques, as he himself wore, and to tleir Kindred and Attendance, Garments of a courser Thread, for which they made many acknowledgments of Duty and Obligation. In this manner the *Inca* reduced those several People and Provinces to his Empire, which within the Division of Collassou were subjected to the Dominion of those Caciques. Moreover he added to these new Conquests the Countries of Poco, And, Minru, Macoba, Caracara, and all those other Provinces which run as far Eastward as the great Mountain of Ansis, together with all that waste and defart Countrey which reaches to the borders of that Province which is called Tippee ri, and now by the Spaniards Tapacari, containing in breadth thirty Leagues, and by reason of the coldness of it is much unpeopled; howsoever it is fruisfull in pattures, and abounds with all fort of Cattel and wild Beasts, and is full of Fountains; and particularly there is one Spring of Water, issuing from Mines of Sulphur, so hot, that none can suffer his hand in it for a moments space; and yet what is still more observable, there are other Springs, not far from thence, of cold and pleasant Waters, both which meeting afterwards together, make that River, which is called Cochamana.

Having traversed this desure Countrey, which abounds, (as we have said) with Fountains and a stures, there appears a Mountain, which descends for seven Leagues, and least to the plain of the Province Tapacri, where my Master Garcitossoft to the Vega, had his first proportion allotted to him in the Lands of Pern: It is a Countrey very fruitfull and populous, stored with all sorts of Cattel, for the space of twenty Leagues in length, and about twelve in breadth: About eight Leagues farther, is that most pleasant Province of Cachapanpa, which is a Valley of thirty Leagues long, and four broad, all which is made fruitfull by a plentifull River, that waters the whole Countrey: These two pleasant Provinces, with divers others, were the inheritance of Cari and Chipana; (as before related) and were now added to the Dominion and Empire of the Ineas, extending seventy Leagues in length.

In these parts, because they were pleasant and sertile, the Spaniards in the Year 1775. Settled a Colony, which they called St. Peter of Cardema, so named by the chief and first Planter thereof, who was a Gentleman, and a Native of Burgos, called Captain Lewis Oforio.

The Matters of these two Caciques being in this manner ordered and disposed, the Inca commanded two of his principal Officers to make a survey of their Countries, and to take with them such Persons as were proper and able to govern those new Subjects, and instruct and teach them in the Laws they were now to ob-

ferve. And thus the Inca having finished this work, which he esteemed sufficient for that year, and more than was expected, he returned to Corco, accompanied with the two Caciques, who were curious to see the splendor of the Indian Court, where they were kindly received, and treated with Banquets and, Sports; and because it was pleasing to the Inca, the whole City endeavoured to honour and cares them with all the demonstrations imaginable of Civility and Respect. After some days thus passed, he gave them liberty to return into their own Dominions, being greatly satisfied with the entertainment they had received, and at their departure he gave them to understand, that he intended speedily to viiit their Countries again, that so he might reduce those Indians which inhabited the parts beyond them, and that therefore they should make such provisions as were necessary for the support and maintenance of his Army and Attendance.

# CHAP. XV.

Of the Bridge made with Straw, Rushes and Flags; and how Chayanta was reduced at that place where the Lake empties it self.

THE Inca, Capac Tapanapai, was so much pleased with the convenience and success of the last Bridge, which (as we said) was built at Huacachaca, over the River of Amirimac, that he ordered another of the like fort to be made at that place where the Lake Titicaca empties it self, that so it might be in a readines against the time that he intended to return to complete his Conquests in the Division of Collaspan; and because those Countries were plain, and commodious for the march of an Army, the Incas were unquiet untill they could make a complete and entire Conquest of all that, Division. The Bridge of Huacachaca, as also all the others which are in Peru, are made of Osier, onely that which passes the water called by the Spaniards, The Condain, because it is the vent by which the Lake empties it self, is made of Flags and Rushes, and such like materials. This passes were the water, as that at Seville, which is made upon Boats, and is not arched, as that we have formerly mentioned. There is a fort of Rushes which grow over all Peru, that are of a fine and pliant fort, convert at and easie to weave with, the Indians call them Tehm, which they use in thatching their Houses. That fort which grows in Collao is excellent seeding for the Cattel, and of which they make their Baskets and Hampers, like little Chests with covers, (called by them Pataca) and hereof also they make Cords and Ropes; the best fort of these Rushes grows in the River which falls from the Lake Titicaca, whereof there is great abundance, as also of Flags and Bultushes, and a fort called Enea. The Indians cut great quantities hereof, at the proper seasons of the year, of which they make provisions, to be dried and prepared for service of the Bridge, as occasions shall require. With these Rushes they twisted four great Ropes, as big as a Man's Leg, two of which they cast over the River, and saftened them on each side. This water on the top or superficies of it, seems still and quiet, but towards the bottom runs with a strong current, as some say that



the floar of the Bridge, which Bridge was about thirteen or fourteen Foot broad and about a Yard thick, and about an hundred and fifty Paces in length; fo that we may imagine what a vaft quantity of Rushes is required for a work of this premre. It is moreover observable, that this Bridge requires reparations every fix Months, or rather, to be made new, for the whole composition of it being nothing but Straw and Ruthes, which are fading and decaying materials, must be often renewed, especially the Ropes or Cables, which are the main traves of the work, must be maintained, and kept in good repair. This Bridge, as likewise all other publick conveniences, were in the times of the lucus kept up, and maintained at the charge and labour of the neighbouring Countries; so that many Hands making light work, and the materials provided from year to year, the good order observed, made it a matter without much trouble or difficulty. The end of these main Cables, which were the Foundation of this fort of Bridge, were fixed in the ground, and not feifed, or made fast to Rocks of Stone, as some others were; and the *Indians* fay, that this is the better invention, for that this Bridge may be removed, and carried either higher or lower on the River, as occafion requires.

The Bridge being thus made and completed, the Inca, with his eldeft Son and Helr, departed from Cozco, travelling by thort journies, until they arrived at the remotest parts of those Provinces which belonged to Cari and Chipana, being those Countries which we formerly mentioned by the names of Tapaeri and Cochapampa, where the Caciques attended in a readiness with their Souldiers to receive the Inca. From Cochapampa they proceeded forward to Chayanta, and in their way thither they from Cochapana they proceeded forward to Chapana, and in then way thither they paffed a most desolate and barren Countrey, where is not one Foot of good Ground, but onely Stones and Rocks; and which produces nothing but Bushes bearing Thoms, as long as a Man's finger, and which the Indiana file for Needles to sow the poor Drapery they wear; and which fort of Thom grows common in all parts of *Peru*: Having paffed this defart, which contains about twenty Leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, they entred into *Charanta*; where the *Inca* commanded the Prince his Son to fend the Summons which were uttal, and accustomary to the Inhabitants of that Province.

At the receipts of these Summons the Indians were divided into different opinions; some were for present Submission and Obedience to this celestial Race which was defeended from the Sun, being affured all those Laws which were given and imposed by such an infallible Light, could not be other than just, gentle, and such as tended rather to the Liberty and Security of the Subjects, than to the Interest as tended rather to the Liberty and security of the Suojects, than to the infector and Advantage of the Governour. Howfoever others that were of a different fentiment, and more flubborn in their humour, argued, That they had no need of a King, or new Laws, fince that those which they had already were good and profitable, and fuch as their Ancestours had lived under with great happiness and fecurity; that they had Gods already of their own, whom they worthipped and ferved, and knew no necessity that there was of a new Religion, or Colloms; and what was most grievous, that they must submit to the pleasure of a Prince, who preached Religion and Sanctity to them, and made them promites of Privilege and Liberty, whenas perhaps to morrow, to foon as he had gained them under his power, he would then impose such Laws as were flavith and agreeable to his own Luft and Pleasure; and therefore they concluded, that it was better not to trust to such a hazard, but rather to live in their own freedom, or else die in the defence of it.

In this Suspence matters remained for some days, both parties infisting on the truth of their opinions, untill at length the fear of compultion from the luca, and the hopes of receiving good and wholsome Laws from him, extorted an answer which was dubious, and favouring fomething of both opinions; for they declared that they were willing to receive the *Inc.* for their King and Lord, but as to his Laws, they were enjoyed not to their not knowing whether they conduced to their Benefit or Damage; untill which time, that they were informed of the fublifance and form of them, they defined a ceffacion of Arms, and of all violence, and that the *Inca*, with his Army, might enter into their Countrey upon parole, that in cafe his Laws proved not to their contentment, that then he would quit his flation, and leave them to their contentment, that then he would quit his flation, and leave them to their contentment. flation, and leave them to their own freedom and liberty; but if they appeared as good as he avouched and affirmed them to be, that then immediately they

would submit and prostrate themselves before him, and acknowledge him to be

of the true race and progeny of the Sun.

Though this people was in no capacity of giving conditions to the *Inca*, yet he was pleased to accept such as they offered, being resolved to adhere to the old Maximof his Anceftous, which was rather to conquer with love and affection, than by force; and therefore he affured them on his word, that in cafe they did not think to adore his Father the Sun, nor yet to accept his Laws, he would then leave them to their own choice and freedom: The which promife he made on an undoubted confidence, that fo foon as those Mysteries and excellent Statutes were revealed to them, they could not but accept and embrace them; and that they would onely be troubled, that such admirable beauty of reason arrived so

late to their hearing and knowledge.

Upon this affurance and promife the *Inca* entred into *Chayanta*, where he was received with much awe and veneration, but not with that mirth and rejoycing as they used in other parts at this Solemnity: For as yet these poor people stood wavering between hope and fear, untill the Reverend Counfellours deputed by the *Inca*, with the Prince his Son and Heir, took fome pains for feveral days to declare, and expound to them the Laws relating to their Idolatrous Religion, and to their Secular Government: the which they inculcated fo frequently, and with fuch patience and plainness, untill at length they became capable of that Doctrine which they taught. The *Indians* flood gaping all this while with wonderfull attention, admiring that such Laws should be made for their honour and advantage; and then burst out into Acclamations, saying, That worthy were they to be accounted Gods, and esteemed for Lords of the Universe, who were able to frame and deliver such Laws and Statutes to Mankind; the which they promised to receive and obey; and that renouncing all their former Idols, rites and vain cultoms, they vowed and fwore to embrace the Religion of the *Inca*; and in token thereof they proftrated themselves before the Prince, who represented the Person of his Father the Sun, and the Inca, Capac Tupanqui.

Having thus yielded themselves in a solemn manner, they fell to Dancing after the fashion of their Countrey, shewing some new Dances which they had purposely made for the entertainment of the *lucas*; and all people habited themselves polely made for the entertainment of the mean; and an people habited themselves in their best cloathes, with Tinsel and Ribbons, singing Ballads made in honour and praise of the Sun, and the mean, and of their good Laws and Government; and in fine, they made all the demonstrations of love and affection imaginable.

## CHAP. XVI.

Of the many Inventions which the Indians made to pass Rivers, and to take Fish.

HAving already mentioned the two feveral forts of Bridges, which the Incar made for paffing Rivers; one of which was composed of Osiers, and the other of Rushes and Canes. We shall now proceed to declare some other Incarding the control of the Co orner or runnes and Canes. We man now proceed to dectate forme office in ventions which the *Indians* projected for the fame purpose; for in regard the labour and charge of making Bridges was so great, that they were onely made for convenience of the great Roads and the King's High-ways; and that the Countrey being in other places large and wide, wanted that convenience whereby the people might maintain communication one with the other; wherefore Necessity, which is the Moche of Lorganism, tambit them before the mother of the property that the Moche of Lorganism. which is the Mother of Ingenuity, taught them feveral contrivances according to the disposition and nature of the Rivers, as also how to sivin on the Seas with such floats, as served their present occasions; for they had not as yet attained to

the Invention of Boats, or fuch Canoes, as they use in Florida, or the Isles of Barlovento, and other places of the Main Land, which are a fort of Troughs hewed out of Timber, and are all of one piece: but the Wood in Pern is not fit for this use, being sappy, and heavy as Iron, and therefore not boyant, as the nature of such floats require: Wherefore they made choice of another fort; of a more of fuch floats require: Wherefore they made choice of another fort; of a more light and fpungy Timber, which grows in the Provinces of *Quim*, from whence, by order of the *Inca*, many Trees were felled, and brought down to the banks of the Rivers. Hereof they made all their Boats greater or leffer, fome of them were of five, others of feven pieces of Wood, which ferved for the bottom, tied one to the other, that in the middle being the biggeft: The first Boards on the fide were fomething thorter than those of the Keel; the fecond above were shorter, and the third shorter than those below; that so that being pinched in above, and not all of the same breadth, the Vessel would find less resistence in its motion through the Water; and the Stern and the Head of the Boat were both of the same fashion: To both the ends of these Boats they fashed a Cord, so that Desserve being dessrupt the Gord on one side, and Paffengers being defirous to Ferry over, they drew the Cord on one fide; and being to return, they drew that which was fastned to the other. I remember that I passed a River in one of these Ferries; which because it had been made in a time when the *Incas* reigned, the people accounted it a Relique, and had it in great

Royal Commentaries.

esteem and veneration.

Book III.

Besides these Ferries, they have other lesser Boats more manageble, made of Canes and Reeds closely woven, and shaped upwards sharp, like the Prow of a Boat, that they may with less resistence cut the Water: the Mid-ships are made broad, and wide, and capacious to receive the Loading: One of thefe Boats is governed by a fingle Indian, who places himself at the Stern, and lying on his breaft with his hands and feet on each fide in the water instead of Oars, he Sculls and Steers along with the current to the place he deligns: If the current be very rapid, they row along the bank of the River to take the advantage of a hundred paces upwards, making account that the fwiftness of the stream will carry them 200 paces downwards before they can reach the other fide: When a Paffenger Ferries over, they order him to lye flat on his face, ftretched at length in the Boat, with his face towards the Ferry-man, and to hold himself fast by the Cords, and by no means to rife or flir, or fo much as open his eyes. I once croffed a very fwift current in one of these Boats, which is something hazardous; (though on smooth and still waters there is no danger) I then remember that the Ferry-man conjured me with all the Loves in the World, that I would neither lift up my head, nor open my eyes: I being then but a Boy, was so affrighted, that I thought either the Earth would fink, or the Heavens sall: Howsoever, I could not for my life but lift up my head, and open at leaft one of my eyes to fee if there were any enchantment, or forme dicovery of a New World in the matter; and being in the middle, I lifted up my head a little, and feeing the water round, me-thoughts we had fallen from Heaven above; and I became fo giddy, that my brains turned, and fwam fafter than the Boat, which was carried with a very rapid and violent fream; so that I presently that my eyes again, and confessed that the Boat-man had much reason for the caution he gave me.

They have likewise another fort of Ploat made of large Gourds, joined and saltned strongly together, about the bigness of a Yard and a half square: Hereunto they fit a Rope in saltnion of a Poitral to a Horse's Saddle, wherein the transfer of the saltnion of the saltnio dian Boat-man puts his head; with which swimming away, he Tows the Boat after him with her Lading, untill he paffes to the other fide of the River, or Arme of the Sea; and if the Lading be heavy, so that the Boat draws much water, he is then affifted by an Indian or two more, who push at the Stern, and drive the

But in those great Rivers, where the current is very forcible and rapid, so that they are not pallable in these Boats of Gourds or Rulhes; and where also the banks of the River are so rocky, that there is no place to Land either on one shore or the other: there they make use of their great Cables made of Canes, called Chahuar, which they throw over from the higher parts of the craggy places, fatening them to great Trees or firm Rocks: Within this great Cable they put a Cafe, or Basket made of Ofiers, capable to receive three or four perfons; to each end whereof they fix an Ear, or handle of Wood, through which they pass the Cords for drawing it from one fide to the other; and in regard the Cable is very

Book III.

82

large, it hath a mighty fiving and fall in the middle; and therefore they lore the Ropes of the Basket very early, and by degrees, untill it comes to the middle. which is the lowest part of the Cable; and thence by main force they draw it upwhich is the lowest part of the Cable 3 and thence by main force they draw it up-wards. There are certain *Indians* who live near that place, and are appointed by the Countrey for that work, and are very affiliant and helpfull to Paffengers with-out any consideration of interest, or payment whatsoever. Some Passengers who have used that kind of Ferry, putting their legs and seet in the basket, have without other help than their armes and hands onely forced themselves upwards upon the Cable. I remember, when I was a Boy, that I passed this way three or sour times; but being very young, the *Indians* carried me on their backs; in the fame manner they transport their Cattel on the other fide; but this is done with much more trouble: For but few of them can pass at a time, and those of the leffer fort, such as Sheep, Goats and Kids, which they tye fast within the basket; and fort, fuch as Sheep, Goats and Kids, which they tye falt within the basket; and as for Mules, Horfes, Affes or Cows, they are of too great a burthen for this fort of Ferry, but are driven about to the great Bridges, or to shallower places, where the River is fordable. This kind of passage the Indians call Uruga, and is onely made use of by the Countrey people, that have occasion to pais from one side to the other; but in the great Roads the convenience is better.

The Indians all along the Coast of Pern, Fish in their little Boats made of Rushes, and adventure four or five Leagues out at Sea in them, and farther if occasion require; for that Sea is called the Pacifick, being calm for the most part, and are ships to had uneather; but when they carry things of great purples.

cafion require; for that Sea is called the Pacifick, being calm for the moft part, and not fubject to bad weather; but when they carry things of great burthen, they ufe Floats made of Timber. The Fisher-men, when they go to Sea, kneed down in their Boats, and fit on their legs, and fo row with a Paddle made of a large Cane, cleft towards the end; for in that Countrey they have great Canes, which are as big as a Man's thigh; of which we shall treat more largely hereafter. This Cane they hold with both hands, one being placed at the top, and the other in the middle; and the end being made broad in the shape of an Oar, they Row their Boat forward; the Boat being very light, feels every stroke of the Oar, and turns, then they change the hand to the other fide, and so shift it over again, which moves the Boat with an incredible fulfices.

which moves the Boat with an incredible fwiftness.

Which moves the Boat with an increasing invitation. Then for their Fishery, when they go to take great Fish, they use a Fisigi in the same manner as they strike Whales with in  $B_1G_2$ . To this Fisigi, which is a sharp Spear at the end of a Staff, they fasten a line of about 20,30 or 40 sathom in length, the end of which they tye to the head of the Boat; the Fish being strook, the *Indian* years his Line, and gives him Rope as fast as he can; and when he hath given it all out, he then plays with the Fish untill it is quite tired; and so mastering it, they take it, and some of them are of an incredible bigness. They fifth also with Nets and Hooks; but they make no great matter of their Fithing in that manner; for their Nets being small and manageable by one Man, can never inclose any number; and their Hooks being ill made, not knowing the use of Steel or Iron, they take very sew with that Art; for though they have Mines of both Metals, yet they know not how to separate and purific the Ore: Their Boats of Rushes are not able to bear Sail, because they have no Keel, nor hold in the water, and perhaps make better way with a Paddle, than with a Sail; though on their Floats made of Wood, they fet up a Sail, which serves them before the Wind.

These are the Arts which the Indians have invented for making short Voyages on the Seas, and for paffing fwift and rapid currents; the which have received little improvement, for they were in use when I was there, and believe they have fill continued in the same manner without alteration; for they being a poor fort of miserable people, of mean dejected spirits, follow the old road, nor aspiring to greater matters, than a supply of their necessities. In the History of Florida, the sixth Book, treating there of their Canoer, we have touched upon their contrivances to Pass and Navigate on Rivers, which have a swift and rapid current; fo that now we shall not enlarge farther thereupon, but rather proceed to the o-

ther Conquests of the Inca, Capac Tupanqui,

#### CHAP. XVII.

Of the Conquest of five large Provinces, besides others of less consideration.

THE Inca having secured the Countrey of Chayanta with a sufficient force and supplied it with Officers requisite for administration both of their religious and civil Government. He proceeded forward to other adjacent Provinces, amongst which Charca was of great Renown, comprehending many different Nations and Languages under its Dominion; all which were in the Division of Collasuyu: The chief or principal Countries of which were Tutura, Sipispo, Chaqui; to the Eastward of which, and towards the Mountain Antis, are other Provinces called Chamuru, where grows great plenty of the Herb which they call Cuea, though it be not fo good as that which grows about Cozea. There is also another Province named Sacaca, with divers more, which for brevity fake we omit; to all which the *Inca* fent his Summons in his accustomary form and manner.

These several Nations, who had already been informed of all the particulars which had passed in Chayanta, returned their answers much after the same manner; the fubfiance of all which was, That it was their great honour to have the knowledge of fo holy a Religion, as that which enjoined them to adore the Sun, and to serve the *Inca*, who was descended from him; and that they had the privilege to be offered fuch good and wholfome Laws for their Government: And therefore defiring his Majefty to receive them under his potent Protection, they refigned up their lives and fortunes to his disposal; and in regard, that having received new Laws and Superstitious Rites, differing from those of their adjacent Neighbours, they frood in great danger of having their Apoftacy revenged by them; they therefore defired, that those people also might be reduced, and obliged to embrace the same Laws, Religion and Worship with them.

The Inca returned them answer, That they should not need to trouble themfelves for those matters, but that they should rather with entire confidence remit all their care unto him, who knew the times and ways best for their protection, being affured that their fubjection to him was their beft fecurity, and that noe had ever fuffered for receiving his Laws and Vaffalage, but rather lived with joy and comfort under those infallible Oracles which the Sun had gratiously dispensed to them. With these assurances this people, without other Queries or Demurs, yielded themselves; on which particulars we shall not farther enlarge, in regard nothing of moment offers on that subject. In this Conquest the Inca spent two, and some say three years; and having left Guards sufficient in the Countrey to curb and prevent all Incursions of the Neighbourhood, he returned to Cozco, visiting in his way all those Nations which had formerly submitted themselves; he commanded the Prince his Son to take another way, that to he might please his Subjects in other parts, who effected themselves highly benoured with the prefence of their Kings and Princes.

The Entry which the Inca made to his Court was very Magnificent and Royal, being attended by his own Captains, and with the Curacus of the late subjected Provinces, who out of honour to the Inca, and curiofity to fee the Imperial Court, riornices, who out or nonour to the *mea*<sub>3</sub> and currently to ree the imperial Court, made up fome part of his Equipage; and the people with Demonstrations of Joy and Triumph were not wanting to welcome the return of their *mea*. Some few days after the Prince *Rocca* likewise came, whose Arrival the people also celebrated with Dances and Songs in praise of his Noble and Victorious Actions. Then the *mea* having gratified his Commanders for their pains and faithfulness in the late Expedition, he gave them leave to return to their own Houses, there to enjoy reposts and roll after their long and todous journies, and residual gray as his enjoy repose and rest after their long and tedious journies; and residing now at his own Court, he attended to the government and administration of those matters which respected the happiness and advantage of his Subjects; for his Territories

BOOK III.

were now become very large, extending from Gozco along the Coast of that Sea which is called Zm, above one hundred and eighty Leagues as far as Turna and which is called Zm, above one hundred and eighty Leagues as far as Tupra and Chaqui; then to the Westward from the City, the Dominion reached seventy Leagues one way, and eighty another: and to the Eastward it ran to the River Paucar tampu, being thirteen Leagues full East from the City; and to the Southeast forty Leagues; so that the Empire being grown thus large and wide, the Incathought sit for some time to fix boundaries to his Conquests, that so he might attend to the conservation of what he had already gained, and to the benefit and fecurity of his Subjects: And now living for some years in peace and plenty, he had leisure to enrich and adorn the Temple of the Sun, and of those selected Virgins which the Inca, Marco Capac, had endowed: he also built many other Edifices, both within and without the City, and in divers Provinces, where they were most to advantage. He made likewise Aqueduct, and opened Springs for watering the grounds; he built divers Bridges to pass Rivers and Streams, to the great convenience of publick Roads; he opened divers new ways for commodious travel, and for better communication of one Province with another. In short, he omitted nothing which might conduce to the publick benefit, to the advantage omitted nothing which might conduce to the publick benefit, to the advantage of his Subjects, and to the greater Glory and Grandeur of his own Majefty.

## CHAP. XVIII.

The Prince Inca Rocca reduces many and great Provinces both within the Land, and along the Sea-coaft.

IN these, and such like Affairs, the *Inca* employed himself, for the space of six or seven years; and then it was judged fit to reassume again the thoughts of Or feven years; and then it was judged fit to reaffume again the thoughts of War, for the fatther enlargement of Empire; to which end orders were given for raifing an Army of twenty thousand men, under the conduct of four Major Generals, and of the Prince Rocca, who was to command in Chief: The Defign was to march towards Chinchassin, which lies Northward from Cozco; on which side their Dominions did not reach sarther than Rimae tampu, which was not above seven Leagues, and was the utmost Bounds in those Quarters to which the first Inca, Manto Capac, had proceeded; since which time the other Incas did not esteem it worthy the troubles of a Conquest, being a Countrey desolate, rocky and without Inhabitants.

The Prince leaving Cozco came to the River Apprince, which he possed on

The Prince leaving Cozco, came to the River Apprimac, which he paffed on great floats, prepared for that purpose; and because the Countrey was desolate. he proceeded as far as Curahuaci, and Amuneay being about eight or ten Leagues from the City, and without any opposition reduced all those poor Indian, wherefocuer he paffed. From the Province Amanca, he took to the left hand along the great road, which leads from Cozco to Rimae, and leaving the Defart which is called Cochacaffa, being about twenty two Leagues over, he entred into the Province called *Sma*, which is very populous, and rich, both in Gold and Cattel, and where the *Inca* was received with ready fubmiffion. Thence he proceeded to the next Province, called Apucara, where also he was received without opposition; for in regard these Countries were always at enmity together, they were not able to unite in a common League, nor yet refilt in a fingle condition.

From Appeara he marched forward to the Province Rucana, which is divided into two parts, the leffer and the greater: The People hereof are both beautifull in their Bodies, and ingenious in their Minds, by advantage of which they more eafily apprehended the felicity they should obtain under the Government of the Inca, and therefore with joy and applause received his Commands. Thence he

descended to the Sea Coast, which the Spaniards call the Launes, and passed the suff Valley, which in those parts bath the name of Nanasea, which fignifies dolefull, or difinal; what might be the occasion of this Epithet, is not certain but tall, or dinnar; what might be the occation of this Epither, is not certain, but it is believed that it might be from some great punishment, or calamity which had happened there; the *spaniards* call it *Lundea*, where also the *Inea* was received without opposition, and obeyed without conditions; the like submission was yielded by the inhabitants of all the Vallies from *Nanasea* to *Arequeps*, which lies yielded by the Inhabitants of all the Vallies from Namafea to Arequepa, which lies by the Sea-coaft for the space of above eighty Leagues in length, and fourteen or fitteen in breadth: the chief Valleys are Hacari and Camuta, containing twenty thousand Inhabitants; there are other Vallies of less consideration, which are Atica, Venuma, Atiquipa and Quellea, all which yielded ready Obedience, both because they neither had force to resist, being a poor naked People, and because every Valley had its particular Lord, and some of them two or three, amongst whom were perpetual Quarrels and Diffentions.

Royal Commentaries.

And fince we are now treating of those places, it will not feem an improper Digreffion, though perhaps out of its due order, if we should recount a remarkable passage, which happened in the Valley of Hacari, some time after that the Spaniards were Masters of it. The occasion was this: Two Curacus, who had or Bounds of their Jurisdictions, which increased fo high, that they often endeavoured to decide the Difference in Battel; to prevent which, the Spanift Governours fent a Commissioner to them, with power to determine, and put a final nours tent a Communioner to tnem, with power to determine, and put a mai end to their Disputes by a friendly and amicable Compositive: The Judge, or Umpire, having heard both sides, allotted unto each such Boundaries as he thought did of right belong unto them, respectively obliging them to maintain Peace and Friendship together; which though they promised to doe, one of them who thought himlest injured and aggrieved by this Division, concealed his passion and intention to Revenge under the specious appearance of Friendship: for the Day being come, when the Solemnities of the Peace were to pass, they both ate and drank together; the Banquet being ended, the offended Curaca arole, and taking two Cups in his hand, filled with Liquour, as if he intended to drink a Health to the confirmation of their Friendship, (as the custome amongst the *Indians* is) he offered one of the Cups, which was prepared with posson, to his Enemy, reserving the other, which was whostome, for himself; but the other Curaca observing some change in the Countenance of him who made him the offer, and a Diffatisfaction in the terms he received, refused the Cup which he reached to him, defiring rather to have the other which he referved for himfelf. The Curaca, not to feem cowardly, or to offer that which he refused himself, was easily persuaded to change his hands, and with that reached to his Enemy the wholsome Cup, and without difficulty drank up the Poison himself; of which dying in a few hours after, he gave a sufficient evidence, that the Draught was not more deadly than the Poison of his own Rage and Malice, with which he fwelled and burft.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XIX.

How Colonies were transplanted from parts on the Sea Coast to the Inland Countries.

Rom Namasca the Inea translated some Indians, who were Ineas of that Nation, to plant themselves on the River Aparimac, because that the Climate of that Region, from Cozco to Rimac, being very hot, agreed best with the Temperament or Constitution of the People of Namasca, whose Countrey was in the same degree of hear with that of Aparimac, whenas on the contrary, the People which were transslated from the Desart, which is a more cool and moderate Climate, were subject to Diseases and Calentures, and not able to support the intolerable heats; for which reason the Ineas in the establishment of their Colonies, had always a respect to the Constitution of the People, that so they might not pass from one Extreme to another, but that their new Habitation might correspond in some degree with the Air of their native Soil. This regard the Inea having always to his Colonies, the People which he planted on the Banks of the River Aparimac, were extracted from the hotter Climates; but there was no need of great numbers for this occasion, because that most of the Land on both sides of that River is rocky and barren; onely there are some pieces of good ground, which the Ineas was desirous to have manured in the manner of Gardens, and places of Pleasure; because that soil which borders on the River, produces most excellent and rare Fruit.

Matters being fettled in this posture, and every thing established in due order, relating to the Government of the new acquired Provinces, the Prince Rocca returned to Cocco, where he was kindly received by his Father, and the whole Court, and being then to disband his forces, he dismissed the Commanders with

fignal marks of his Favour and Efteem.

And now the *Inca, Capue Tupanqui*, finding himself to decay with Years, and to enter into a Region of Life, which required ease and repose, he resolved to put a sulf thop to the enlargement of his Conquests, and onely spend the remainder of his Days in the Administration of Justice, and performing matters tending to the Benefit and Advantage of his People. In this easiness several years passed, during which time the *Inca* performed the part of a kind and indulgent Prince, and the People of loving and loyal Subjects, who with all readiness and affection applied themselves to the service of the *Inca*, particularly in building the Temple of the Sun, and erecting other Edifices, wherein they shewed great willingness and diligence, because they were works recommended to them by the *Inca*, moreover they of their own accord, within the Division of every Province, built other Houses for the Convenience and Divertisement of the *Inca*.

In this Prosperity and Ease the *Inea, Capac Trapangui*, died, with the Character of a valiant and able Prince, and worthy of the Title *Capac*, which caused him to be much lamented in the Court, and in all parts of his Kingdom, with deep Resentments; he was afterwards embalmed, and interred in the Sepulche of his Tathers. He lest for his Heir and Successor his Eldest Son, which he had by *Copa Mama Curi-ylpa*, his Wife and Sister; he lest also many other Sons and Daughters, as well natural as legitimate, the precise number of which we cannot determine, though some say, that they were above Eighty, which is not much, for some of these *Ineas* have arrived to a hundred, some two hundred, nay some are considertly reported to have had three hundred Sons and Daugh-

ters.

#### CHAP.

#### CHAP. XX.

The Description of the Temple of the Sun, and of its great Riches.

The principal Idol in esteem both with the Inca and his Subjects, was the Imperial City of Cosco it self, which the Indians adored as a sacred Relique, both because it was founded by the first Inca, Monto Capac, and because it was the Repository of innumerable Trophies acquired by Victory, and was the Seat and Throne of the Inca, who were esteemed for Gods. This superstition appeared in every little instance; for in case two Indians of equal quality did but meet on the way, one coming from Cosco, and the other travelling thither; he that came from thence, gave always the first falutation, and the upper hand to him who was going thither; and if he, who had been at this City, was ever after esteemed by his Neighbours as a Pilgrim or a Holy Man, how much more was he to be reverenced, who was a Citizen, or Native of the place: And in pursuance of this humour and opinion, whatsoever was said to come from Cosco, though it were but Lentils or Seeds, and did not surpass others of like kind in its Excellency, yet it had always the pre-eminence, and was thought an impiety to think or judge otherwise. To keep up this sancy and belief in the people, the Inca laboured to adorn and enoble the City with many Sumptuous Edifices and Royal Palaces, many of which they built for their own use, as we shall hereaster declare, when we come to describe the publick Buildings, amongst which there is none comparable to the Temple of the Sun, which was enriched with incredible Wealth; to which every Inca particularly added something, and improved and perfected that which his Predecessor and left descrient. The Riches of that Temple were so immense, that I should not adventure to describe them, did I not find them mentioned in all the Spanish Histories of Perus, but neither what they have wrote, nor I delivered, are able to reach the vastness of that real Wealth. The Building of this Temple is esteemed the Work of the King Topangai, the Great Grandsather of Hueyna Capac; not that he was the Founder of it, having received its beginning fro

Now to describe this Temple; it is to be noted, that that place which was the Chamber of the Sun, is now the Church of the Divine St. Dominick; but because I have not the exact measures of the length and breadth of it, I omit to mention it at guess; onely that how large soever it be, it is all made of Freeze-stone well polithed.

The High Altar (which for our better understanding we call by that Name, though the Indians knew not how to crect an Altar) is placed at the East-side; the Roof was slat, made of lofty Timber; but the Covering was thatched with Straw, because their Art arrived not to make other. All the sour Walls of the Temple were Wainscoated from the top to the bottom, with Panes and Frames of Wood all over guilded: In the upper place, where we seat the High Altar, was the Figure of the Sun drawn upon a Plate of Gold, much broader and thicker than the Boards which covered the Walls; this Figure represented the Face of the Sun in a round shape, with all his Rays and Emissions of Fire, and Light proceeding from him much in the same manner as our Painters draw him: The Figure was so great and large, that it took up all the Quarter of the Temple, from one Wall to another: Besides this Representation of the Sun, the Indians creected no other Idols in their Temples, because they did not acknowledge, nor adore

Book III.

88

any other Gods, though some Writers maintain a different opinion. When the Spaniards first entred the City of Cozco, this Figure of the Sun fell to the lot of \*A Game at there alive when I came thence for Spains; he was fo great a Gamefter at \*Primero, and all other Games, that though the Image was very great, yet he made a fhift to lose it in one Nights play; whence that Proverb came, as Anofra fays, Play for the Sun before the Day breaks. Sometime after which, the Common Council of the City taking notice, how much this Son or Member of theirs was given to play, and how much he loft, thought fit, as the best expedient to wean him from that Vice, to chuse him Alcalde, or Chief Justice in Ordinary, for the space of a year: In execution of which employment he applied himself with fo much diligence and care in the difcharge of his truft, that being a Gentleman of excellent parts, he took not a Card in hand for the whole year following; the City observing this his active diligence, continued him in Office for a year longer, and afterwards kept him constantly employed in one publick charge or other; so that this Macio Serra disusing his course of Gaming, came at length or other; to that this man serve through the court of starting cannot at length to abhor it, calling to mind the many dangers, troubles and inconveniences to which it had betrayed him; which ferves as a pregnant example to demonstrate to us, how much idlened contributes to Vice, and employment unto Ver-Itrate to us, how much idlenets contributes to Vice, and employment unto Vertue. But to return to our Hilfory, we fay, that a Calculate may in fome measure be made of the Riches of that City, when an Image of Gold of that proportion and value fell to the lot and share of one single person. On each side of this Image the Bodies of the dead Incas were placed, embalmed with such rare Art (we know not how) that they seemed still living: their postures were stirlly often when they were alive, their Eager were strongly of the weeks they were alive. fitting on Chairs of Gold, erected on those very Frames of Gold on which they usually state when they were alive: their Faces were turned towards the people; onely Huann Capac, as if he had merited a supereminence over all the others, was placed with his Face towards the Figure of the Sun, as if he had been the most beloved, and greatest Favourite of all his Race; and indeed his Vertues and Royal Endowments, which appeared in him from his Insancy, were such, as procured for him a degree above the rest, and a place amongst the Gods which they adored. These Bodies, with what Treasure they were able, the Indians concealed in such secret Vaults, that none of them came to appear untill this year of 1559, when the Licenciado Polo made a discovery of sive of them, three where

of were Kings, and the other two were Queens.

The principal Gate opened to the North, as it is at prefent; befides which there were feveral other finall Doors for better convenience of the Temple; all which were leveral other infall Doors for better convenience of the Temple; all which were lined on the infide with Plates of Gold, as also the Jambs or Posts of the Doors. On the top of the Temple without, on the highest Wall, was a large Circle of Gold in form of a Crown, of above a Yard in breadth, which encompassed the whole Temple.

· C H A P.

#### CHAP. XXI.

Of the Cloiflers of the Temple, and of the feveral Chambers of the Moon and Stars, Thunder and Lightning. and of the Rain-bow.

**F**Rom the Temple there is a paffage into the Cloifters, which are encompaffed with four Walls, one of which is the Wall of the Temple: the rop of this Cloifter is spread with a Cieling of Gold, of about a Yard in breadth, and was the Ornament and Crown aloft; but the *Spaniards* afterwards despoiled the Roof of the Gold, and in place and memory thereof laid a Cieling of white Plaster: the which, when I departed thence, was still white and fresh, and the Walls found and flanding as formerly. The Provoft, or Mafter of this Cloiffer. had five large Chambers square allowed him for his Lodgings, not contiguous. or joyning one to the other, but separate and apart, being covered in form of a Pyramid, and which made the other three Walls of the Cloifter.

One of these square Chambers was dedicated to the Moon, whom they styled the Wife of the Sun, and therefore was nearest to the principal Chapel of the Temple, all the sides within, as also the Doors were Plated with Silver, for the better correspondence and resemblance with the colour of the Moon, whose Image was also erected in Silver, with the face of a Woman, and placed in the fame manner as that of the Sun- Into this Chamber they did usually enter to make their visits to the Moon, and recommend themselves to her favour; for that the being the Sifter and Wife of the Sun, was confequently the Mother of that he being the Shert and Whe of the Sour, was confequency the Monaquilla, which fignifies as much as Mother-Moon, to whom they offered Sacrifices as they did to the Sun. On each fide of this Image they placed the Bodies of the dead Queens, according to their Order and Seniority. Onely Mama Oello, who was the Mother of Humana Capac, had the chief place, being feated neareft, and with her face just opposite to the Moon; in regard, that having been the Mother of a Son so excellent and famous, did seem to have merited the primary place of

The Chamber next hereunto was dedicated to Venus the Evening-Star, and the other feven Stars, and to all the other Stars in general. The Star Venus they called Chasca, which is as much as to say, long and curled Locks; they named this Star the Page of the Sun, because it always attended on him, going sometimes before, and sometimes after him; for the seven Stars they entertained a particular respect, because of the strangeness of their position, and their equal proportion: These Stars they fansied to be the Attendants and Hand-maids to the Moon; and for that reason they lodged them in the Lobby, or Chamber next to her, that to they might be near, and the place more commodious for their fervice; for they were of opinion, that the Stars were Attendants belonging to the Court of the Moon, and not of the Sun, because they appeared in the Night onely, and vanished so soon as the Morning dawned, and the Sun arose.

This Chamber had its Walls and Doors all plated with Silver like that of the Moon; the Roof was painted like a Starry Sky, full of Stars of the greater and lesser Magnitude.

The next Chamber hereunto was dedicated to the Lightning, Thunder and Thunder-bolt, which three they comprehended under one common Name of Thapa, and the distinction of them was denoted by the Adjunct Verb: As for example; when they fay, Did you see the *Tlapa?* then they mean Lightning; or did you hear the *Tllapa?* then it is Thunder; or did you see where the *Tllapa* fell, or the damage it did? then they understand the Thunder-bolt.

All which they did not efteem for Gods, but regarded them as Servants of the Sun, as the Ancients did, who fanfied the Thunderbolt to be the Arms of Pubiters and for that reason they allotted them Lodgings in the Temple of the Sun. the which were adorned all over with Gold: howfoever they formed no Statue or Representation of them, because they knew not how to decypher any Similitude or Hieroglyphick to express them: This triple fignification of Thaps the Spatude or mierogrypnick to express them: I has cripic against action of *Thiopa* the *Spanifb* Historians have not understood, for if they had, they might have made a proper use of it, in making our word Trinity more intelligible to the capacity of the Indians, than by some other less fignificant terms which they have used and framed, but have not reached the Imagination or Genius of that People. Thus much I write, and as I have often faid, fo I still aver the same to be true, because I have fucked it in with my milk, and have heard it from my Ancestours; and as to other matters concerning the Thunder, we refer the Reader to what we have also ready declared.

The fourth Chamber they dedicated to the Rain-bow, because they apprehended it to be a Ray, or Emission from the Sun, and for that reason the Incus placed ded it to be a Ray, or Emission from the Sun, and for that reason the Incar placed it in their Arms, or Scutcheors, as a badge of their Family and Alliance; this Chamber was also surinished with Gold, and on the Walls a Rainbow was painted very haturally, with all its colours, which reached from one side to the other; the Indians call it Cuychn, and have it in such Veneration, that when they see it in the Air, they shut their Mouths, and clap their Hands before it; because they have an opinion, that if the Rainbow should discover their Teeth, his Instuences would spoil them, and cause them to rot; the which was one amongst their vulgar Errours, which they held without any reason, or foundation for its perfectly the surface of the s

tion for it.

90

There was moreover a fifth and last Chamber appropriated to the High-Priest, and other inferiour Priests under him, who attended on the service of the Temple, who were all *Incas*, descended from the Royal Bloud: This Chamber was not ordained for a room to fleep or eat in, but for a place of audience, or confultation, in what manner to regulate the Sacrifices, and all other matters appetraining to the Services of the Temple; the which Chamber, as all the others, was furnished and adorned with Gold from the top to the bottom.

#### CHAP. XXII.

Of the Name of the High Priest, and of other parts of this House.

THE Spaniards call the High Priest Vilaoma, by corruption of the true word Villac Umu, which is compounded of Villa, which fignifies as much as to speak or utter, and Umn, which is to divine or foretell; as if we should say, a Soothsayer, or one skilfull in Divination; not that he is to declare his own sentiments, but fuch as by his frequent intercourse and communication with the Sun, and by virtue and privilege of his Priesthood, he shall have received from him, namely, all those Fables which the Devils have uttered through the Organs of their Idols, or by secret voices, sounding in their Sanctuaries, or by the Interpretation of Dreams, or fuch kind of superstitious Rites, have all been esteemed oraculous and mysterious sayings, conveyed to them by the Administrations of the High Prieft.

Of those five Chambers which we have already mentioned, there were three onely that I faw remaining in their ancient state of Walls and Roof; and these alfo were despoiled of their Plates of Gold and Silver; but the other two, which were the apartments of the Moon and Stars were demolifhed, and laid level with the ground. In the outfide of these Walls, which bordered on the Cloisters, were four Niches, or Tabernacles made of free Stone, as the Walls themselves were; and these Niches had cases of Stone cut, and placed within the hollow of the Tabernacle, the which were lined with Plates of Gold, not onely on the top and fides, but on the bottom also; and the corners of these stone-cases, or frames, were all inlaid with pretious Stones, fuch as Efineralds and Turquoifes, because that Countrey neither yields Diamonds, nor Rubies: On great festival Days the Inca did usually sit in one of these Tabernacles, sometimes in one, and fometimes in another, as was appointed for the Festival.

In two of these Tabernacles, in the same Wall which looked to the Eastward, I remember that I observed many little holes in the Cases, or Frames which were emboffed within the Stone, and those which were in the corners reached from one fide to the other; those holes which were in the middle of the Tabernacle, onely marked or pitted the Wall: Enquiring of the Religious which belonged to that House, what these holes meant, they told me, that in the times of Indian Gentilism those were the places in which the pretious Stones were fet: these Tabernacles, and all the Doors, which were twelve in number, that opened to the Cloifter, were all plated with Leaves of Gold, excepting onely the Chambers of the Moon, together with those of the Stars, which, as we have faid, in refemblance of what they represented, were overlaid with Silver

onely.

Befides these five principal Chambers (which we have already mentioned to be appertaining to the Temple of the Sun) there were other Rooms of leffer note, which belonged to the Priefts, and the Servants under them, who were made *Incas* by privilege, because that no other *Indian*, how great soever he were, though a Curaca, or Lord, had not the liberty to enter within that House, much less was it granted to Women, though Daughters, or Wives of the King himself: The Priests attended to the service of the Temple by Weeks, which they reckoned by Quarters of the Moon; during which time they abstained from the company of their Wives, not departing from the confines of the Temple, eight ther by day or night.

Those Indians which performed the Drudgery of inferiour Services of the Temple, fuch as Porters, Sweepers, Cooks, Butlers, and the like, were the very fame that were Menial Servants and Officers in the Palace of the *locus*; for thele two Houses of the Father and Son were served with like attendance, excepting onely that in the Temple of the Father no Woman had admission, and in the Palace of the Son no Sacrifices were offered; all other matter had an equality of

Grandeur and Majesty.

BOOK III.

93

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Places where they offered Sacrifice, and where they put off their Shoes before they entred into the Temple. as also of the Fountains which belonged to it.

THE places where they burned their Sacrifices were appointed according to THE places where they burned their Sacrifices were appointed according to the folemnities of them; for fome were offered in one open square, and some in others; for there were many hallowed places belonging to the Temple, in which the Incan ordered the celebration of the Sacrifices, according as their pleasure and devotion directed. That general Sacrifice which was made at the great Festival of the Sun, called Raymi, was offered in the open Market-place of the City; other Feasts of lesser note were celebrated in an open Court before the Temple, where all the People and Nations of divers Provinces, belonging to the Dominion of the Empire, assembled together to keep the Holy-day with Dances and Songs, and other Recteations; but they could not pass beyond that place into the body of the Temple, nor remain there with Shoes on their Feet, because the ground was ballowed, being within the confines, and sanctified limits of the the ground was hallowed, being within the confines, and fanctified limits of the Temple; the which we observe here, to denote how far those boundaries ex-

There were three principal Streets, which ran Northward from the Marker-There were three principal Streets, which ran Northward from the Market-place to the Temple; one of which passed by the brook side, and another, which in my time they called the Prison-street, because the Spaniards made their Prison in it, (which, as I am informed, it since changed;) a third led from a corner of the Market-place to the Temple. There is another Street to the Eastward of these three, which leads also to the same place, and which is now called the Street of St. Auslin; through all which four Streets there was a way to the Temple. Street of Sr. Aufin; through all which four Streets there was a way to the Temple; but the principal Street, and most direct way thither, was that which we call the Street of the Prifon, though the Indian called it the Street of the Sun, because that that being in the middle, and in the streightest line of all the rest; was the common passage by which they went, and carried all their Offerings and Sacrifices to the Temple. There was also another Street which ran East and West, and crossed the other four mentioned Streets, which was the place determined for them, where to leave their Shoes; and shough they intended not to go so far as the Temple, yet that ground being within the Verge of it, no person could pass it, unless descaled, and with bare seet paid his reverence to the hallowed Earth, from which place are above two hundred paces to the Gate of the Temple.

But to return now to the Ornaments of the Temple; there were five Fountains of Water, which ran from divers places through Pipes of Gold; the Cifterns were fome of Stone, and others of Gold and Silver, in which they washed their Sacrifices, as the Solemnity of the Festival appointed. In my time, there was but one of those Fountains remaining, which served the Garden of a Convent with Water; the others were lost, either for want of drawing, or opening, or cleaning, and this is very probable, because to my knowledge, that which belonged to the Convent was also lost for fix or seven months, for want of which Water; the whole Garden was dryed up, and withered, to the great lamentation of the Convent, and the whole (ity, nor could any Indian understand how that Water came to fail, or to what place it took its course.

At length they came to find, that on the West-side of the Convent the Water took its course under ground, and sell into the Brook, which passes through the City; which in the times of the Inc. w had its banks kept up with stones, and the bottom well paved, that the Earth might not fall in; the which work was continued through the whole City, and for a quarter of a League without; the which now, by the carelessness and floth of the Spaniards, is broken, and the pavement displaced, for though the Spring commonly yields not water very plentifully, yet at some times it rises on a sudden, and makes such an incredible inundation, that the force of the current hath disordered the Chanel, and the hor-

In the Year 1558, there happened a great eruption of Water from this Fountain, which broke the main Pipe, and the Chanel, fo that the fury of the Torrent took another courfe, and left the garden dry, and now by that abundance of rubbish and sullage which comes from the City, the chanel is filled up, and not fo much as any mark, or fignal thereof remains.

The Friars, though at length they used all the diligence imaginable, yet they could nor find the ancient Chanel, and to trace it from the Fountain head by way of the Pipes, it was an immense work, for they were to dig through Houses. and deep conveyances under ground, to come at it, for the Head of the Spring was high: Nor could any *Indian* be found that could give any direction herein, which discouraged them in their work, and in the recovery of the others which anciently belonged to the Temple.

Hence we may observe, the ignorance and inadvertisement of those *Indians*, and how little the benefit of Tradition availed amongst them; for though it be onely forty two Years at this day fince those Waters for fook their course; ver neither the loss of so necessary a provision as Water, which was the refine the neither the loss of some of their Lives, nor of that stream which supplied the Temple of the Sun, their God, could by Nature, or Religion, conferve in them the memory of so remarkable a particular. The truth is, that it is probable that the Undertakers, or Master-working, of those Water-works, did communicate, or make known to the Priests onely the secret conveyances of those Waters, esteeming every thing which belonged to the Honour and Service of the Temple to be so sacred, that it was belonged to the Honour and Service of the Temple to be so facred, that it was not to be revealed to common ears, and for this reason, perhaps, the knowledge of these waters might dye, and end with the order of Priests. Had any thing remained which was to have been enquired into, as matters of Tribute, or of things relating to the Regalities, or Services, which are secular and profane; there is no doubt but the Memory of the People or Tradition would have given us light therein, as we plainly see in the History of these Countries, which were conserved by appointed, and approved Notaries, though in these days they begin to fail, and wear out of memory, being swallowed up by the modern Histories of this Name Entries. New Empire.

BOOK III.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Garden of Gold, and of other Riches belonging to the Temple, and of many other things in that Empire, after the Fallion of them.

O return now to this Fountain, I fay, that at the end of fix or feven months after it was loft, it happened, that fome Indian. Boys playing about the Stream, discovered an eruption of Water from the broken Pipe; of which they acquainting one the other, at length it came to the knowledge of the Spaniards, who judging it to be the water of the Convent, that had been loft, and diverted from its former course, gave information thereof unto the Friars, who joyfully received the good news, and immediately laboured to bring it again into direct conveyance, and conduct it to their Garden; the truth is, the Pipes lying very deep, were buried with Earth, fo that it cost much labour and pains to reduce it to its right chanel; and yet they were not fo curious or industrious as to trace the Fountain to the Spring Head.

That Garden which now fupplies the Convent with Herbs and Plants, was the Garden which in the times of the *Incas* belonged to their Palace, called the Garden of Gold and Silver, because that in it were Herbs and Flowers of all forts, lower Plants, and thrubs, and taller Trees, made all of Gold and Silver, together with all forts of wild Beafts, and tame, which were accounted rare and unufual; there were alfo firange Infects, and creeping things, as Snakes, Serpents, Lizards, Camelions, Butter-flies and Snails; also all forts of firange Birds and every thing difposed and in its proper place with great care, and imitated with much cutiosity, like the nature and original of that it represented.

There was allo a Mayeall, which bears the Indian Wheat, of an extraordinary bigness, the feed whereof they call Quinua, likewise Plants which produce lessers, and Trees bearing their several forts of Fruit, all made of Gold and Silver, and excellently well representing them in their natural Shapes. In the Palace also they had heaps or piles of Billets, and Faggots, made of Gold and Silver, rarely well counterfeited. And for the greater adornment and Majefly of the Temple of their God the Sun, they had caft vaft Figures in the forms of Men, and Women, and Children, which they laid up in Magazines, or large Chambers, called Pirva; and every year at the principal fealts the People presented great quantities of Gold and Silver, which were all employed in the adornment of the Temple; and those Gold-smiths whose Art and Labour was dedicated to the Sun, attended to no other work than daily to make new Inventions of rare workmanship out of those Metalls. In short, they made all forts of Vessels, or Utensils, belonging to the Temple, of Gold and Silver, such as Pots, and Pans, and Pails, and Fire-shovels, and Tongs, and every thing else of use and service, even their very Spades, and Rakes of the Garden were made of the like Metall, that with very good reason they might call the Temple, and all the House of the Sun, the Coricancha, or the Ingot of Gold.

In imitation of this Temple at Cozco, they made the Temples which were in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, of many of which, as also of the select Virgins Pedro de Cieça de Leon makes mention in his Observations of that Country; but omits to defcribe either the number of them, or the places, in which they were, but onely fuch as occurred to him in his travels through the great roads leaving those unmentioned, which remained on both hands out of the way; perhaps to avoid a tedious prolixity he might pass them by, in regard that by the model of one, the others may be described.

In the adornment of which Temples the Curacai contended, according to that abundance which their Countries produced of Gold and Silver, and herein they abundance with that for they might both honour their God, and flatter their Prince; by which means all the other Temples were plated with Gold and silver, and might fland in fome competition and terms of comparison with that of

Royal Commentaries.

The nearest Kindred or Relations to the Curacus were made the Priests of those Temples which were in the Provinces, though the Chief Price, or Superintendence over them was an Inca of the Bloud Royal, because it was necessary that he should direct the manner and order of their Sacrifices, after the use and custome of Coscos for in regard they were now to abhor and reject their Sacrifices of Men, and Women, and Children, and were forbidden to eat Man's Flesh, and many other bases their and contact, and were fortuned to can want stein, and many other our-barous Rices of abomination and fuperfittion; it was necessary for them to have the superious guidance of an *Ino.*, lest they should forget the true way, and relapfe back again into their former cultomes. This Superintendency which the Iron exercised was very acceptable to the Indians, for as they effected much of their management both of civil and martial Affairs, fo likewife they believed that they had most need of their direction in religious Worship, from whom all the knowledge thereof was descended to them. And thus much shall suffice to have touched concerning the riches of that Temple; other matters of which may be properly related in their due places.

#### CHAP. XXV.

Of the famous Temple of Titicaca, and of the Fables and Allegories alluding to it.

A Mongst the many famous Temples, which were dedicated to the Sun in Peru, and which in Ornament and Riches might compare with that of Cozeo; that in the Isle of Titicaca was of chief Fame and Renown. The word Titicaca fignifies the Forest of Lead, being compounded of Titi, which is lead, and Caca, which is a Forest, the Lake in which this Island is situated, hath taken the same name, being about two Musquet shot from the main Land, and is about five or fix thousand paces in compass, where the bear reported, that the Sun their Father first placed his two Children, the Man and Woman, whom he sent into the World to convert Mankind from the Errour of their ways, and to teach and instruct them the Rules of right Reason and Religion. To this Fable they add many others of ancient date, saying, that the Rays of the Sun, after the general Floud, were first seen in that Island, and in that Lake, before they appeared in any other place; and that this Lake is feventy or eighty fathom deep in some places, and about eighty Leagues in compass, the reason they give for not being navigable, or why Boats cannot go upon it, I can fay little unto, onely Blu Valera writes, that there is such quantities of the Magnet, or Load-stone in all parts of it, that hinder the Navigation, or use of the Compass.

By help of this Fable, and his own Ingenuity, the first Inca, Manco Capac, took the advantage to persuade the Indians, that he and his Wife were the Children of the Sun, and that they were placed in it by their Father, that from thence they might proceed into the World, to teach and instruct it in the way of true Religion, as we have at large related in the beginning of this Hiltory. The Incar, Who were Amaucus, or Philosophers, and wife in the politicks, made use of both these Fables, and related them by way of Prophecy: saying, that when the Sun darted his first Rays of Light into that Island, he then gave a fign and promise, that from that place the first Doctrines of Light should iffue; the which promise Book III.

BOOK III.

96

was afterwards accomplished by those Kings, who proceeded thence, and taught was atterwards accompanied by those Kings, who proceeded thence, and taught the World how to cast away the turpitude of their manners, and live by another Law and Rule of Reason. By advantage of these, and other such Inventions, it was not difficult for the Incas to persuade the other Indians of their descent from the Sun, and to confirm their belief by those many benefits and advantages which the Sun, and to confirm their belief by thole many benefits and advantages which their Doctrine and Religion brought with them. On the affurance of thefe two Fables the Inc.u., and all his Subjects did really efteen this Island to be a facred and a holy piece of Ground; and with that opinion they erected a rich Temple on it, all plated with Gold, and dedicated to the Sun; where generally all the Provinces fubjected to the Inca, did yearly offer Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, in a thankfull acknowledgment of those two Blessings he had given them in that place; and that Temple being of greater Devotion, had the lame attended of the supplementage in that place; and that Temple being of greater Devotion, had the lame attendence, and Officers belonging to it, as that of Cozco. And fo immense was the quantity of Gold and Silver, which was amassed in that Island, besides that which was cast and framed into Utensils, for the service of the Temple, that the Report which the Indians make of it is incredible, and more to be admired, than believed. Blas Valera speaking of the Riches of this Temple, and of the quantities of Gold and Silver which abounded, after all Vessels and Ornaments were supplied foich the beautiful and the second by the second by the second of the second or the second plied, faith, that he was informed by those Indians who are called Mitmac, and are a Colony who inhabit in Copa-Gavano, that there was fuch a superfluity of Gold and Silver, after all was finished, as might have been sufficient to have raifed and completed another Temple, without other materials whatfoever; and that fo from as those Indians had news of the Invasion of the Spaniards, and were informed that their Errant and Bufiness was to despoil them of their Riches, they demolished their Temple, and threw all the materials, and the immense Wealth of it, into that great Lake.

There is another Story which paffes, not unlike this, That in the Valley of Orcos, which is about fix Leagues from Oocos, towards the Sea of Zur, there is a little Lake of less than half a League round, but very deep, and encompassed with high Woods; It is reported, that when the Indians understood of the Arrival of the Spaniards, they threw a great quantity of the Treasure belonging to Coxco into it, and amongst the rest, that Chain of Gold which Hunyna Capuc caused to be made, of which we shall speak in its due place; upon affurance and belief hereof twelve or thirteen Spaniards, who fojourned at Cozco, not Inhabitants, but Merchants, and Adventurers, entred into an agreement together, on terms of equal benefit and lofs, to possess themselves of that Treasure by draining the Lake for it; in order whereunto they founded the depth, and found twenty three or twenty four fathom water, besides the mudd, which was also deep; then they resolved to open a fluce, or bay, at the lowest ground, or level of the Lake, that so a wide chanel being made for the water to pass into the River of Tucay, the Lake might be fewed or emptied by the great vent it would find by fuch an evacuation; in other parts they could not open it farther, because of the Rocks, and disadvantage of the ground, nor did they lay their Trench open to the top, (which perhaps might have been better,) but to fave charges made a Mine, and cut their Drain under ground. This work was begun in the Year 1557, with great hopes and expectations of Treasure; and being entred about fifty paces within the Earth, they unhappily croffed upon a Vein of hard Rock, at which pecking a long time, they found that they struck more fire out of it, than they drew water; in which having spent much money, time and labour, they at length gave over the work as desperate, and desisted from their Enterprise. I remember that I entred two or three times within the vault, whillt they were working, and have heard it often reported, that the Indians threw infinite Treasure into Lakes, Caves and Mountains, beyond all hopes or possibility of recovery.

Those Kings who were Incas, besides the Riches they bestowed, and encouragement they gave for the adornment of this Temple, they endeavoured much to improve the very Land of this Isle, that so they might render it fertile, and fit to bear Fruit; and that in gratitude to this place, on which their Ancestours deicending from Heaven, had fet their first footsteps, they might enoble it with all forts of good Husbandry and Agriculture: to this end they levelled and cleared it of Rocks and Stones, then they made Walks, and covered them over with good Earth, and Manure brought from far, and made the ground capable to produce Maye, or Indian-Wheat, which by reason of the coldness of the Climate, is not

broduced in that Countrey; this grane, with other feeds they fowed in the Gardens, which they had made, and which yielded good increase, together with a small quantity of Flax, the which Fruits the King sent as facred Presents to the Temple of the Sun, and the felect Virgins at Cozco, with orders to differ them all over the Convents and Temples of his Dominions, of which they fent some grane of this Year to this place, and next Year to the other, which were in high effeem, as Reliques or facred Donatives; and hereof they fowed fome in the Gardens belonging to the Temples of the Sun, and of those Houses which were of publick use within the Provinces; and divided and reparted them amongst the People; some Granes of this Corn they cast into the Granaries of the Sun, and of the King, and into the publick Magazines of Corn, believing that fome divine virtue was contained in it, and that it would bless and increase the Corn with which it was mixed, and conserve it from corruption, and render all more wholfome for humane sustenance; and that Indian who was so happy as to be able to get but one grane of this Maye, to throw into his Heap, was possessed with a certain belief, that he should never want Bread in the whole course of his Life; so superstitions were they in all matters relating to their Religion, and their Incar

> BOOK 0

# Royal Commentaries.

# BOOK IV.

## CHAP. I.

Of the Convent of those Virgins who were dedicated to the Sun.

MONGST the many things worthy of Observation, which those Heathen Kings followed in their vain Religion and Gentilisin; the Profession which some of their Women made of perpetual Chaftity, and the Retirements which were built for them in several Provinces are not here to be omitted; and for better understanding who those Women were, to whom they dedicated them-

felves, and wherein they were employed, we shall declare very distinctly, because it is a matter which the *Spanish* Historians touch but slightly, and as the Proverb goes, as the Cat doth a Coal of fire: and particularly we shall here treat of the House at *Coxo*, because that that was the model or pattern of all the rest.

In that City is a certain Lane, which they call \*\*Lellahaei\*, which is as much as the Houfe of the feparated Virgins: This Lane paffed through the two Streets, which lead from the Market-place to the Convent of St. \*\*Dominick\*, which was anciently the Temple of the Sun; one of these Streets paffed directly from a Corner of the Market-place, bending on the less thand towards the great Church to the Northward. When, in the Year 1570, that I departed from that City, this then was the chief Street for the Merchants; and the other Street which passes from the middle of the Market-place, where in my time the Prison was, led directly on the right hand to the said Convent of St. \*\*Dominick\*: The Front of this House was just opposite to the Market-place, and opened between those two Streets before mentioned; the backside of it bordered on another Street, which crosses Before mentioned; the backside of it bordered on another Street, which crosses Before was a separate pile of Buildings, with the great \*\*Dreat\*, or Court-yard, before the Temple. Whence we plainly perceive the mistake of those Writers, who report, that those Virgins had their Lodgings within the Temple of the Sun; and that they were Priestesses, and Affishants to the Priests in their Offertories and Sacrifices. For in regard it was the design and intention of the \*\*Dreat\* of separate these Virgins from the conversation, and society of Men; and that as Women were not permitted to enter within the Temple of the Sun, so neither were men allowed admission into the retirements of these Virgins; it cannot be rationally believed that these Virgins could have any other than a diffinct House, distant and disjoined from any other; and for this reason they called them the select, because

40 OH

()

they were felected apart and chosen with respect to their lineage and beauty; and that for affurance, that they were Virgins at the time of fuch admission into the Monaftery, they were received into that Order at eight years of age, or under

And because these Virgins who belonged to the Monastery at Cosco were dedicated, and as it were effoured to the Sun, It was effectived necessary that they should be of his Lineage and Bloud, that is, Daughters of the meas, or of his Uncles, and fuch who were descended by Father and Mother of the same Lineage and not Bastardized by mixture of humane bloud with divine race, but pure and unflooted; for fince their opinion was, that they were espoused unto the Sun, and that he was to have Children by them, 'twas reason that they should be without foot or blemish, and their bloud pure and undefiled.

These Monks, or Nuns, were commonly about 1500 in Number, governed by grave Matrohs, adultited to the same probession, who had lived and grown old under the fame rules and observance of their Vow: To these were properly committed the care and government of the younger fort, and from this Office they took the Name of Mamacuna, or Mother of the Maids, the word Mama fig. nifying a Mother; and Cuna in composition, care or watchfulness. With this Title their Offices were very agreeable, for some were Abbesses, others Mistresses to instruct the Novitiates, not onely in their Religious Worships, but likewise in Spinning, Weaving, Sowing, and the like employments; forme allowere Porters belonging to the Gates, others took care of the Huswifery, and Management. of the domestick affairs, and to make a provision of Necessaries, with which they were sufficiently supplied out of the Estate of the Sun; for they being his Wives could not be denied a maintenance out of his Revenue.

#### CHAP. 11.

Of the Rules and Statutes, and Employment of these Selest Virgins.

THey were Reclufes, and for ever thut up, during the whole term of their lives, and obliged to perpetual Virginity; they had no Locutory, or place allowed them at which they might fee or converse with Man or Woman; nor had they other society than one with another; for they held, that the Wives of the Sun were to have no communication with other, than with himself; and this their Seclution was fo ftrict and rigorous, that though the mea might perfonally have claimed this privilege, yet because no other should dare or adventure on this attempt by his example, he also denied himself this liberty; onely the Com. or Queen, with her Daughters, had the freedom to enter in, and vifit this Monaftery; and by them the hea prefented his Salutes, demanding of their health, and what their occasions and necessities required. I once saw this House standing alone, without any other Building before it; for onely that, and the Temple of the Sun, which made up two Streets, and four other great Courts, which had the Sun, which made up two Streets, and four other great Courts, which had been the Palaces of their Kings, remained entire; having been spared by the Indians, out of respect to their God the Sun, and the Indian their Kings, when in a general Insurrection against the Spaniards they set fire, and consumed all the rest of the City. Amongst other rarities of this Building, there was a narrow Gallery, in which two onely could go a-breast, that ran through the whole House; and this was the passage to several Chambers and Apartments on each hand, where the Offices of the House were kept, and where the Women worked: At every one of these Doors was a Portress; and in the farthest Chamber, at the end of the Gallery, was the Apartment for the Wives of the Sun, where none entred the Gallery, was the Apartment for the Wives of the Sun, where none entred besides themselves. This House had its common Gate, which we call the Great

Gate: at which none entred befides the Queen, and fuch as intended to profess the Order.

At the entrance of this Gallery there was a Gate for the common use and service of the House, at which there were twenty Porters always attending to bring in, or carry away whatfoever was needfull; but none of them could pass farther than the fecond Gate upon pain of Death, though they received Commands from within fo to doe; nor could any that was within give fuch Command, or Licence,

but on the fame penalty.

BOOK IV.

There were 500 Maidens appointed to attend the Service of these Virgins, who were Daughters of those who had the privilege to be called *Ireas*; not such as were defeended from the true Line, and pure Bloud of the Royal *Incas*, for those were effected and separated as Wives, or Spoules of the Sun 5 but such as the First Inca had made Incas by title and privilege, as before related; to which the Fift men had made men by the and privilege, as before related; to which frangers, or those who were afterwards reduced, could not attain. These Maidens had also their Manacana, or Matrons of the same Lineage appointed to them, being such, as having passed their years, and grown old in that House, had part of the care and management thereof committed to them. When the Spaniards had overcome this City of Cocco, and that they divided the publick Buildings amongst themselves for places to dwell and inhabit; one half of this Convent, which belonged to the Offices, fell to the lot of Pedro del Barco, whom in the fequel of this History we shall have occasion to mention; and the other half was the share of the Licenciado de la Gama, who resided there when I was very young; and afterwards it belonged to Diego Ortiz de Guzman, a Gentleman born at Sevil, whom I knew, and left at Cozco, when I departed thence for

Spain,

The principal employment of these Wives of the Sun was to Spin and Weave all the garments which the Inca and the Cora his lawfull Wife wore on their own Persons; they made also all the fine Linen which was offered to the Sun in Sacrifice; and what the Inca wore about his head, which was called Llanu, which was about the breadth of the middle finger, but very thick, and fo long as to take four or five turns about the head, with a coloured List reaching from one

temple to the other.

Their Cloathing was a shirt which reached to their knees, called Uncu; the Spaniards called it Cufma, which was not the common name of it, but onely that which a particular Province gave to it: They wore also a square Mantle of about two Foot deep, which served for a Cloak, called Tacolla. Moreover, these Nuns made Purses for the *Inca* of about a quarter of a Yard square, which they carried under their Arme, hanged by a fine Twift curiously embroidered, of about two fingers broad, and was in fathion of a Ribbon on the left Shoulder, reaching crofs to the right fide: These Purses they called Chuspa, and served them to put their Cuca into, which was an Herb that Indians now commonly eat, but was then fo rare, that none had the privilege to eat of it but the Inca onely, and his Kindred; unless fome Curacas, to whom the King out of a particular favour and affection fent perhaps some Baskets of it every year.

They also made certain Twists of two colours, which were Straw-colour and Carnation, which they called Paycha: these Twists were very fine, of about a Yard long; but were not defigned for service of the Inca, but for others of the Royal Bloud, which they wore on their Heads, binding their Foreheads from

one temple to the other.

# CHAP. III.

Of the respect they shewed to the Works which these Select Virgins made, and what Law there was against those who attempted on their Chastitv.

LL these Curiosities were the handy-work of these Virgins, made in great quantity for their Spouse the Sun; but because he was not capable to receive or wear those Ornaments on his own Person, they were sent unto the *Inca* as his lawfull and undoubted Son and Heir, that so he might use them in the stead and place of his Father; the which were esteemed by him as Sacred, and with great reverence and devotion respected by the Subjects of his whole Empire. And if the Greeks and ancient Romans did in the times of their Gentilism adore Juno, Venus and Pallus for Goddefles, it ought not to feem firange if these poor and simple people, who were under the highest circumstances of invincible ignorance imaginable, should with a superstitious zeal, and devout affection, adore and worship whatsoever their Religion taught them to be Divine and Sacred; for they apprehending that these Virgins were Com, or Queens and real Wives of the Sun, could not but shew respect and reverence to whatsoever proceeded from their hands and labour; for which reason, the *Incas* themselves could not bestow their Works on any that was not an *Inca* of the true Bloud; for that were a prophanation of fuch holy things, and a direct facrilege to employ divine productions to common and humane fervices. And though, as we have formerly faid. the King gave Vestments to Corracas, and other Governours, as Signals of his grace and favour; yet those were of another fort, as we shall hereaster make ap-

Moreover, the employment and office of these Virgins was to make the Bread. called Cancu, which at the great Festivals of the Sun, named Raymi and Citua. were offered to him in Sacrifice: they also made the Liquour which the Inca and his Kindred drank on the Holy-days of those Festivals called Aca. All the Vessels which were used in this House, such as Kettles, Pots, Jars, and the like, were all made of Gold and Silver, it being reasonable that the Wives of the Sun should live in an equipage agreeable to the quality of fuch a Husband; so that their Garden also was adorned with Trees and Fruit all made of Gold and Silver, with Plants, and Flowers, and Herbs, and Birds, and other Animals, all rarely counterfeited after the manner of those in the Garden of the Sun.

These were the chief employments of those Nuns which lived in the City of Cocco, the other part of their Life and Actions was agreeable to the profession they made of perpetual Virginity, and of Recluses from the rest of the World. they made of perpetual virginity, and of Reculuss from the reft of the World. That Nun who violated her Chaffity, was buried alive, and her Lover hanged. But in regard that (as they faid) a fimple death onely feemed too mean a punishment for 60 exorbitant an offence, which imported no lefs than the violation of a Wife dedicated to the Sun their God, and Father of their Kings; they ordained, that with the Delinquent his Wife and Children, Servants and Kindred, with his very Neighbours and Herds of Cattel, should without any remorfe, competition or lamentations of any her put to death, that all his Eighb and Examples. passion or lamentations of any be put to death; that all his Fields and Farms should be laid defolate, and covered with heaps of stones, that so no Cattel might ever feed more thereon, or ever be more trod with humane feet, which had produced or maintained a wretch fo vile and impious as this accurfed transgreffour.

This was the Law, but it was never put into execution, because none ever did transgress against it: For as the *Indians* of *Peru* (as we have said before) were great observers of their Law, and especially devoted to that part which respected their Religion, and the awe and reverence due to their Princes, fo they were very fevere in execution of those punishments which the Law prescribed, adheBOOK IV. Royal Commentaries.

102

ring to the very rigour of the letter without more remorfe or compaffion, than ring to the very figure of the letter without milest tensor or companion, than if they had deftroyed a fwarm of Wafips, or drowned a litter of Whelps; for the *lineas* defigning their Laws for the Rules of Humane life, would never further than the contraction of the contraction of the life. them to be frostrated or eluded by the boldness of any that attempted to break

#### CHAP. IV.

That there were many other Houses of these Select Virgins. The leverity of the Law before-mentioned, is proved by Example.

LL that we have faid before had relation to the House of those Virgins at Cozco, who were dedicated to the Sun: But besides this, there were several other Houses for Women of the same profession in divers of the principal Provinces, which the Inca out of his bounty and favour commanded to be built and endowed; but into these, Maids of all conditions and qualities had admission. as well those whose bloud was tainted with common mixture, as those who were of the pure and limpid streams of Royal Bloud. The Daughters also of Curacas, as a mark of favour, were fometimes admitted here; fome Maids also of exact beauty, and rare features, though of the common race, were fometimes also received in, the which both their Fathers and themselves esteemed for an extraordinary favour; but then they were not admitted under the notion of Wives, or Concubines, to the Sun, but of the *Inca* onely. Howfoever, they referved themfelves with the fame retirement and care as those of the Sun; and were attended with young Maidens for their Servants, and maintained at the charge of the Inca: Their employment also was the same with those at Cozco, being to Spin and Weave, and make Gaments for the *Inca*, which they performed in great abundance, and in the same manner as we have related of the others: But howsoever, those Vestments were not esteemed so facred, as to be onely appropriated so the Person of the Inca, but were such as the Inca bestowed on his great Lords and Captains, and other Subjects, whenfoever he was pleafed to honour them with fome fignal note, or mark of his favour.

These also had their Mamacunas, or Matrons to oversee them, as those had which lived at Cozco, and were governed by the fame rules; excepting that those who lived at Cocco were all of the true Royal Bloud, and obliged to a perpetual Cloifter and Virginity; but these were Maids of all forts and conditions, provided that they were beautifull, being not defigned for Wives of the Sun, but Concubines to the Inca.

The fame rigour of Law was practifed against those who debauched and defiled the Women of the Inca, as against those who became Adulterers with the Virgins espoused to the Sun; for the crime being the same, required the same punilliment; but as there was never any fuch offence committed, so there was neyer any fuch feverity executed; but to confirm that there was fuch a Law, we have the authority of Augustin de Carate, who in the seventh Chapter of his second Book, discoursing of the causes of the violent Death of Atahualpa, hath these very words, which I have copied out Verbatim, being very much to our purpose. And as (suith he) all the Allegations which were made hereupon were all pronounced by the Tongue of the same Filipillo, he interpreted nothing but what made to his own purpose. What might be the cause which moved him hereunto, can never be certainly determined; though it must be one of these two things, either that this Indian entertained private Amours with one of the Wives of Atabaliba, and expected by his death to enjoy her

with more security; which being come to the knowledge of Atabaliba, he complained there of to the Governour, sating, That he was more sensible of that majortune, than he was of of to the Governour, sating. That he was more sengues of that misjorune, than he was of his imprisonment; and that no misery, though accompanied vish Death, could touch him so meanly as this; for that a common indicat of baselectrastion, should esteem him at of mean a rate, as to make him the subject of so high an assertion, in despish of that Law of their Country, which assigned no less a punishment for it, than that such offendour should be burnt alive, with his wives, Fathers, Children, Brothers, and all the rest of his Kindred, nay the very Flocks and Herds of such an Adulterer were to be destroyed, his Lands laid has the very loves and steer a y face in addicated from the very Roots, his Houses demoli-foed, with many other inflittions of the like nature. Thus far are the words of Angustin de Carate, which serve to confirm what I have wrote concerning this matter, and indeed I was pleased to have my words avouched by the testimony of this Spanish Cavalier: For though other Hiftorians mention this Law, yet they onely fay, that it was with the Death of the Offendour, omitting that of his Wife, and Father, and Relations, and all the other Solemnities of this punishment; whereby we may understand how grievous that offence was esteemed; and how deeply that poor Ima Arabnapa relented it, when in the Agony of his Heart, he said, That he selt it more than his Imprisonment; and all other inselicities, though attended ded with Death it felf.

Those Women who had the honour to be extracted from these Houses for Concubines to the King, were made uncapable of ever returning thither again. but remained in the Court as Ladies and Attendants on the Queen, until fuch time as they were diffinified, and licence given them to return into their own Countries; where for ever afterwards they were provided with Houses and Revenue agreeable to their Quality; and to the Dignity and Honour they had acquired by having been Miltreffes to the Inca. Thole who could not attain to this Honour, were obliged to remain in their Cloifter until they were ancient, and then had liberty either to continue till the time of their Death, or to return to their own Countrey, where they were treated with fuch respect as was due to the

profession they had made.

#### CHAP. V.

Of the Quality and Ornament of these Select Virgins, and that they were not to be given unto any person whatsoever in Marriage.

THose Virgins which were dedicated or designed for the present King, had the Title after his Death of Mothers to the Successor, with the Addition also of Mannacuna, which was a Name properly belonging to their Office, which obliged them to teach and overfee the young Novices, who were admitted for Concubines of the New Inca, and treated by them as their Children and Daughtersin-law. Every one of these Convents had its Governour or Superiour, who was an Inca, and whose business it was to provide all Necessaries for the use of these Wives of the Inca; for though in reality they were but Concubines, yet in refrect and courtefie they gave them the Honourable title of Wives. In every one of these Houses belonging to these Maidens, separated for the use of the Inca; all their Utensils and Services of the House were made of Gold and Silver, as those were which belonged to the Wives of the Sun, and to the famous Temple, and (as we sliall hereafter declare) to the Royal Palaces; for indeed all the Gold and Silver, and pretious Stones which were found and amaffed in that great Empire, were, for the most part, employed to no other use, than to the Service and Adorn-

#### BOOK IV. Royal Commentaries.

ment of the Temples of the Sun, which were very numerous, and of the Cloifters of those Virgins, which were equally considerable, and to embellish the Royal Palaces with agreeable pomp and magnificence; the quantity confumed in the Services of Curacus, and great Men was little, and that chiefly in their Cups. or drinking Vessels, which was also limited and moderated according to such a de-gree of Weight and Number as the *luca* was pleased to allow them; there was also some small matter licensed for their Garments and Cloathing, when the grand Festivals were celebrated.

It is a great errour and mistake of those who report, that any of these separated Virgins might lawfully be given for Wives to the great Commanders and Caprains by any favour or dispensation of the *luca*; for being once dedicated and confectated for Wives of the *luca*, and admitted to that profession, they were ever after rendred uncapable of to low a condescention as to own any other Husband; for that were to prophane that Sacred Character whereby they were deband; for that were to propriate that sacred Character whereby they were de-dicated to the *Inca*, and an injury to the Woman, who thereby would be forced to renounce all the grandeur and privileges the enjoyed, under the Reverend Title of one Married to the *Inca*, that the might receive the lefs honourable condition of a private perfon. And fince it was a fundamental Law amongst them, *That* on a private perion. And infect was a limitation to be offered to their Kings, who, as we have faid, were honoured and adored by them under the Notion of Gods.

#### CHAP. VI.

What Women those were whom the Inca presented and bestowed in Marriage.

THE truth is, there were fome Women, of whom the Inca made Preferrs to fuch Curacas and Captains, who by their Services had merited rewards from him; but then these were but the Daughters of other Curacas, which the *Inca* took from them to bestow in Marriage upon those who had deserved well from him, which feemed a favour to them both; unto the one that the bica would youchfale to receive and prefer his Daughter; and to the other, that he was plea-fed to bestow her on him with his own hand, being for that reason esteemed pre-tious; for not so much the gift, as the Donor being regarded, rendred the least prefent from the Ine's hand equal to the highest treasure, as if it had something of Divinity conferred with it. Sometimes, though but seldom, the Inew preferred their natural Daughters of the Royal Bloud to the Curacas, and Governours of Provinces for Wives, as fignals of his favour, and as engagements to them to continue in their Loyalty; of which fort the *Inca* having many to bestow abroad, had no necessify to have recourse to those for a supply, who were entred in the Sacred and Royal Foundations; for that would have been a diminution to their exalted Degree, a violation to their Religion, and an impiety to mix divine race with prophane Bloud.

BOOK IV.

#### CHAP. VII.

Of other Women, who conserved their Virginity, and of Widows.

Besides these Virgins, who lived Recluses in Cloisters, under the Vow of perpetual Chastity, there were many other Women of Royal Bloud, who lived in retirement, and vowed to conserve their Virginity, though with liberty to go abroad, and visit their nearest Relations, and assist the sick, and Women in their Travels, and to be present at the Ceremony of shaving, when they gave a Name to their first-born. These Women were held in great Esteem and Veneration, for their Chastity, and purity of their Lives; giving them by way of Excellency, or of some Vertue Divine, the Title of sector, which signifies something of supereminent Sanctity; and this their Chastity was not pretended, or seigned, but true and real; for if any falsity or hypocrisic were discovered in it, they burnt them alive, or threw them to the Lions to be devoured. I remember that I knew one of these that was very ancient, and had never been married, which they called Occlo; sometimes she visited my Mother, and, as I have heard, she was her Aunt by the Grandstather; I can say, I am a witness of the great respect they bore towards her, and especially my Mother, who for her Relation, Years and Vertue, behaved her self towards her with all imaginable Reverence and Veneration.

Nor must we here omit the Modelty and Vertue of Widows in general, who for the first Year of their Widowhood kept themselves retired, and free from all conversation, there being very sew of those, who had not Children, that married again, much less those who were provided with them, did ever return to a second Marriage, but lived with Continence and Chastity; for which reason the Laws were favourable towards them, commanding Labourers to plow and cultivate their Lands before those of the Caracas, with many other privileges, which the favour of the Boca indulged to them. The truth is, it was a disparagement for a Man, who was not a Widower himself, to marry with a Widow, for as they said, he lost I know not what quality and repute by such a condescention. And this is what is most observable in reference to Virgins, and Widows, and modest Women.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Of their Marriages in general, and how their Houses were governed.

IT will now be proper in this place for us to treat of their Marriages, and how they were joined together in the Kingdoms and Provinces subjected to the Inca: In order hereunto it is to be noted, that every year, or every two years, the King commanded his Officers to take an account of such young Men and Maidens of his Lineage, as were marriageable, within the City of Cocce, that so they might be matched together; the Maidens were to be of eighteen to twenty years of age, and the young Men from twenty to twenty four, and upwards; under which age they were not esteemed to be of years of consent, for that it was necessary they should be of a ripe age and judgment to govern their Families, which could not be done by

Children in their minority. At the Ceremonies of Matrimony the *Inc.* frood between the two Perfons, and cafting his Eyes upon them both, he called the Man by his Name, and then the Woman, and taking their hands into his, joined them together, which being the bond of Matrimony, the Function was performed, and being by the *Inca* configned to their Parents, they went home to the House of the Bridegroom's Father, where the Wedding was kept for four or fix days with great rejoycing: This was the manner and form of their legal Marriages, which for the great Favour and Honour the *Inca* had performed in this Function, were called in their Language, the *Inca* had performed in this Function, were matched those of his own Lineage, then the next day following the Officers for this Employment joined the Neighbourhood of the City, with respect to that Division, which we have mentioned at the beginning of this History, of the Upper and the Lower Cozeo.

The Houles which were appointed for the Habitation of the new married Couples, who were *Incan*, (concerning whom we treat at prefent) were prepared by the *Indians* of those Provinces, whose charge it was, according to such provincing as was made in that case. All the Furniture and Utensils of the Houses were provided at the charge of the Parents; every one of their Kindred giving them something towards House-keeping, which was all the Ceremony or Sacrifice performed at that Solemnity; and though many *Spanish* Historians report diversorher barbarous Customs in use at Marriages, it is for want of a diffinct knowledge of the Rites of one Province from another; for in those Provinces indeed which were remote from *Cozco*, and where the Seigniority and Rule of the *Incus* had not as yet arrived, there may have been many abfurd and impious Ceremonies in use, which fince have been corrected, and abolished by the more wise and refined Go-

vernment of the Incas.

But as to the true Politicks of the Inc.u, they observed no other Form of Marriage than this before recited, according to which the Curacus in their Provinces, and the Governours in their respective Divisions conformed their discipline, and as Fathers and Lords of their Countrey, practifed it in the same manner as slid the Inca. And though the Inca, who was Governour, was present at the Marriages which the Curaca solemnized; yet it was not to interpole, or diminish the Authority of the Curaca solemnized; yet it was not to interpole, or diminish the Authority of the Curaca had performed by virtue of the power he exercised over his own Vassals. When the Commonalty, or ordinary fort married, the Community of the People were obliged to build, and provide them Houses, and the Parents to sumish them. It was not lawfull for any to marry out of his own Province, or People; but, as the Tribes of Israel, they were obliged to match within their own Lineage and Nation; and excepting onely Sisters, they joined promiscuously together, like Sheep of the same flock; so that the People of a Province were not allied onely by Nation, but by Kindred and Bloud. By which it appears, that it was not lawfull for any to change his Countrey or Habitation, or pass the limits of his Division, or Decurion, but to keep limites close to his People and Families; for in regard the Assemblies within the Community were obliged to build the Houses of the new married, it was their own duty to conserve them in Repair, and not to wander without the Barrier, and Confines of their Parentage.

P<sub>2</sub> CHAP.

BOOK IV.

108

#### CHAP. IX.

That the Prince, who was Heir apparent, was to marry his own Sifter, and the reasons which they gave for it.

Having now declared the manner in general, and the way how the common Indians married; we shall in the next place proceed to treat of the Marriage of the Prince, who was Heir apparent. In explanation of which it is to be noted, of the Prince, who was rien apparent. In explanation of which it is to be noted, that it was the most ancient Custome, and fundamental Law of those Kings, that the Prince, who was Heir, should marry with her that was his own Sister by Father and Mother, and she onely was capable of being his Legitimate Wife, whom they called Cost, which is as much as Queen, or Empress, and the Eldest Son of these two was allowed for the true and lawfull Heir of the Kingdom.

Theo two was anowed for the due and rawful refer of the Milgoom.

The Original of this Law and Cuftome was derived from the first Inca, Mamo Capue, and his Wife, Mamo Octo Huaco, who feigning themselves to be the Children and descended from the Sun, and to be Brother and Sister, it was therefore concluded by all the Indians, (who perfectly believed this Story) that by the example of these two, the same Rule was to be observed in the succession of all future Ages; and this they confirmed by another Example of the Sun and Moon them-Ages; and this riey commined by another example of the sun and Moon themfelves, who being Brother and Sifter, were joined in Marriage; and therefore this ferved for an undeniable Authority and Argument to prove the Legality of fuch a Marriage, by an inflance fo convincing, as that of these Deities: Yet for want of such assume the Prince might then marry with the nearest of Kindred, fuch as his Coufin-German, or Aunt, who, for want of Heirs male, were capable of inheriting the Crown, according to the Cuffome in *Spain*.

For want of Heirs male by the first Sister, the Prince might marry with the

fecond, or third, and fo on, untill he met with one that produced fuch iffue: and fecond, or third, and so on, until he met with one that produced such iffue: and this Rite was punctually observed, and maintained to be legal, from the example of the Sun and Moon, and of the first bear and his Sister, and from that Rule which enjoined them to keep the Streams of Royal Bloud pure and unmixed, lest they should incur the impiety of mixing Divine Bloud with Humane Race. And because the right of this Inheritance came as well by the Mother as the Eather, the same could not be conserved, unless they both concurred to make an Heir with an undoubted Title. Hercunto they added farther, that the Majesty of the Queen could not be communicated to any other, unto whom it did not appertain by Nature; for that her Conjunction and Union with the King could not render her capable of fuch a Character, which was to be worshipped and adored in the place of a Deity, for that were to commit Idolatry, by giving Divine Worthip to a Humane Creature.

Befides the lawfull Queen those Kings might have many Concubines, both of their own Kindred, to the fourth Degree, and also of Strangers; but the Children by them were observed with different degrees of respect; the Sons by the Kinswomen were effected legitimate, having no mixture of common Bloud, which quality was ever effeemed with high Veneration, when those by Strangers were accounted Baffards; and though they had fome respect shewn them above that of common degree, yet it was not with fuch exteriour and interiour Devotion, as to those of purer Bloud, who were accounted Gods, when these were onely honoured as Men. So that the King had three forts of Children, one by his Sifter and Wife, who were legitimate, and capable of the Succeffion; another fort was by his Kintwomen of the fame Bloud; and a third by Strangers, who were

reputed Natural and Baffard-Sons.

#### CHA

Of the different manners of inheriting Estates.

 $\mathbf{F}^{\mathrm{OR}}$  want of Issue male by the legitimate Wise, the Law then was, that the Eldest of the true bloud should succeed, as it happened in the case of  $\mathit{Manco}$ Inca a Hunfear, as we shall hereafter make appear in its due place, for in no wise it would be permitted that a Bastard should inherit; and for want of lawfull Sons of the bloud, the Inheritance fell to the next of Kindred, provided he were truly descended by Father and Mother.

By reason of this Law Atabualpa destroyed the whole Race of the true and Royal Bloud, both Men and Women, (as we shall relate in its due place;) for he being a Baftard, and therefore uncapable to inherit, made way to his ufurned Kingdom by the death of the lawfull Heirs, left one of them remaining alive. should recover it again from his Power. All those of the Bloud married together, to the fourth Degree, that so the Generation of them might multiply to great numbers; onely the eldeft Sifter was referved for the King, it not being lawfull for any to take her befides himfelf. The eldeft Son always inherited the Kingdom for a feries of twelve Kings, who fucceeded without interruption, untill the State niards invaded them.

Howfoever amongst the Curacas, or Lords over Vassals, a different Rule and Custome was observed; for in some Provinces the Eldest Son succeeded, in others the most beloved, and esteemed for his Vertue, and Astability was the qualification required, of which the People being Judges, the Government feemed rather Elective than Hereditary. This Law was a curb to the Sons of the Curacus, restraining them from Tyranny, and an obligation to be vertuous; for in regard the Dilpofal of the Inheritance depended on the pleafure of the People; the Sons contended in kindness towards their Subjects, and every one laboured to render himself, by his Valour and Gentleness, the most beloved and acceptable to the People.

In some Provinces the Sons inherited according to their Birth, as when the Father dyed, the Eldest Son succeeded, then the second, then the third, and so forward; and when all the Brothers were extinct, the Inheritance fell to the Eldest Son of the Eldeft Brother, and to fucceffively; fo that hence appears the miftake of a certain Spanish Historian, who says, that it was the common Custome of all Peru, that the Brothers of the King should gradually succeed one after the other; and that all of them being dead, then the Kingdom afcended again to the Eldeft Son of the eldest Brother; which Errour proceeded from a misunderstanding of the true difference between the manner of inheriting by *Incas*, and *Curneas*. For though the Incas did reduce and Subdue many Provinces to their Power, yet they did not alter their Customes, and ancient Laws, unless they interfered with their Religion, and their own fupreme and absolute Jurisdiction; but rather they confirmed many of those Customs which were good and laudable; particularly that whereby the most deserving Son was chosen to the Government, it seeming a four and incitement to Vertue, to have Power and Grandeur fet up for the Prize and Reward of their Merit: the which appeared to reatonable, that a certain *Inca* King defired once to have introduced this Custome into his own Family, and in despight of their own severe Law of Primogeniture, have made his Sons depend There is a People about fourty Leagues to the Eaftward of Cozco, which I have been amongft, of the Nation of Quechas, fome call them Sutement, where a particular inflates between the Eaftward of Cozco, which I have been amongft, of the Nation of Quechas, fome call them Sutement, where a particular inflates between the Cozco of the Nation of C ticular inftance happened, relating to the different manner of inheriting in that Countrey. The Curaca of that People, called Don Garçia, finding himself at the point of death, called for his four Sons, who were Men grown, with the Nobles of his Province, and admonished them by way of his last Words and Testament,

BOOK IV.

that they should observe and keep that Law of Jesus Christ which they had lately received, and for ever praise and thank God for sending them so inestimable a benefit and honour, and ferve the Spaniards for having been the means and inftruments of such Divine Revelations, and that they should serve and obey their Master with singular Association, to whose lot and fortune it should fall to be their Lord and Governour; lastly, he told them, that since it was the Custome of their Countrey to elect the most vertuous unto their Government, he charged them to Countrey to elect the moit vertuous unto their Government, he charged them to make choice of that Person amongst his Sons, whom they esteemed the most deferving, and that in case none of them appeared worthy of their paternal Succession and Honour, that then, passing them by, they should chuse such a Person from amongst themselves, whom they reputed of greatest Honour and Worthing ness: for that fince nothing was so dear to him as the common Good, and Benefit of his People, he defined not the promotion of his Children farther than as it tended to that end and defign: All which a Prieft, who had been his Confeffour, reported as a remarkable Testament and Passage in those barbarous parts.

## CHAP. XI.

Of their Ceremonies when they weaned, and shaved, and gave Names to their Children.

THE Incas, when they weaned their Eldest Sons, they made great Feasts and rejoycing, which they did not observe for their Daughters, or second or third Sons, at least not with that solemnity; for the order of Primogeniture of Males was in high Esteem with the Incu, and by their Example with all their

Subjects.

They weaned them at two years of age, and upwards, and then clipt off the Hair of their Heads, and with that gave them their Names: At which ceremony the Kindred affembled, and he that was to impose the Name, shore off the first lock of the Infant's Hair. Their Sciffers were made of a Flint, for as yet the Indians were not arrived to a better Invention; after the God-father had fnipped his lock, the rest of the Kindred did the like, one after the other, according to their Age and Quality; and when the Infant was quite shorn, then the Name was given, with the Prefents which they brought; for some gave him Garments, and clothing, others bestowed Cattle, others Arms of divers Fashions, others Cups of Gold and Silver to drink in: the which was performed onely towards the Princes of the Royal Bloud; for that the Commonalty were not permitted this Honour, unless by particular Privilege or Dispensation.

After this Ceremony was ended, then came in their drink, for a dry Feast was accounted dull, and with Singing, and Dancing, they paffed the whole Day, until Night parted them, which Jollity being the next day renewed, continued for three or four days, according to the quality of the Parents; the like Ceremony was observed, when the locks of the young Prince, and Heir apparent, were clipt, at which the High Priest of the Sun assisted, and was the first to cut his Hair; moreover at this folemnity the Curacus of the whole Kingdom, either in Person, or by their Deputies appeared, and were affilting at this Festival, which continued for the space of at least twenty days, offering their Presents of Gold, and Silver, and pretious flones, and what elfe was curious and rare, in their

refrective Provinces.

In refemblance hereof (because it is natural for People to imitate their Prince) the Curacas, and generally all the Nations of Peru followed this Example, in some proportion agreeable to their Quality and Ability; and this was accounted one of their most jolly and merry meetings.

CHAP

## CHAP. XII.

Roval Commentaries.

That they educated their Children without any tenderness.

S well the Incas, as the Commonalty, both rich and poor, bred up their A Children with the least of tenderness and delicacy that was possible: for fo foon as an Infant was born, they washed it in cold water, before they swathed it in is Mantles; and then every morning they bathed it in cold water, and formetimes exposed it to the dew of the night; perhaps the Mother would sometimes out of tenderness spirit the water out of her mouth on the Child, and so wash it; but generally they had an opinion, that cold and exercise did corroborate and strengthen the Body and Limbs: their Armes they kept swathed, and bound down for three months, upon supposition, that to loose them sooner, would weaken them; they kept them always in their Cradles, which was a pitifull kind of a frame, fet on four legs, one of which was shorter than the rest, for convenience of rocking; the Bed was made of a fort of course knitting, which was something more foft than the bare boards, and with a ftring of this knitting they bound up the Child on one fide, and the other, to keep it from falling out.

When they gave them fuck they never took them into their Lap or Armes, for if they had used them in that manner, they believed that they would never leave crying, and would always expect to be in Armes, and not lie quiet in their Gradles; and therefore the Mother would lean over the Child, and reach it the Breaft, which they did three times a day, that is, at morning, noon and night, and unless it were at those times, they never gave it suck; for they said, that not accustoming it to set hours, would cause it to expect suckling the whole day, and be never quiet, but when the Breast was at the Mouth; which causes frequent be never quiet, but when the Breatt was at the Mouth; which causes frequent vomits and pewkings, and made them, when they were grown Men, to be gluttons, and drunkards; for we fee, faid they, in other Creatures, that they adminifer their Dugs and Nipples to their Young at certain hours and featons. The Mother always nurfed her own Child, for though the were a Lady of the highest degree, the would never fuffer her Infant to be nourifhed with the milk of another, unleis in the case of sickness, or some other infirmity; and during the time of their nursing, they abstained from the Bed of their Husbands, as that which would curdle their milk, and make the Child a Changeling. Such as were thus transferred to stranger Nurse, were called Anglea, which is a participle of the preterpersect tense, and is as much as to say, one denied, or renounced, or changed by its Parents; and by way of Metaphor the younger fort would reproach one the other with that word, intimating that his Miftrefs shew'd more favour to his Rival than to himfelf; to utter that word to a married man were a high affront, being one of those five words that are scandalous, and will bear an Action. I knew once a Palla, or Lady of the Bloud Royal, who was forced to give her Daughter to be fuckled by another; the faithless Nurse proving with Child, her Foster-child fell into a Confumption and Convultions, and became nothing but Skin and Bones; the Mother finding her Daughter in this manner made Amlea, at the end of eight months after, when the had almost dried up her milk, the reftored her Infant to her own natural Breaths, which fetched down her milk again, and applying an Unguent of Herbs to the Shoulders, the Infant recovered, which was before given over, as in a desperate condition; such is the virtue of the Mother's Milk, that there is nothing more medicinal, and nothing more reftorative than that natural fuftenance.

If the Mother had a fufficient flock of Milk, the Child never received any other nourifhment than that, untill the time it was weaned; for they were of opinion, that all other forts of food created nothing but crudities and indigeftions. When it was time to take it out of the Cradle, they made a little pit for it in the floor, which reached to the Breaft, in which they put it, with some old clouts to make

it fost, to which the Child being inured, did not trouble the Mother's Armes, and having some sew play-things thrown before it, it pleased and contented it self without the least disturbance; and so unwilling were they to accultome it to the Lap, that though it were a Child of the greatest Curaca of the Kingdom, it was not treated otherwise; and that when it was grown so big as to crawl about, they would use it to suck upon its knees at one Breast, and then teach it to creep about to the other, but would never take it into the Armes. The Woman in Child-bed was treated yet more hardily than was the Child; for so so sa she had brought forth, she went to the next stream, or to some cold water in the House, where she washed her self and her Infant, and afterwards applied her self to her domestick Affairs, without any concernment whatsoever: They had no use of Midwives, or others, at their Labours, and if any did affist, the was rather a Witch, or Enchantres, than a Midwise. And this was all the custome and manner in Pern, which was equally practified by the Rich and Poor, Nobility and Commonalty, both at the Birth of their Children, and breeding them up afterwards.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Of the Huswifery of the married Women.

THE married Women always employed themselves at home in spinning and weaving Wool in the cold Countries, and of Cottons in the hot, every one spinning and making Cloaths for themselves, their Husbands, and Children; sowing was the least of their work, either for Men or Women, for their thread was bad, and their needles worse; notwithstanding whatsoever they wove, whether Wool, or Cotton, all was spun, and twined into threads. All their Cloth was made of four threads, and not woven wider or longer, than just as much as was sufficient to make a Mantle, Shirt, or Wastcoat; their Vestments were not cut out, or shaped, but all of a piece, after the manner that they came from the Loom; for before they began to weave them, they designed the proportion of length and breadth, which they intended to give them; so that they had need neither of Taylors, Hosses, nor Shomakers, for they had no need of those things which we make necessaries, and their Women took care of their Houses and Clothing, onely the Men were to provide the Hose, or Stockings, and Arms; and though the meas of the Royal Bloud, and such as were Curacus, and rich Men, had Servants to perform all these works for them; yet sometimes for divertisement, and in complyance with the Prosession which their Law enjoyned them, they sometimes did not disclain to work themselves, and make a pair of Breeches, or Stockins, or an Arrow, or some other fort of Arms; but as to the Labours of the sield both Men and Women, did jointly concur in their affistence one of the other.

In some Provinces far distant from Cozco, where the Lands were ill manured, there the Women laboured in the Field, and the Men remained at home to spin and weave; but my Discourse is here of those Countries onely to which the Power and Jurisdiction of the Ineas did extend, for other parts were so barbarous, and void of all humanity, that it were not worth our time or labour to give an account of their Customs or Manuers. The Instan Women were so addicted to spinning, and so unwilling to lose time from their Labour and Work, that as they walked from the Villages to the City, and so in their return home, and also in their Visits, and Conversation together, they still made use of their Spindle and Reel; for this was the constant employment of the common People, but the Pallats, or Ladies, who were of the Royal Bloud, whensever they made their Visits, they made their Serving-Maids carry their Spindles and work with them,

and during their Vifits, not to loofe time, or be idle, they fipun and worked as they difcourfed; their Spindles were made of Canes, as we in *Spain* have them of Iron, they were crooked, but not hollow at the point, as ours are: with their thread they made a kind of Filleting, which they wound in upon their Spindles, twifting it with the fingers of their left hand; their Diftaff they carried in their left hand, and not at their girdle; being about a quarter of a yard long, and held between two of their Fingers, and then with both hands they formed the fineneß of their thread, and cleared it of foulness, but did not wet it at their mouths, because in my time they spun nothing there besides Wool and Cottons; nor do they make any great riddance of their work, because their Instruments and Tools are bad, as we have already declared.

#### CHAP. XIV.

How the Women made their Visits; how they worked; and that common Whores were permitted amongst them.

When any Woman, that was not a Pulla, though she were the Wise of a Curaca, who is a Lord that hath command over his Subjects, came to make a Visit to a Pulla, who was a Lady of the Bloud Royal; so soon as the first Salutations and Complements were ended, she presently asked whether she had any Work for her, or Service to command her; for she carrying not her Work with her, did seem to intimate, that the pretended not to so much familiarity as to come onely for Converse, but as an inferiour, to demand wherein she might be efterned usefull in her service. The Pulla, to make a courteous return to this humble proffer, would usually give her some of the same work which she, or one of her Daughters was then working; for to have put any thing else into her hand, which her Maids were doing, would have equalled her Visitant with them, which in this manner was a Complement, and a courteous preferring her to some degree of equality with her self and her Daughters. Such was the courtese and obliging carriage of one to the other; for it was the design and fashion in that state, for the Superiours to carry themselves with an affable and winning behaviour towards their inferiours, and for them with all Modesty and Observance to honour and respect their superiour Magistrates and Rulers; which was the common practice of all, even from the suca, who was King, to the meanest Peasant, or Shepherd, whom they called Ltammichec.

The Spanish Women, which came afterwards to live at Cozco, imitated this cuftome, after the manner of the Indian Women, carrying always their Work with them, whenfoever they came to make their Vifits; and this fathion was in use amongst them to their great commendation, untill such time as Francisco Hernandee began his Civil War, which as it introduced nothing but Tyranny and Curelty, so it abolithed this laudable custome, and discountenanced all vertuous and innocent practices. I forgot to mention the great care they had in mending their Clothes, in case they were broken by any accident, as torn by a Nail, or burnt with a coal of fire, for then they prefently derned it up again with their needle made of a Thorn, and with thread of the same colour; and bringing it again to the Loom, they so neatly wove in the Thread, that it could not be seen where the rent was made; and in this matter they thought they had more wit than the *Spanjards*, and would laugh at the patches they laid on their Clothes: The truth is, the Web which the Indians wove, was different to the fabrick of Cloth which the Spaniards made, and would not bear the fame fort of mending. It is also obfervable, that the Fire-hearths which the Indians used to dress their meat in, were a kind of Ovens, made of clay, bigger or less, according to the Wealth or Estate

people,

BOOK IV.

of the Master: the Fire vented it self at the mouth of these Ovens, and on the top was a place for two or three Dishes, in which they set them to stew; and was so very a great convenience for their Cookery, both in dressing their Meat well, and saving their Wood; that it seemed the most ingenious of all their contrivances; and therefore it was strange, that the Spaniards, when they came in amongst them, should despite and destroy this invention.

To avoid greater evils, the *Incas* thought fit to permit common Whores to live amongle them; but then they were not to remain in the Gity, but in little Huts without in the Fields, feparate from all fociety that fo by their convertation they might not have opportunity to corrupt other Women: the Name they gave them was *Pampayruna*, which fignifies both their profession and place of residence; *Pampa* is a Countrey or open place; and *Runa* properly is a Person, either Man or Woman; so that these two words in composition, are as much as one who lives alone in the Field; and as we say, a Hedge-whore; and that as the Fields are open, so is her Body, and embraces to receive any one who hath an appetite to come to her. The Men treated these Women with all sort of contempt and scorn; and the Women were not so much as to name them, under penalty of incurring the same title and censure; and of having their Heads publickly shorn, of being stigmatized for infamous, and divorc'd from their Husbands: they never called them by other name, than that of *Pampayruma*, which is as much as Common Harlot.

#### CHAP. XV.

The Inca Roca, the fixth King, subdues many Nations, and, amongst others, the People of Chancas and Hancohuallo.

THE Father being dead, his Son Inca Roca (whose Name, as Blas Vatera says, fignifies prudent and considerate) took upon him the Government, binding his Head with the coloured Wreath; and having accomplished the Solemnies of his Father's Funeral, he made a progress into all parts of his Dominions, to visit, and settle, and order what was there amiss; in which Journey he passed the three first years of his Reign: And then determining to proceed farther in his Conquests, he ordered sufficient force to be levied, and therewith passed on the side of Chinchassyu, which lyes Northerly from Cozco. He commanded also that a Bridge should be made over the River Apprimace, which is in the great Road from the City of Cozco to the King's Town; for that he being now King, it seemed too low and mean for him to transport his Army over the River on Floats, as he had done when he was Prince; being more Great and Royal to erect the fix'd convenience of a Bridge, which for better uniting a correspondence with the Provinces lately conquered, was now become almost necessary.

The Bridge being finished, he departed from Cozco with an Army of twenty thousand Men, under the Command of four Major-Generals, ordering his Men to March three a-breaft over this Bridge; which being a new device, and not before practifed, was Recorded to the Honour of his Memory. Thence he proceeded to the Vale of Amancay, or the Cowslip Vally, because of the great quantities of them which grow in those parts; this Flower is in the fathion of a Bell, and in that Countrey are of a greenish colour, smooth, without Leaves; and for their similitude with the Cowslip, the Spaniards gave them that name. From Amancay he took to the right hand, towards the Mountain Cordibers, which overtops the snowy desart, and between that and the great Road he met some few

people, whom he reduced under his Dominion, the which were called Tucnara and Quinnualla; then he came to Cochacalla, where he made some stay and aboadand from thence he proceeded to Curampa, and, without difficulty, subdued that people, because they were sew in number; from Curampa he came to the Province called Antahus/la, which is inhabited on both fides of the way for the fince of fixteen or feventeen Leagues, by a people both rich and warlike: This Nation is called Chanca, boafting themselves to be descended from one Lean, whom they efteemed and adored for a God; and at their great Festivals, both before and after they were subdued by the Incas, they carried twenty four Pictures in Procession, painted after the manner of Hercules, with a Lion's skin, and a Man's head: I remember I faw these Pictures once brought forth on Corpus Christis clay. or the Feaft of the Holy Sacrament. Under this denomination of Chanca many other Nations were comprehended, as Hanco hualla, Utunfulla, Uramarca, Villea and others; all of which make their boafts of being descended from different Origin nals; some from this Fountain, others from that Lake; every Nation esteeming that for their God, and thereunto offering Sacrifice, from whence they owned and derived their Pedigree; the Ancestours of these people were said to be come from far, and to have conquered many Provinces in their paffage untill they arrived at the Countrey of Antahuaylla; the which they subdued by force of Arms. and expelled the ancient Inhabitants of it; and afterwards gaining much Land from the Quechuas, they drove them up, and straitned them in their Ouarters. made them pay a Tribute, which they exacted with the highest Tyranny, besides many other famous Archievements, of which their posterity did greatly glory.

Of all which the *Inca Roca* being well informed, he thought them worthy of his Conquest; so that so soon as he arrived on the Confines of *Antabuaysta*, he difpatched his usual Summons to the Chancas, requiring them to submit to the Offfigring of the Sun, or otherwise prepare themselves for battel. These people as sembling together to consider of these Summons, were divided into two several Parties and Opinions.' Some maintained that they ought not to refuse to receive the Inca for their Lord, who was descended from the Sun; others who boasted of their Lineage from Leon, were of a contrary perfuation; for being Allied to Leon, and Mafters of many Countries and People, judged it a disparagement to be subjected to any other, or to be cheated with a fabulous pretence of the Sun and his Funily; and that it was more agreeable to the Banners which they carried. and the ancient Honours which they had acquired by the Conquest of so many Nations, rather to fubdue others, than tamely to fubmit to an unknown Mafter: and forgetting all their ancient bravery, poorly and bafely to yield themselves at the first Summons without so much as an appearance in the Field, or displaying their Banners would argue the highest piece of degeneracy and cowardise of mind

In this ambiguity of mind and irrefolution, fometimes inclining to a furrender, and then again to adventure a battel, the Chancas perfifted many days; of which the Inca having intelligence, determined to enter their Countrey, and affright them with the advance of his Army; for that perhaps to a people of their disposition, who availed themselves much upon their ancient Prowess and Victories; indulgence and gentleness would be argued as a point of fear and cowardise, and that therefore to attempt them briskly was the onely way to strike a terrour in them, and aftonish them with the fear of a cruel War, and a fevere Punishment as an effect thereof; in pursuance of this resolution, he ordered his Major-Generals to invade the Countrey of Amahuaya; and immediately upon their entry to fend their Summons to the Chancas, telling them plainly, that they must either receive the Inca for their Lord, or else must prepare to offer their lives a facrifice to his Sword; for that their contumacy and rebellion was fuch as was not longet tolerable, and that their delays and impertinencies had already wearied his patience. The Chancas observing this resolution of the Inca, and that the Quechnas, and other Nations, whom in former times they had injured and provoked, judged it convenient to temporize, and with a seigned submission to accept the conditions of Surrender, being moved thereunto out of fear of his force, and of that revenge which their Enemies might by this opportunity take upon them, rather than out of any affection or efteem they had to his Laws and Ordinances, as will

be proved hereafter in the process of this History.

The Inca leaving his Officers to receive their fubmiffion, proceeded forward in his Conquests to another Province called Vramarca, which also is surnamed Chanca, and is a small Countrey, but very populous, and inhabited by such a hardy and war-like Nation; that had their Numbers been equal to their Courage, they had been capable to have made a front and confiderable refiftance; for that the people on this fide were not fo easie, and simple, and fond of the Incas, and their Government, as were those of Continue and Collasque; howsoever, to be short, those of Uramarca submitted, but with much reluctancy, and against their inclinations. Thence the Inca marched forwards to the people called Hancohuallo and Villea, named by the Spaniards Vileas, who with the fame unwillingness vielded to the power of the Inca; for that these people, being all Chancas, were Lords themselves of divers Provinces, which by force of Arms they had subdued. and did daily enlarge their Dominions; with which their ambition and covetousness increasing, they could not, without difficulty, forego their Usurpations and Tyranny over others, to yield themselves to the same conditions; the which refractary humour of theirs the Inca Roca observing, reproved in them with severe reprehension; and though they received his Admonitions with Mortification and Anger, yet they durft not openly own and discover their dislike. In both these Provinces their cultome was to Sacrifice Children to their Gods at their principal Feafts; of which the Inca being informed, he made a discourse to them of the inhumanity and unreasonableness of such a custome, and that for the suture they should Adore the Sun for their God, and receive the Statutes and Ordinances which he had given them; declaring to them by his own mouth, that he would exact the life of every Child at their hands, whom they should in that manner attempt to destroy; and that in punishment for the offence, he would destroy and root out their whole Nation, and give their Countrey to be inhabited by a better fort of people, of more bowels and compassion, who should love and cherish their own bloud, as nature required them. Nothing could come more dolefull and fad, than this news to the Ears of these people, who were persuaded by the Devils, whom they worshipped for their Gods, that this Sacrifice of tender Infants was most acceptable of any to the Infernal Powers.

From Villea he took the way on the left hand, and marched Westward, towards the Sea-coast, and entred one of those two Provinces, which are both stvled by the name of Sulla, though for diffinction fake one of them is called Viumfulla: these two Provinces comprehend under them many Nations of different Names, some of them being full of people, others having but few. And in the Histories of these matters, to avoid tedious discourses, they report, that the Number of them might be of about forty thousand Families; in the subduing of which, the Inca is faid to have spent much time, and some report three years: which were chiefly taken up in the perfuafions and gentle Arts which the Inca used for reducing of that people, being more desirous to conquer them by kindness, than the severity of Arms. For those Indians confiding much in their own Numbers, and Art of War, did often incline to a breach, and a defence of themfelves; but that the moderation of the Inca, and his prudent conduct of affairs was fuch, that with time he reduced them to his fervice, and a willingness to receive his Laws, and fuch Governours and Ministers as he was pleafed to conftlture over them; and then afterwards with this fuccess and victory he returned to Cozco. In these two Provinces of Sulla and Usumfulla, there were about thirty two years past, some very rich Mines discovered of Silver, and Quick-filver; the

latter of which is very ufefull in Melting the Silver Ore.

#### CHAP.

BOOK IV.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Of the Prince Yahuarhuacac, and the Interpretation of his Name.

THE King Inca Roca having passed some Years in the quiet possession and government of his Kingdoms, thought it fit to employ his Son and Heir, named Tahnarhacac, in the entire Conquest of Antisym, which lyes to the East of Cocco, and not far from the City; for on that side no great advance had been made since the time of the first Inca, Manco Capac, who had not proceeded farther than the River Paucartamy.

But before we proceed farther in the Relation of this Story, it would be requifire to explain the fignification of this long name of Yahuar-buacae, and the reason which they had to give it to the Prince. It is a Tale amongst the *Indians*, that when he was a Child of three or four years old, his Tears were bloud, perhaps it was because he had some disease in his Eyes, and that the bloud, when he cried. might fall from thence with his tears: But it is a general belief amongst them, that To foon as he came crying into the World, his Tears were bloud: It might likewife perhaps be, that he brought formething of the Matritial bloud with him on which perhaps be, that he brought fornering of the Matthat bloud with him on his Eyes, which the superstitious Indians were ready to interpret for Tears; but be the cause what it will, they would not be persuaded out of this belief; and on this supposition founded many of their Witcheries and Prognostications, foretelling the anger and displeasure of his Father the Sun against him, and that therefore he would be unfortunate and accurred. The derivation therefore of his Name, is evident from Tabuar, to weep, and Hustac. This manner of Weeping must have been when he was a Child, and not at Man's estate; for then he was neither overcome nor taken Prifoner, as fome will have it; for none of the beat was ever fo unfortunate, until the time of the wretched Hudfear, whom the Travtor Anabualpa his Baffard-brother took Prifoner, as we shall relate in its due place, if God Almighty gives us life and power to arrive so far in this our History. Nor was he ftoln away when he was an Infant, as fome Writers will have it; for it is not probable, that when *Indians* conceived generally fuch awe and veneration for their *Incas* and the Royal Bloud, that any perfon thould be found to profligate. and daring as to fleal the Prince and Heir to the Empire; nor is it probable, that the Tutors and Servants (hould be fo remifs in their care and charge; for fuch was the Lutors and Servants should be to remits in their care and charge; for fuch was the reverence that the *Indians* bore towards their *Incas*, that the very imagination of such an attempt would have terrified them to that degree, that they would have believed the very thought would have procured the vengeance of Heaven, and caused the Earth to have opened and swallowed both them and their whole Families: For, as we have formerly said, they Worshipped the Sun for their God, and for his sake the *Incas*, whom they accounted Children descended from him the said the formal shade the said the formal state of the said the him, were adored with the fame divine Honours.

These Tears of bloud which the *Indians* interpreted to be ominous, and to be fore-runners of some dismal fate, put me in mind of another superstitious fancy of theirs, which they gathered from the motion and twinkling of the eyes; for it was a common opinion both of the *Incas* and his Subjects, that the Eyes did Prognosticate by their motion and twinkling either good or bad fortune; for it was accounted good luck when the upper eye-lid of the lest eye twinkled, for they said, that it forestaw matters of contentment and satisfaction; but much more when the right eye-lid sparkled and twinkled, that was a most excellent sign of all happiness and prosperity, peace and plenty imaginable: And to the contrary, when the lower Curtain of the right eye trembled, it betokened weeping and tears for some sad and unfortunate accident; but if the lower part

of the left eye moved, it foretold nothing but woe and forrow, and fuch miferies as would produce nothing but grief, and abundance of tears: And fuch confidence and belief did they put in these symptoms, that in case the lower eye-lashes did but so much as tremble, they immediately put themselves into most violent passions of sear and weeping; and in apprehension of what they seared, they made themselves more miserable, than if all the missortunes of the World had already sallen upon them: And then for the onely remedy of the ensuring evils, they entertained another superstition more ridiculous than the former: they would take the point of a Straw, and wetting it with Spittle, they would stick it beneath their eye; and would then say, comforting themselves, that that blessed Straw which crossed their under eye-lid would stanch the tears which were to show from their eyes, and prevent the Evils which the tremblings did Prognosticate: The like conjectures almost they made from a buzzing, or singing in their Ears, which I sorbear to enlarge upon, because it was not so remarkable and certain as that of the Eyes; and both one and the other I can testifie, because I have seen and heard their Lamentations on those occasions.

The King Inca Roca (as we have faid) refolving to fend his Son to conquer Antifium, ordered an Army of fifteen thousand Souldiers to be raised, under the Command of three Major-Generals, whom he joined with him for Companions and Counsellours. The Prince being well instructed in all matters, proceeded with good success as far as the River Paucartampu, and thence marched forwards to Challapampa, where he reduced those sew poor Indians which he found in those Quarters; thence he passed to Pilleupata, where he planted four Colonies with a fort of wandring and vagabond people. From Pilleupata he travelled to Hawssea and Tima, where the first Subjects of Chacras de Cuca submitted to the Dominion of the Incas, and where great quantities of that Herb called Cuca grows: the Inheritance of Havisca was afterwards given to my Lord and Father Garçilasso de Vega, and he was pleased to bestow that Estate upon me for my life, but I renounced, and less it upon my going into Spain. The passage into these Vallies where the Cuca grows, is over that high Mountain called Canac-busy, descending five Leagues almost perpendicular, which makes a Man's head giddy to look down; how much more laboursome must it be to ascend and descend those ways turning and winding in form of a Serpent?

CHAP.

BOOK IV.

#### CHAP. XVII.

Of the Idols which the Indians of Antis worshipped, and of the Conquest made over the Charcas.

In those Provinces of Antis they commonly worshipped Tygers for their Gods, and great Serpents, much thicker than a Man's Thigh, and twenty five, or thirty foot in length, though some others might be lefs, called Amarus, they are a certain fort of a fluggish Serpent, which are not venomous, and, as they say, were charmed by a skilfull Sorceres, that they should doe no harm, having before been dangerous, and very positionous. The Tiger they adored for his nimbleness and bravery, saying that Serpents and Tygers were the true and natural Inhabitants and Lords of that Countrey, and therefore did justly require reverence and respect from Men, who were but Strangers and Aliens in it. They worshipped also the Plant Cuca, or Coca, as the Spaniards call it. Thus far the Prince Tahuar-Hautase having enlarged his Dominions, being almost thirty Leagues in length, and in a Countrey ill Inhabited, he found himself stopped in his farther progress, by the Mountains, moorish Grounds and Bogs, which interrupted him in his passage, and which confine and give bounds to that Province, properly named Ami, whence all that side takes the Denomination of Antisms.

which confine and give bounds to that Province, properly named Anti, whence all that fide takes the Denomination of Antifigui.

The Prince having finished this Conquest, returned to Cozco, where his Father for that present, thought fit to repose, and lay asside all farther designs of new Enterprises; for on the side of Antiforu, which is to the Eastward, there remained nothing more to conquer; and to the Westward, which they called Cantiforu, there was nothing more to be reduced, for they were come as far as to the Pacifick Sea, or the Sea of Zuo; so that the Empire, from East to West, extended at least an hundred Leagues cross along by the way of Cozco, and then from North to South it reached two hundred Leagues: All which tract of Land the Incan laboured to manure, and cultivate, and adorn with Royal Palaces, Gardens, Baths, and places of Pleasure for divertisement of the Incan, and for better convenience of the Countrey, they erecked in all the great Roads Magazines and Gramatics, wherein to lodge their Ammunition, Arms, Corn, Provisions, and Clothing for

the common Souldiery.

Some Years being passed in this manner with peace and quiet, when the King Inca Roca resolved to add another famous Atchievement to the glory of his Reign, that so in person he might put an end to the entire Conquest of those great Provinces, which were called Characa, the beginning of which was commenced in the time of his Father, in the Division of Collasgon: And in order hereunto he commanded thirty thousand Men to be levied, which was an Army greater than any that his Ancestours had yet brought into the field; to command this Army fix Major Generals were appointed, besides other inferiour Officers; and the Prince Tabnar-Huacae was, with sour other tocas for his Counsellors, ordained to remain at home for government of the Kingdom. The Inca took his Journey from Cocco by way of the great Road towards Collasson, and in his march all the forces came in to make up his Army: And being come to the Consines of those Provinces of Choncari, Puema, and Astronymyn, which bordered on his Kingdom; he fent his summons to them, acquainting them, that he was come to reduce those Nations, and require them to live under those Laws which his Father the Sun had ordained; and that leaving their Idols made of Stone and Wood, they should worthip him onely for their God; and that forfalking their corrupt Customs, and Manners, they should learn and follow the light of Nature, and the Instructions of his Witdom, which would direct them in ways more agrecable to humane Life. The Natives of these Countries received the message with great anger, and the young and hot Captains betook themselves to their Arms, and answered with sury and tage, That it was a hard case for them, that they must be forced to renounce their own natural Gods, and adore a stranger, and a God unknown to them;

that they must reject their own Laws and Customs, and receive new ones from the *Inca*, who in recompense thereof would impose Tributes and Taxes, and serve himself of their labour and services, as of Slaves and Vassals; which being conditions not to be endured by a People so free as they, they resolved to defend themselves, and dye in the Defence of their Gods, their Countrey and their Liberty.

# CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Argument and Debate which the Old Men held on this matter, and in what manner they received the Inca.

Notwithstanding this huff of the young Souldiers, the more ancient and confiderate among them. fiderate amongst them, were of opinion, that they should not so soon break forth into a War, but first of all consider, that for several years they have had a neighbourhood and converse with the Subjects of the Inca; and that they could never hear otherwise from them, but that their Laws were good, and the Yoke of their Government gentle and easie: that he treated his People rather like his Children, than his Subjects; that the Lands which they required, were not those which the Indians had in their possession, but such as lay waste, and unmanured by them; and that he required no other Tribute than the Fruit and Benefit which those Lands, cultivated at his own cost and charge, should produce, and not exact any thing at the labour and cost of the Indians, to whom he rather gave than diminished from their Estates; and in proof and evidence hereof, without other argument, they defired them to enquire, and confider feriously without passion, how much the Subjects of the *Inc.s* were improved in their Estates, and how quiet, civil and profperous they were become, fince their fubmiffion to his Government; how all their Difcords, Animofities, and Civil Diffentions, which in former times had miferably torn and diftracted them, were now appeared; how Estates were more secure, and more protested from Thieves, their Wives, and Daughters from Rapes and Adulteries; and in fine, how quiet and well established was the publick Welfare, where none durft offer injury, nor none could receive it without redrefs.

That they should farther consider, that many neighbouring Provinces, being well fatisfied and allured by the gentleness and happiness of this servitude, did voluntarily, and of their own accords, offer themselves, and beg the Protection of the Inca and his Laws. And since these things were thus apparent, it were better to submit readily and without constraint, than desending themselves for the prefent from that which they know they must in a short time yield unto, provoke the Inea to that degree of Anger and Displeasure, as might divert him from those good Intentions and Favours which he defigned towards them; and that therefore it were more fafe and fecure, both for their Lives and Estates, their Wives and Children, to make a Vertue of Necessity, and submit with a voluntary surrender: and that as to their Gods, which the Inca imposed upon them, reason it self inflructed, and taught them, that the Sun more vifibly deferved to be adored and worthipped, than any of those dumb and insensible Idols, which they had made and formed with their own hands. With these Arguments, and others of the like nature, the ancient and fage Persons to far prevailed, that took off the mettle and heat of the young Men, fo that they all unanimously went to receive the Inca; the young Men marched with Arms in their hands, and the old with their Prefents of fuch Fruits as their Countrey yielded, faying, That the Fruits of their Land were in token of that Livery and Seizin which they were to give unto the Lea thereof: the young men professed that their Arms were to serve the Luca in

his Wars, and to be employed by him for the acquifition of new Provinces. The loca grationfly accepted this their Submiffion with his accustomary Goodness commanding, that in testimony thereof, the Old Men should be vested with the better fort of Garments, in token of greater respect; and that the common People (hould be clothed with the more common Apparel; and that he might not feem wholly to flight or contemn the offer which the Captains and Souldiers made him of their Arms, he received five hundred of them into his Service, not by choice, but by lot, left the preferring of one before the other, should feem but a kind of a neglect, or discontent, on such as were refused; and to farisfie the rest, he advised them to return to their homes, lest they should otherwise leave their own Countrey naked and undefended; with the Veltments which the Inca gave them, and his Behaviour towards them, both the young and old were fo well pleafed and fatisfied, that with loud Acclamations they cryed Out. How like art thou to a Child of the Sun! how worthy art thou of the Title of a King! how well doth the Name of being a Friend to the Poor besit thee! for no sooner had we submitted to be the Subjects, before thou didst load us with thy Favours and Benefits, May the Blessings of thy Father the Sun light upon thee, and all the Nations of the four quarters of the World obey and fall down before thee; for thou art truly the Capa Inca, who deserves Riches, and absolute Power, and universal Dominion. With these, or the like expresfions of Honour, the Inca Roca being faluted by his new Vaffals, and having provided and established Ministers and Officers to instruct and govern them, he marchand chaomined riminess and offices and the bordering Provinces, called Mifgui, Sacatea, Machaea, Caratara, and others, as far as Chuquifaea, which is now called the City of Plate: all which and others, as far as Chuquifaca, Which is now Catled the City of Plate: all Which were comprehended under the common denomination of Charcas, though they were of different Nations and Languages, and were all as eafily reduced, as those before mentioned. In this expedition he enlarged his Empire North and South, a hundred Leagues, and as many more East and West; and having as accustomary left Officers and Ministers to teach and instruct them in matters of Religion, and to govern them by Laws, and gather his Revenue, he returned to Cocco, where he disbanded his Army, and rewarded the Commanders according to their

Royal Commentaries.

Deserts.

Having atchieved these great matters, he seemed now to desire repose, and attend onely to Peace, and the quiet Administration of his Government, in which he spent the remaining years of his Life, we cannot say how many; but at length he came to dye, having not in the least degenerated from the Vertue of his Ancestours; but rather imitated and equalled them in the highest strain of their glorious and martial Actions, and in Good-will and Beneficence towards his People. He founded some Schools where the Amauras taught those Sciences which they had attained; near whereunto he built himself a House, as we shall declare in its due place, instituted Laws, and uttered grave Sentences: And because Blas Valera hath made particular mention of some of them, we shall repeat them from him, being very remarkable, and worthy to be noted. He was universally bewailed by all his Subjects, and embalmed according to the custome of those Kings. He less takens-buseace, his Son and Heir by his lawfull Wife and Sifter Mama Micay, to succeed him in the Government of his Dominions: besides whom he

left others, both legitimate and baftard Children.

## CHAP. XIX.

Of some Laws which the King, Inca Roca, made: of the Schools which he founded in Cozco; and of some of his wife Apophtheems, or Sayings.

B. Las Valera, who was very curious, and had taken great pains in his Enquiries touching these been, saith, "That this King reigned almost fifty Years, and made many Laws, amongst which these following are the most observable. That the Children of the common People ought not to be educated in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, for that were to make them proud, conceited and ungovernable; but that the Nobility were those onely to whom such Literature did appertain, to render them more honourable, and capable of Offices in the Common-wealth. That Thieves, Murtherers, and Adulterers, and Incendiaries should be hanged without Mercy. That Sons should obey and serve their Fathers, until they came to the age of twenty five Years, and that after wards they should be employed in matters tending to the good of the Common the good of the good of the Common the good of the good of the good of the Common the good of the go wards they should be employed in matters tending to the good of the Common-wealth. It is reported that he was the first who founded Schools in Cozco, "mon-wealth. It is reported that he was the frift who founded Schools in Cocco, where the Amanas were the Masters, and taught such Sciences as were fit to improve the minds of Incas, who were Princes, and of the chief Nobility, not that they did instruct them by way of Letters, for as yet they had not attained to that knowledge, but onely in a practical manner, and by daily Discourses: "their other Lectures were of Religion, and of those Reasons and Wisedom on which their Laws were established, and of the Number and true Exposition of them; for by these means they attained to the Art of Government and military Discipline; they distinguished the times and seasons of the Year, and by reading in their "Knots, they learned History, and the Actions of past and took Rules and Meastures for the management of their domestick affairs." These Amanas, who were Philosophers, and in high esteem amongst them, "taught something also of Poetry, Musick, Philosophy and Astrology, of all which they attained to some knowledge, though superficial, and in a low and mean degree. All these particulars were instituted in manner of a Law by this Inca Roca, and afterwards, for their better encouragement, he savoured and enlarged them with fair Endowments; and hereanto Pachacacc, to whom he was great "Ulacle, added many other Laws and Precepts. The Sayings of this King Inca "Roca were these: That considering the immense Vastness, Beauty and Splendour of the Heavens, he would often say, That if the Heaven be so glorious, which is the Throne and Scat of the Pachacamac, (who is the great God) how much more powerfull, glittering and resplendent must his Person and Majesty be, who was the Maker and Creatour of them all. Other sayings of his were these: If I were to adore any of these terrestial things, it should certainly be a wise and discrect Man, whose Excellenting the superful at things, it should certainly be a wise and discrect Man, whose Excellenting the manual content and the cardinal discrect Man, whose Excellenting the manual content where the Amaneas were the Masters, and taught such Sciences as were fit to of these terrestial things, it should certainly be a wife and discreet Man, whose Excellencies surpass all earthly Creatures. When an Infant is born, he grows up, and then he " dies. He that yesterday had a beginning, to day arrives at his end. He that cannot make "himfelf immortal, nor recover that Life which Death hath deprived him of, is not worthy

of adoration. Thus far is the report which Blus Valera hath given us,

100

122

#### XXCHAP.

Of the Inca. Yahuar-huacac, who was the leventh King; of his Fears and Conquelts, and the Differace of the Prince his Eldeft Son.

THE King, Inca Roca, being dead, his Son Yahuar-huacac succeeded him in the Inheritance of his Kingdom, and governed with Justice. Piety and Gentleness, cherishing his Subjects with as much indulgence and tenderness as was possible. His chief design was to keep and preserve what his Father and Anceftours had left him, not feeking quarrels with any, or encroachments on others right; left contemning the ill omen of his Name, and the misfortunes which the skilfull Mafters in Divination did daily prefage, he fhould tempt his fortune, and provoke his Father the Sun to adhict him with all those evils which they prognoficated. With this fear and apprehenfion he lived for many years, defiring nothing more than peace and quietness, both at home and abroad; but not to remain altogether idle, he vilited all parts of his Dominions three or four times, and improved and adorned them with flately Buildings, feafted, and generally careffed all his Subjects in a higher degree, and with greater demonstrations of love and tenderness, than any of his Ancestours, which were effects of the great dangers he apprehended from the Prophecies concerning him; and in this caution and dread upon his Spirits, he continued for the space of nine or ten years: until a length confidering that this cautious timidity would argue Cowardife and lowness of Spirit, of which none of his Ancellours were ever before taxed, he refolved to fend an Army of ewenty thousand Men to the Southwest of Coze, along the Coast of Arequepa, where a point of Land runs out far into the Sea, which his Pre ceffours had overfeen, or neglected, because it was ill inhabited: His brother, called Inca Marta, he made Commander in Chief of his Forces, and for that reation was ever afterwards called Apu Mayra, or General Mayra, to whom he added four other Incas, to be Major-Generals under him: But as to himself, he would not adventure to go in Perfon; for the thoughts of the ill Omen did still so haunt and opprefs his Spirits, that he could never refolve to truft the fuccefs of any martial adventure to the fortune of his own Perfon, and where the define of Glory fourted him forward to any great Attempt, there always the dread of the finither Omen retracted and drew him back. This apprehension moving him to commit the charge of his Army to his Brother, and Officers, they proceeded so successfully in it, that in a short time they reduced all that tract of Land from Arequepa to Tacama, which they call Collafuyu, to his Empire, being at this time the utmost Limit and Confine by the Sea-coast of that Countrey which they call Peru, the which Land being long, and narrow, and ill peopled, cost more time to march it over than to conquer it.

This Enterprise being thus happily completed, they returned again to Cozco. where they rendred an account to the Inca, Tahuar-huacac, of their fuccess; with which taking heart, and recovering new courage, he began to aspire to the Honour and Fame of reducing those great Provinces, yet unconquered in the Divifion of Collassyn, called Caranea, Vlaca, Lispi, Chica, Ampara, the which, as they were large, and great, so they were populous, and defended by a warlike Nation; and for this reason the ancient mean forbore to molest or irritate them, lest being as yet uncivilized, and unacquainted with the gentle and easie Government of the Incas, they should fly to their Arms, and oblige the Incas against their Maximes, and natural Disposition, to subject them with Slaughter and Destruction; and therefore rather chose to tame and mollifie them by degrees, and prevail by the clear Evidences of their Neighbours Happinels, to perfuade them into a good opinion of the gentlenels of that Yoke which the *Inca* imposed on his Subjects.

CHAP.

I 24

With the cares and fears of this Conquest the Inca, Yahuar-huacac was greatly With the cares and fears of this Conquest the *Inca, Tahuar-huacae* was greatly turmoiled, being as it were crucified between his hopes and fears, sometimes he promised himself good success, and that the same Fortune would simile upon him, that did on his Brother *Apa Myata*; then again the dread of the satal Omen possessed himself with the same and the fatal Omen possessed himself with the same appeared least Difficulty or Hazard Whilst he was thus tossessed with these Passions and anguish of mind, he was diverted from his foreign Designs by domestick Troubles, caused by the untoward Disposition of his Eldest Son, and Heir of his Dominions, who from his Childhead against suppositions of the same supposition of the same suppositions. Dipolition of this Electr soft, and tree of his Schmidters, by his harfit treatment of those Boys of his own age, who conversed and played with him; and though the Inca his Father used all the means imaginable to reclaim him by due and severe correction, and that he hoped that Years and Instruction would prevail upon him. yet in the end all proved vain, and without effect, the ferocity of his Mind, and the impetuofity of his ill Nature prevailing over all the means, and endedvours to reduce him; for neither the Examples of his Ancestours, nor the gentle Admonitions, nor fevere Reproofs of his Father, had any influence upon him; fo that his desperate incorrigibleness became now the greatest fear and affliction of

For fo far was the Spirit of ill Nature engrafted in the Heart of this Prince. that all the Treacle of wholesome Advice he converted into Poison; the which his Father having observed and duely considered, he resolved wholly to discountenance and remove him from his Favour, and if that would not operate, then absolutely to disinherit him, and constitute another of his lawfull Sons in his place. who was of a Spirit more agreeable to that five Temper and generous Galanty of his Anceftours. This Refolution he took in imitation of that Cuftome practifed in some of his Provinces, where the most favoured and most worthy was elected to the Government; the which on this occasion the Inca was defirous to introduce, against all the Precedents and Examples of former Incas. With this intention the Inca commanded the Prince, being now of nineteen or twenty Years of age, to avoid the Court, allotting him a place of Residence about a League from the City, and where were fair and verdant Pastures Eastward from the City, which they called Chita, and where I my self remember often to have been, and where his Employment was to seed the Cattle of the Sun, in company with those Shepherds who were deligned for that Service. The Prince not being able to relift the Pleasure of his Father, submitted to the Banifthment and the Disfavour of the *Inca*, which laid as a punifthment on him for the Bravery and Gallantry of his Martial Spirit. In flort, he fubinitted and really applied himself with the other Shepherds to keep and feed the Cattel of the Sun for the space of three years, and more, where we will leave him until the time comes which shall bring him on the Stage, and to speak well of him, if that which we are to mention of him may be called good.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXI.

Royal Commentaries.

Of the Intelligence which an Apparition gave to the Prince. enjoining him to communicate it to his Father.

THE Inca Tabnar-bracae having in this manner Banished his Eldest Son, whose Name we cannot assign, because the obscurity of his condition was whole Name we cannot amply, became the obscure of instronaum was fuch, as made no imprefion in the minds of Men, so as without the help of Lecters to conserve it in remembrance: He seemed now to lay adde all the thoughts of War, and Conquests of new Provinces, and to make the Government of his of War, and Conquests of new Provinces, and to make the Government of his Dominions, and the Conservation of the common peace and quietness to be his onely employment: As to his Son, he thought it not convenient, nor secure to remove him far from his fight, that so he might more easily apply those remedies to reclaim him, as best suited with his condition; nor did he judge it fit to imprison, and dissinherit, and chuse some other in his place, for that seemed an expedient too violent, and without Example, and was a new and unpractified case to depose the true Heir, and degrade the Divinity of the Incas of its Right and Honour; besides, it appeared doubtfull how far the people would affent to this impiety, and low ill they would take this harth usage of the Prince and Heir to the Envise.

the Empire.

In this wavering and unquiet condition, which deprived the *Inca* of all contentment and repose, he passed three years without any observable occurrence; during which time, he twice Commissionated four of his Kinsinen to visit his Doring which time, he twice Commissionated sour of his Kinssinen to visit his Dominions, giving to every one their respective charges, and dispatches into distinct parts of his Dominions, in order to perform such publick Works as might conduce to the honour of the brea, and the common benefit of his Subjects; such as the making of Aqueducts, raising Magazines for laying up Provisions, Royal Houses, Fountains and Bridges, Causeys, and such other Works of publick use: But for his own part, he never had the courage to depart from his Court, but one-ly there to attend and celebrate the Festivals of the Sun, and such like, and administer Justice to his Subjects. At the end of this long time, one day about Noon the Prince entred into the Palace of his Father, without any Companion or Attendance, like a Person foriorn, and in dissavour of his brea, and sent him word, that he was there to speak with him, having a Message of high importance to deliver: The brea made a quick Answer in his sudden passion, that he should without Demur or Reply retire again to the place of his Constinentent, on penalty of being proceeded against according to that severe punishment which the Law institutes on those who break the Royal Command. The Prince made answer, that he was not come thither in contempt of his Commands, but in obedience to that he was not come thither in contempt of his Commands, but in obedience to the Message and Injunction of another Inca as great as himself, who sent him to impart unto him matters of high and considerable importance; which is he were pleased to hear, he desired to be admitted and to have Audience; if not, he had complied with the Commands of him that sent him, and should return again to render an account of his fuccefs.

The *Bica* hearing him mention another, as Great a Lord as himfelf, ordered him to be admitted, for he wondered at the impertinence of the Meffage, and the boldness of any who should dare to employ his banished and disgraced Son with Advices of any nature whatfoever. The Prince being introduced, and ftanding before his Father, faid in this manner: I am come, Sir, to make known unto you, that fitting this day, about Noon, under one of those great Rocks, which are in the Fields of Chita. where, by our Order, I was employed to feed the Flocks of our Father the Sun; I know not whether I was afleep, or well awake, there appeared before me a Man in a firange Habir, and of a Figure different from us: His Beard was above a span in length, his Garments long and loofe, reaching down to his Feet, and about his Neck he carried a fort of living

BOOK IV.

**1**26

creature, which I know not what to call it, because I never saw the like before: He called to me, and said, Cousin, I am a Child of the Sun, and Brother to the Inca, Manco Capac. and to Cova Mama, Occlo Huaco his Wife and Sifter, who were the first of your Family, and by them I am Allied in Bloud to your Father, and all of you, being called Inca Viracocha; and am fent by our Father the Sun to order you, that you immediately carry this Advice to my Brother the Inca, acquainting him, that the greatest part of the Provinces of Chinchasuyu, as well those who are under his Dominion, as those which are not, are in rebellion, and are united in confederacy to asfault him, and with a strong and numerous Arms to cast him from his Throne, and destroy the Imperial City of Cozco; wherefore I order you immediately to give this intelligence to my Brother the Inca, adviling him from me. that he provide against this emergency, and take such vigorous resolutions to prevent it. as the importance of this matter doth require. And as to thine own particular, let me tell thee that in what misfortune soever thou art, thou lose not thy courage or spirit, for I shall ever that in what mispersine joever thou art, thou soje no thy contage of pirit, for I platt ever be at hand, and ready to fuccour thee as my own flesh and bloud; and therefore I strictly ad-monish thee not to attempt any thing, how great soever it be, immortby thy Family and ancient Bloud, and the Greatness of thy Empire; for I will ever be as finant, and nor to succour thee in thy greatest and ultimate exigencies. Having taid these words, the me. Viracocha vanished, and I saw him no more; and then returning to my self. I delayed no time to come and appear before your Majesty to communicate unto you the particulars of these Matters.

#### CHAP. XXII.

Of the Consultation which the Incas held upon the Advice which the Apparition gave.

THE Dica, Tabuar-buacae, out of the great displeasure and prejudice which he had taken to his Son, would not give any belief or credence to his Relation, but rather termed him a Fool, and impertinent, and that swelled with the vanity of Revelations from his Father the Sun, he was come to impose his Enthusians for divine Truths; and therefore ordered him immediately to return to Chira, and to confine himself within those bounds on penalty of his highest displeasure; in compliance to which severe admonition, the Prince returned again to his retirement, and the keeping of his Flocks. Howsoever the Dicar, who were Counfellours, and had the King's Ear, and of a nature very superficious and credulous, especially of Dreams, took this advertisement in another sashin, than the King apprehended it, telling him, that such an Apparition as this was not to be slighted, especially since it prefented it self in the form of Viracocha, who was Brother to the Dica, and of Alliance to the Sun, in whose name and behalf he brought this Message. Nor was it credible that the Prince should be so much an Impostour, as to date to entitle the Sun to such an apparent forgery, or delude the Inca his Father with a Lye; and therefore that it were best to examine the matter more strictly; and by Sacrificing to the Sun, make judgment of the good or bad Omicus, and not neglect any care or diligence whatsoever in a matter of 15 high importance; for to leave the matter neglected and slighted, were to contenin the advice which the Sun had sent, and his Messager.

Notwithflanding all which, the *Inca* had conceived that prejudice againft his Son, that he could upon no terms admit the counfel which his Kindred gave him, but rather termed the Vifion he declared, to be the effect of a wild and for ious brain, imagining by lyes and forgeries to bring his extravagant humour again into repute; which was fuch an aggravation of his former folly, that he deferved on this very fcore to be deprived of the inheritance, and declared for ever uncapable

of the Succeffion; and that in the place of him, some other of a more flexible and gentle temper, worthy the title of being allied to the Sun, should be ordained and proclaimed the true Heir in the place and stead of a revengefull, merciles and tyrannical Prince, and of one of a far different temper to that sweet and pleasant humour of his Ancestours, which had been the most forcible Arms to win and overcome all the Nations they governed. Moreover, that in Wisedom they ought to provide against all Rebellions, but not on the score or belief of the vain words of a wild fellow; who ought to be punished, and have his Head cut off for daring to break the limits affigned for his Banishment; and profaning the Sacred Name of the Sun with a pretence so false and enthusiastick as this: And therefore he charged them not to mention this matter farther, nor so much as to name the Prince, for that he had already determined in what manner to deal with him.

The *Ineas* upon this Command of the King were filent, and urged the matter no farther; howfoever, they could not forbear to revolve the thing in their minds, as portending fome fad and difinal difafters: For the *Indians* were naturally addicted to Signs and Prognoftications; and especially if the King, or the Prince, or the High Prieft, who were esteemed Gods and Oracles, had any Dream, they were never at ease untill the Diviners, or Magicians, made the Interpretation; in which they esteemed themselves so expert, that they not onely pretended to interpret the Dream, but also to declare what the *Ineas* themselves had related short, or missaken in it.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

The Rebellion of the Chancas, and of their Ancient exploits in War.

Three Months after this Dream of the Prince Viracocha, (for so afterwards his Friends named him from the Vision he had seen) a confused and uncertain rumour came of an Insurrection in the Provinces of Chincasion, and that all the people were in Arms, which is from Insurable, about forty Leagues Northward from Corco, through all the Countries to the farthest extent of the new Conquests. This News had as yet no certain authour or ground, being but whispered as in cases of like nature; and though it agreed with the Dream of the Prince Viracocha, and seemed an Accomplishment of the words of his Vision, yet the King gave no heed or credit to it, believing it to be a Canterbury tale; or Stories of the way, broached to revive the Dream of the Prince, which seemed almost forgot, and out of memory: Some sew days after the report became hotter than before, and common in every Man's mouth, though still uncertain, and without any particulars; for the Enemies had obstructed all the ways and passages in that manner, that no intelligence should be carried, and that the knowledge of their Rebellion might be first made known by appearance of their force before Cocco, Howsoever, at length certain and particular information was brought, that the Nations called Chanca, Oramarca, Villea, Otusulla, Hancobusulla, and other Neighbouring Nations, were all in Arms; and having killed all the Governours and officers of the Inca, were now Marching with an Army of forty thousand meagainst the City.

These Nations (as we have said) being all reduced by the power of the King *Inca Roca*, rather out of sear, than love, had ever fince suppressed their rancour and malice to the *Incas*, with intention to own and testifie the same, when occasion presented; which now seemed sairly to offer it self in the time of this *Inca*, Tahwar-Imacae, who being a Prince not addicted to War, but rather intimidated by the appresentation.

BOOK IV.

prehension and fear he conceived from his finister Omen; and being also moved with compassion of the hard usage, and unnatural treatment which the Inca shewed towards the Prince his Son, they judged it warrant and reason sufficient to revenge his cause in detestation of the base cowardise and tyranny of this mean-spirited, and yet cruel, Inca: Wherefore with what expedition and fecrecy they could, they incited their Neighbours to rebell, who being already well difbofed in the matter, they eafily took fire, and putting themselves in Arms, and with a body of thirty thousand Men marched directly against the Imperial City of Coze,
The principal Authous and Contrivers of this War, besides other Lords, were three principal Curacas of three great Provinces, all comprehended under the common name of Chanca: The first of these Lords was called Hancohualla, a Young Man of twenty fix years of Age, the fecond was Timan Huaraca, and the third Aftu Huaraca; the two last of which were Uncles and Brothers to Hancobually. The Ancestours of these three petty Kings, before the times of the Incar, waged a perpetual War with their Neighbouring Nations, especially with the people called *Quechua*, under which denomination five other great Provinces were contained: For which reason, and for the Tyranny and Oppression which they fuffered from them, the Quechnas were greatly pleased to accept and receive the Protection of the Incas. And fo on the contrary, these petty Kings greatly refented the curb and power the *Incas* imposed upon them, by restraining them in their Progress and Conquests, rendring them in the place of absolute and sovereign Princes, Tributaries and Vaffals, which they stomached and suppressed untill this feafon, in which they esteemed it convenient to vent their hatred. And in regard that the life of all defigns is speedy execution, and that now they were to surprize the Inca, unprovided of Men, and power of Resistence, they did not doubt, but by one fingle Victory to render themselves Masters again, not onely of their ancient Enemies, but of all the Empire of the Incas.

With these probable hopes and expectations of successes, they invited all their Neighbours, as well those that were Subjects to the Inca, as those that were not. to partake with them in the defign and reward of the enterprize; the which appeared fair and promifing in this prefent conjuncture. To these Summons the Indians eatily yielded, expecting great advantages, and depending on the great renown and fame in War, which the Ancient bravery of the Chancas had acquired: And having constituted Hanco-huallu their Captain-General, and the two Brothers Major Generals, with other Curacas for Colonels and Officers, they marched directly with resolution to Summon and make demand of the City of Cozco.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

The Inca abandons the City, and the Prince succours it.

SO from as the *Inca Yahuar-huacae* understood the certainty of this News, and of the approach of the Enemy, he was affrighted and terrified within himfelf; for it feemed a furprize to him to understand of a rebellion, for as yet no fuch thing had ever happened in the Provinces, during the lenity of that Government which the Incas had exercised from the time of Manco Capuc to those very days; under the fecurity of which, and out of the hatred he conceived to his Son, to whom he could not allow the honour of divine revelation, he neither would give credit to the dream, nor hearken to the advice or counfel of his kindred; but having blinded his understanding with passion and prejudice, he found himself enshared in inextricable difficulties, having neither time to levy a force sufficient ro encounter his Enemies, nor a Garrifon in readiness to defend the City, untill other relief or succour could be administred. Wherefore in these doubts he refolved to give way to the Torrent of his Enemies rage, and retire towards Colla-

fuyu, where he promifed to himself security of life, and defence from the Loyalty and Valour of that people. With this intention and design he departed from Coxto with a retinue of such Incas as were able to follow him, and came to the Coxco with a retinue of the beas as were able to follow him, and came to the Straits of Magna, about five Leagues Northward from the City, towards the Sea of Zur, and there posted himself on the top Mountain, from whence he could furvey the Enemies Camp, and descry what they acted in the way as they passed. The King having thus abandoned Coxco, the City was exposed to open violence, none daring to propose, much less act in the desence of it; every one endeavouring to shift for himself, and save his life in the best manner he was able. Of these Fugitives, some repaired to the Prince Viracocha, informing him of the Rebellion of Chincasuyu, and of the flight of his Father; and that there was no possibility in so short time and warning to withstand or make head against the

Enemy.

The Prince deeply refenting this fad news of the flight of his Father, and the nakedness of the City, commanded those who brought him the advice, and those few Shepherds that were with him, that they should immediately repair to the City, and order those that they should find there, and as many as they should meet in the ways, that they should with such Arms as they had, and with as much speed as they could possibly, repair to the mea their Lord and Master, giving them likewise to understand, that it was his intention so to doe, and that this was his Order and Special Command to them. Having issued out this advice. the Prince Viracocha proceeded in Quest of his Father, and without visiting the City, he took a fhort cut; and losing no time, overtook him in the Strairs of Muyna, from whence he was not as yet departed; and being covered over with fweat and duft, holding a Lance in his hand, which he had cafually taken up on the way, he prefented himself before the King, and with a grave and melancholy countenance, he thus addressed his Speech to him.

How is it, Inca, that upon a report (whether true or false, is uncertain) of some sew of your Subjects risen in Rebellion, you should abandon your City and Court, and sig before an Enemy, not as yet feen, nor appearing? How can you yield and refign the Temple of the Sun your Father into the power of your Enemies, to be polluted by their prophane and unhallowed feet : giving them thereby liberty to return to their ancient Abominations, and there offer again their detestable Sacrifices of Men, Women and Children, with other unhumane and unnatural actions, from which your Ancestours had reformed them? What account shall we be able to render of the charge committed to us for guard and defence of those Virgins dedicated to the Sun, if we abandon and leave them to the brutality and lufts of our Enemies? And what benefit shall we get by saving our lives, with the loss of our honour and admission of fall the evils and mischiefs imaginable? For my part, I shall never assent unto it, but rather appear fingly before the face of my Enemies, and lofe my life in opposing their entrance into Cozco, rather than live to fee the defolation of that City, and those abominable practices committed in that Sacred and Imperial Court, which the Sun and his Children had founded: Wherefore let fuch as have courage follow me, and I shall shew them how to exchange an infamous and loathfome Life for a noble and honourable Death.

Having faid thus much with deep fense and heat of spirit, he took his way towards the City, without losing so much time as to eat or drink. The Incas of the Bloud, who untill now had accompanied the King, and with them his own Brothers, Coufins and nearest Relations, to the number of above 4000 Men, returned and followed the Prince, so that onely some few old and impotent Men remained with the King: As many as they met in the way they marched, and those also who were scattered abroad in the Countrey, they called and summoned unto them; giving them to understand, that the Prince Viracocha was returned to the City with intention to defend that and the Temple of his Father the Sun, with the last drop of his bloud. With this news, which was soon spread over all places, the Indians were so encouraged, (the presence of the Prince giving countenance to the resolution) that they all unanimously returned to the City, intending there to dye with great alacrity and chearfulness with their Prince, who evidenced fo much resolution and courage in their defence.

In this manner, and with these thoughts, he entred the City, and from thence immediately taking the direct road towards Chincasury, which was the Pass by which the Enemy marched; he commanded his Army, without any delay, to follow him, intending there to place himself between the Enemy and the City; not that he expected thereby to give a stop to their proceedings, for that it could never be hoped that their inconsiderable number could make head against such Multitudes; but that as valiant and desperate Men, they might dye fighting against their Enemies, rather than behold the Barbarians victorious in the Temple and City of their Father the Sun, which was a matter that made the most sensitive most sensiti

And because we must here set a period to the Reign of Tahnar-huacae, (whole Life we now write) and as hereaster will appear, we shall now put a full stop to the current of this History, that so we may distinguish the Actions of this King from those of his Son Viracocha: And for variety sake, and to please the Reader, we shall intermix other matters which are curious and divertising, and then afterwards return to the Atchievements and Exploits of the Prince Viracocha, which

were famous and of great Renown.

BOOK

# Royal Commentaries.

(121)

# BOOK V

#### CHAP. I.

How they enlarged and divided the Lands amongst the People.

O foon as the Inca had conquered any Kingdom or Province, and that he had fettled and established his Government and Religion amongst the Inhabitants, he ordered that those Lands which were capable of improvement (that is, fuch as would bear Mayz) should be dressed and manured; and in order hereunto they drained all wet Moors and Fens. for in that Art they were excellent, as is apparent by their Works which remain unto this day: And also they were very ingenious in making Aqueducts for carrying Water into dry and fcorched Lands, fuch as the greatest part of that Countrey is, which is fituated under the Torrid Zone, being commonly barren for want of Water to refresh and make it fruitfull; and for that reason, wherefoever they intended to fow their Maye or Indian Wheat, they always made contrivances and inventions to bring their Water for them, nor less carefull were they to water their Pastures, which they drowned in case the Autumn proved dry, that so they might have Grass sufficient to feed the numerous Flocks they maintained. These Aqueducts, though they were ruined after the Spaniards came in. yet several Reliques and Monuments of them remain unto this day.

After they had made a provision of Water, the next thing was to dress, and cultivate, and clear their Fields of Bushes and Trees, and that they might with most advantage receive the Water, they made them in a Quadrangular form; those Lands which were good on the fide of Hills, they levelled them by certain Allies, or Walks, which they made, as is to be seen in Cozco, and all over Peru unto this day; to make these Allies, they raised three Walls of Freezed Stone, one before, and one of each fide, somewhat inclining inwards, (as are all the Walls they make) so that they may more securely bear and keep up the weight of the Earth, which is pressed and rammed down by them, until it be raised to the height of the Wall: Then, next to this Walls, they made another something shorter and lefs, kept up in the same manner with its Wall; until at length they came to take in the whole Hill, levelling it by degrees in fashion of a Ladder, one Ally above the other, until they came to take in all the Hill, and inclose the ground which was capable of improvement, and of receiving Water; where the

BOOK V.

BOOK V.

ground was flony, they gathered up the Stones, and covered the barren Soil with fresh Earth to make their Levels, that so no part of the ground might be lost: The first Allies were the largest, and as spatious as the situation of the place could the fift Affics were the right, and as partons as the industrial of the plate tollid bear, fome being of that length and breadth as were capable to receive a hundred, fome two hundred, or three hundred Bushells of Seed. The second row of Allies tome two hundred, or three hundred burnels of seed. The feeopd row of Allies were made narrower and shorter, and so went lessening, until at last at the bottom and lowermost Ally, they were contracted to so narrow a Compass, as was not capable to produce more than two or three small measures of Mage. In some parts they husbanded their matter, that they brought the Chanels of water from lifteen or twenty Leagues diffance, though it were only to improve a flip of a few Acres of Land, which was efteemed good Corn-ground.

Having in this manner (as we have faid) improved, and enlarged their Lands, the next thing was to make a just Division of them in all Countries; for performance next thing was to make a just Division of them in all Countries; for performance of which they divided the grounds into three parts, one was allotted to the Sun, a fecond to the King, and a third to the Inhabitants: This Rule was observed with great exactness, and in favour of the People, that so the Natives might not want ground for tillage; for in that case, when the Countrey abounded with numbers of People, they abated of the proportion allotted to the Sun, and to the Luca, for the sake and benefit of the Subjects; so that in effect, neither did the King in his own, or in right of the Sun, appropriate to himself any Lands, but such as lay untilled, unposses, were inclosed, and laid in Allies, being so manured and improved by special Command. Besides these Lands, which by passes, of their convenient function for receiving water, produced Mars, they reason of their convenient struction for receiving water, produced Maye, they made a Division of other Land, also that were in a dry soil, without any convenience of water, and yet because they were capable to produce some sorts of grane, and pulle, fuch as they called *Papa*, and *Oca*, and *Annus*, which were very beneficial; the Sun and the King had their fhares allowed thereof. This foil, which for want of water was thus barren, they did not fow above one or two years together, and then broke up fresh ground, leaving the other to lie fallow, untill it had again recovered its former strength.

Their Mayz, or Wheat fields, which had the benefit of water, they fowed every year, dunging them after every crop, as we do our Gardens, which made them extremely frultfull; and with the Maye they fowed a finall feed, like Rice, which they call Quinua, and grows much in cold Countries.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. TT.

Of the Order they observed in manuring their Lands: and what Feast and For they made when they tilled the Grounds of the Inca, and of the Sun.

IN cultivating their Lands they observed this Rule and Method; those of the Sun were preferred in the first place, then those belonging to Orphans, and Widows, and Persons impotent, by reason of age and sickness; all which remaining under the notion of poor, were by order of the Inca provided for, and their Lands manured by special Command: To person which, there were Deputies appointed in every Parish, or Community of the People, to take care that those Lands were tilled and dressed. These Deputies were called Liastacamann, which is as much as Monitors of the People, whose charge it was according to the Seafons of the Year, to plow, and fowe, and reap, and gather the fruit, laying it up in places which they had built like Barnes to receive them. The fummons which the People had to this work, was by found of Trumper, or other loud Infrument, to crave attention; and then the Crier proclaimed, That fuch a day the work of the poor was to be done, and therefore that every one should provide againft that time to attend that fervice; and then where they were first to begin, and how to proceed, either in that of their Relations, or Neighbours, was
affigned by the Overseer. Every workman that came to labour in the fields of the Orphans, or Widows, or impotent brought his own Provisions with him; for that the Poor were obliged to no care, their infirmities and wants excusing them from other troubles, than a patient sufferance of their own evils. If the poor wanted feed to fow their Lands, it was administred to them out of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish work his ways and the control of the publish ways are control of the publish ways and the control of the publish ways are control of the publish ways and the control of the publish ways are control of the publish ways and the control of the publish ways are control of the publish ways and the control of the publish ways are control of the publish ways ar lick Granaries, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The Lands of Souldiers, whilft they were actually employed in the Wars were manured with the fame care and manner as those of the poor; their Wives. during the absence of their Husbands, being listed into the number of Widows. and the Children of those who were slain in the Wars were provided for, and carefully educated, untill the time of their Marriage.

The Lands of the poor being already tilled, in the next place every private Person might attend to his own Farm, and the first that had done was to help his fellows: then the Lands of the Curaca were to be served, and were the last in order after those of the People; the which was observed so severely, that in the Reign of Huspia Capac, a certain Indian Overleer was hanged for tilling the Land of a Curaca, who was his Kinfman, before that of a Widow; and to make the or a curacia, who was his kiniman, before that or a vy-now; and to make the punishment more exemplary, the Gallows was fet up in the very Land of the Curaca. The feverity of this Law was grounded on the fame practice, which was observed in the Lands of the Incu himself; for that the Incu always preferred the Tillage of his Subjects before his own, it being their sure Maxime, that the Happiness of the Prince depends on the Prosperity of the People, without which they become unable to ferve him, either in times of War or Peace.

The laft Lands to be tilled were those of the King, to which, and to those of the Sun, the People in general applied themselves with great alacrity and rejoicing, they then at that work appeared in their best Cloths, full of Gold and Silver plates, and seathers on their Heads, in the same manner as they were dressed on their selfual days. When they ploughed, which seemed the more pleasant work they sing the Sonners made in prasse of their sacas, with which the time passed for early, that their Labour seemed a Recreation, so great was their Devotion to a wards their Cool and their King.

wards their God and their King.

BOOK V

Within the City of Cozco, bordering on the fide of that Hill where the Callle Within the City of Coxco, bordering on the fide of that Filli where the Caffe was built, there was a fpatious Walk or Alley, containing many acres of ground, called Colleampata, and is ftill remaining, unless they have built houses upon it, fince the time I was there: the plat of ground on which it was, took its name from the Walk it felf, being the best piece of Land, and as it were the Jewel, and Flower of all the Estate belonging to the Sun, and was the first plat of Earth which the Incas had dedicated to him. This Walk was like a Garden, manured which the Incas had dedicated to him. This Walk was like a Garden, manured to the Country of the Part Rend, present was encouraged to the provide a control of the Part Rend, present provides and provide the control of the Part Rend, present provides and provide the control of the Part Rend, present provides and provides a control of the Part Rend, present provides a control of the Part Rend, present provides and provides a control of the Part Rend, present provides and present provides a control of the Part Rend, present provides a control and cultivated onely by Incas of the Royal Bloud, nor was any other admitted to be Gardiner or Labourer there, under the degree of *Inca*, or *Palla*, which was a Lady of the Royal Family. All the Songs they made, were Panegyricks in praife of the Sun; and the fubftance of them was taken from the word Hoyli, which of the Sun; and the fubftance of them was taken from the word *Htylli*, which in the common language of *Peru* fignifies triumph; as if they were victorious, and triumphed over the Earth, when they ploughed and digged into its bowels, forcing it to fructify, and raking fruit from thence. With these Sonnets they intermixed the quick and acute Sentences and Sayings of discreet Lovers, and valiant Souldiers, tending to the Subject and Work in hand, concluding every suffice franza of their Verses with the word *Htylii*, which was the burthen of the Song, and repeated as often as was necessary to fill up the cadence of the Tune; and thus they sang, and worked backward and forward, as they made the Furrows, with which describables the roll and labour was much alleviated.

thus they fang, and worked backward and forward, as they made the Furrows, with which chearfulnels the toil and labour was much alleviated.

The Plough they use was made of a piece of Wood, of about four fingers broad, and a yard long, it was state before, and round behind, and pointed at the end, that so it might the more easily pierce, and enter the Earth; then about half a yard high, on the main shaft they bound two pieces of Wood for a stay to the Foot, with which the Indian pressing very hard, thrust his Plough, or Shovel, up to the very step, or stay to the Foot; and therewith seven and seven, or eight and eight a breast, according to the number of the Kindred, or Partnership, drawing all together, they turned up turss, and clods of Earth of an incredible bigness, so that those who have not seen this Invention before, would wonder that so weak as Instrument could be able to doe so great and heavy a work, and with that the an Inftrument could be able to doe to great and heavy a work, and with that dif-patch and eafe also, as did not put the Labourers out of breath, fo as to spoil the Air and Cadence of the Tune. The Women likewise were affistents to the Men in this work, helping to turn up the turf and clods, and pluck up the Weeds and roots, that they might dye and wither; in which labour they bore also part in

the Mulick, and joined in the Clorus of Hayli, Hayli,

The Indian Tunes having a kind of fweet Air with them, the Mulick-Mafter of the Cathedral Church at Coze, in the Year 1551, or 1552, composed an Antheme, and fet it to one of their Tunes, which he plaid on the Organ, upon the Festival of the most Holy Sacrament, at which Solemnity he introduced eight Fettival of the most Flory Sacrament, at which Solemnity he introduced eight Mongrel Boys, of mixed Bloud between *Spanish* and *Indians*, and my School-fellows, finging the Songs which he had fet according to the true Air of *Incas* Musick, and each of them carrying a Plough in his hand, accompanied the Procession, representing and initiating the *Hoplii* of the *Indians*; all the Chapell in the mean time joining in the *Chaptas*, to the great fatisfaction of the *Spaniards*, and contentment of the *Indians*, who were over-joyed to see the *Spaniards* so far to honour them, as to practise their Dances and Musick, when they celebrated the Festival Code which they called *Publicanus*, and is as made as a fine to be a content of the code of t

them, as to practite their Dances and municity, when they celeorated the rettival of their Lord God, which they called *Pachacamac*, and is as much as to fay, he that gives Life to the whole Univerte.

Thus I have related the manner how the *Incis* celebrated the Feaft which they held at the time of ploughing, and fowing the Grounds dedicated to the Sun, the which I faw, and observed for two or three following years, when I was a Child, and by them we may guess at the form and manner of the Fetfivals following the state of the state other parts of *Peru*, on the fame occasion, though those Feasts which I saw, as the *Indians* assured me, were but faint representations of those in ancient times, and were not to be effeemed comparable to them.

#### CHAP. III.

Of the Proportion of Land which was allotted to every Indian. and with what fort of Dung they improved it.

To every Indian was given a Tupu of Land, which was as much as he might fow with a Hanega, (which is as much as a Bushel and a half of Marx.) or Indian Wheat, though the Hanega of Peru is a Hanega and a half of Spain.) This word Tupu fignifies also a League in travelling, likewise all forts of measures of Water, or Wine, or any other Liquour; as also the great Pins with which Women tack up their dressings: The Measure of Seed-corn hath also another name, which is Poccha.

One Tupu of Land was esteemed sufficient to maintain an ordinary Countrey-Fellow and his Wife, provided he had not Children; for then, so soon as he had a Son, they added another Tupu of Land to his Estate, and if a Daughter, half an one: When the Son married, so that he left his Fother's House, then he refigned over to the Son his Tupu of Land, in which he had an Original Right and Propriety.

But this was differently observed as to Daughters, for they were not to take their Lands with them in marriage, it having been given them for their fubfiftence during their Minority onely, but not to accrue to them by way of Portion; for every Husband claiming his thare of Land in his own Right, was obliged to support his Wife, the Law taking no farther cognizance of Women after their Marriage; the Land remaining with the Father, in case he had need of it, and if not, then it returned again to the Community, for it was not lawfull either to sell or alienate it.

Proportionably to those Lands which they gave for bearing Mayz, they also adjoined others, which were dry Lands, and did not require Water, and yet produced Pulse and other seeds.

To Noble and great Families, fuch as were those of the Curacas, or Lords who had Subjects under them, they allotted so much Land as was sufficient to maintain their Wives and Children, Concubines and Servants. To the Incas of the

tain their Wives and Children, Concubines and Servants. To the Incas of the Bloud Royal the same advantage and benefit was allowed, in any part wheresoever they were pleased to fix their aboad; and their Lands were to be the best and richest of any: And this they were to enjoy over and above the common share and right which they claimed in the Estates of the King, and the Sun, as Children of the one, and Brothers of the other.

They need to dung their Lands, that they might make them fruitfull, and it is observable, that in all the Valley about Cosco, and in the hilly Countries, where they sowed Maye, they esteemed the best manure to be Man's Dung; and to that end they saved and gathered it with great care, and drying it, they cast it upon their Land before they sowed their Maye. But in the Countrey of Collao, which is above an hundred and sifty Leagues long, which, by reason of the coldness of the Climate, doth not produce Maye, though it bear other fort of Grane, there they esteem the Dung of Cattle to be the best manure and improvement.

By the Sea-coast, from below Arequepa, as far as Turapage, which is above two

By the Sea-coaft, from below Arequepa, as far as Tarapaca, which is above two hundred Leagues, they use no other Dung, but such as comes from the Sea-birds, nuncred Leagues, they are no other Dung, but mon as comes from the Sea-birds, of which there are great numbers, and incredible flocks on the Coaft of Perns; they breed in little Illands, which lie in the Sea, and are unpeopled, where they lay fuch heaps of Dung, that at a diffrance they feem to be Hills of Snow. In the times of the hears, who were Kings, great care was taken of thee Birds in the feafon of their Breeding; for then on pain of Death no Man was to enter on those Illands, left they should diffurb the Birds, or spoil their Nests; nor was it lawfull to take or kill them at any time, either off or upon the Island. 126

Every Island was by order of the *Inca*, affigned to fuch and fuch Provinces, and if the Island were very large, then two or three of them divided the foilage, the which they laid up in feparate heaps, that so one Province might not encroach on the proportion allotted to the other; and when they came to make their Division to particular Persons, and Neighbours, they then weighed and shared out to every Man the quantity he was to receive; and it was felony for any man to take more than what belonged to him, or to rob or steal it from the ground of his Neighbour, for in regard that every man had as much as was necessary for his own Lands, the taking a greater quantity than what belonged to him, was judged a Crime, and a high offence; for that this fort of Birds dung was esteemed pretious, being the best improvement and manure for Land in the World.

Howsoever in other parts of that Coast, and in the Low Countries of Asica, Asignipa, Villacori, Malla and Chillea, and other Vallies, they dung their grounds with the Heads of a small fish, like our Pilchards, and with no other sunder the same Climate, live with great labour and toil, where they can neither water their Grounds with the trams from the Springs or Fountains, nor yet with the Rain or

Climate, live with great labour and toil, where they can neither water their Grounds with streams from the Springs or Fountains, nor yet with the Rain or Dews from Heaven: For it is a certain truth, that for the space of seven hundred Leagues along that Coast it did never rain, nor are there in all that tract of Land streams, or places for water, the whole Countrey being exceedingly hot, dry, and nothing almost but sand; for which reason the Natives endeavouring to moissen their grounds, so as to make them capable to yield Mays, they approach as near to the Sea, as they are able, where they turn aside, and cast away the Sand which lies upon the surface, and dig down as deep as a Man's Body is in length, and sometimes twice as deep, untill, having passed the Sand, they come to such a fort of Earth as is able to bear the weight of Water, which places the Spaniards call Hoyas, or Vaults; and being of different proportions, some greater, and some lesser; some are not capacious enough to receive above half a measure of Seed. In leffer; some are not capacious enough to receive above half a measure of Seed-corn, others again are so large as to receive three or sour measures of Seed: In these places they neither plow, nor reap, because they rather set than sow, planting their grane of  $M_{0} \approx$  at an equal distance one from the other; and in the holes or surrows which they make; they cast three or sour grains of  $M_{0} \approx$ , with a sew Pilchards Heads; which being all the dung they use, and which is onely, as they say, profitable in that soil, they expect their Harvest at its due season. And to see how Divine Providence taketh care of all Creatures, for that neither the season may want that Manure, which onely makes their Land fruitfull, nor the Birds of the slidands their food, there are such quantities of Pilchards cast up by the Sea at those seasons are not onely difficient for the Food of Men and Birds. Birds of the Islands their food, there are such quantities of Pilchards cast up by the Sea at those feasons, as are not onely sufficient for the Food of Men, and Birds, and for dunging the Earth, but even to lade many Ships, if occasion should require: It is said, that this Fish is chased ashore by some Dolphins, or greater Fish; be it by what means it will, the advantage is great, and the Providence of God is admirable in these his Blessings towards his poor Ceratures. Who was the first Inventer of this manner of planting in holes with the Heads of Pilchards, is uncertain; we may rather attribute it to Necessity, which is the Mother of Ingenuity; for in regard, as we have said, that there is great want of Bread in all parts of Pern, the same Understanding which in some parts taught them to plant their Maze in holes, the same also instructed them to make their Allies in the parts of Coeto, and by this means every one sowing for his own maintenance, and not to sell, all People enjoyed sufficient for their support, never any scarcity or famine having been known in that Land. having been known in that Land.

CHAP.

## CHAP. IV.

How they divided their Water into several Rivulets for the refreshment of their Land; and what Punishment they inflicted on the idle and negligent People that would not work.

IN those Countries where Water was scarce, they took care to divide their Waters to every one according to his necessities, and by such equal proportions, and with that order; that all quarrels and contentions for it were avoided; and hereunto they had most especial regard in dry years, when Rain was wanting; for then they allotted out unto every one his certain hours, having by experience learned in how much time an Acre of Ground might be supplied, and drink the Water it required. In which benefit neither the Rich nor the more Noble, nor the Kinssman of the Curaca, nor the Curaca himself, nor the Governour, nor the Kinssman of the Curaca, nor the Curaca himself, nor the Governour, nor the Kinssman to the sum, as his Lands and Furrows lay in order. He that was negligent to take his turn, and to watch his ground whilst the Water ran into the Furrows, and Dams, was punished for a sluggard in the most affrontive manner; for he was to receive publickly three or four thumps on the Back with a Stone, or whipped on the Armes and Legs with Switches of Osier, and shamed with the disgracefull term of an idle and sloathfull fellow, which was a great distinguand differentation to them, calling them Mizquitullus, which is Easte-bones, being a word compounded of Mizqui, which signifies sweet, and Tullus which is bones.

#### CHAP. V.

Of the Tribute which they gave to the Inca, and of the Veffels they made to receive their Fruits.

Having already declared the manner by which the *Incas* divided the Lands, and the ways and inventions by which the Subjects improved them; we are in the next place to proceed to fliew what Tribute they gave unto their Kings. The chiefest part of their Tribute did consist in their labour, which was to cultivate and manure the Lands belonging to the Sun, and to the *Inca*, and also to gather and reap the Fruits, and lay them up in the Kings Barns: One fort of fruit which was in esteem amongst them, was that which they call \$\mathcal{Uchn}\$, and the \$\sigma\_{paniards} \times \tilde{\pi\_{paniards}}\$ and we in English Red Pepper. The places in which they laid their Corn called \$\mathcal{Pirma}\$, were made of Clay, tempered with Straw: In the times of the \*Incas\* they were very curious in this work, and made them of different fizes and fashions; some being long and narrow, and others square; some of them were made to receive thirty, some fifty, and some an hundred measures of Corn: Every one of these Clay-vessels was put into a Chamber by it self, just fitted to the proportion of the Vessel, and fixed with Walls on each side, so as not to be removed;

removed: and in the middle of the Chamber a paffage was left to go from one to the other to empty and fill them according to the featons of the year; for emptying these Vessels, they opened a little shutter before, of about a quarter of a Yard square, or bigger, or lessels, according to its proportion, by which they knew certainly the quantity that was taken out, and what remained without measuring of it; whereby, and by the langeness of the Vessels, they cassly made the account of the quantity of the Mayz which remained in every Barn or Magazine. I remember that I once saw some of these Clay-vessels, which remained ever since the time of the beas; they were such as were of the best fort, for they had belonged to the Convent of the Select Virgins, who were Wives to the Sun, and made folely for the service of those Women; when I saw them, they were in the House of the Sens of Pesho de Barca, who had been School-sellows with me. The Provisions of the Sun, and of the beas, were laid up apart, and in different Vessels, though in the same Store-house or Magazine. The Corn for Seed was given out by the Lord of the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as also the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as also the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as also the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as alto the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as alto the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as alto the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as alto the Corn which made Bread for the Land, who was the Sun and the beas; as alto the fiscenth Chapter of his fixth Book, in these words: "The beas gave the third part of "the Lands to the People's but it is not certain whether this third part was so easier of all Tax or Imposition. The truth of which is affirthed by Alesse in the fiscenth Chapter of his fixth Book, in these words: "The beas gave the third pa

In all the Province of Colla, which is above 150 Leagues long, Mayz doth not grow, by reason of the coldness of the Climate; but in the place of it they have great abundance of Quinna, which is a fort of Rice, besides plenty of other Grane and Pulse, and such Corn as grows low upon the ground; such as is that which they call Papa, which is round and juicy, and by reason of the great humidity of it inclines much to corruption, and is soon rotten; but the better to conserve it, they spread it on the ground upon Straw, of which there is great store, and very good in that Countrey, exposing it for many Nights to the Frost; for the Frosts are very that p and lasting there; after it hath in this manner, as it were, been digested and ripened by the colds, they then gently press it, that the warrithness may pass away with the crude humour caused by the Frost; and after they have thus well pressed it, they lay it out in the Sun, keeping it from the serine damps of the Night, untill it is perfectly dried. And by these means they conserve the Papa for a long time, which then they call by the Name of Chimum, and by that Name all the Papa passed, which was gathered from the Lands of the Sun, and of the Inca, and which they conserved in their Store-houses, with other Grane, and with their Pease and Vetches, and such like.

CHAP.

BOOK V.

## CHAP. VI.

How they made Cloaths, and Arms, and Shoes for the Souldiery.

Belides this Tribute of Labour which the *Indians* bestowed on the Lands of the Sun, and the *Inca*, and of the gathering in their Fruit; the second Tribute required was a contribution towards the Cloathing, Shoes and Arms of the Souldiety, as also for the poor and needy, who by reason of Age, or want of Health, were not able to labour and provide for themselves: And herein the same rule and order was observed, as in the former Tribute: The Cloathing in all the Hilly Countries was made of Wool; which was produced by those multitudes of Cattel which were pastured in those parts for account of the Sun; but in the Plains along the Sea-coast, where the Countrey is hot, they made all their Garments of Cottons, which grew in the Lands belonging to the *Inca* and the Sun, to that the *Indians* were at no farther experice therein, than that onely which proveeded from the labour of their hands. Their Woolen Cloathing was of three forts; the coursest, which they called *Avasca*, was for the common people; the next degree, which was something siner, they called *Compi*, which was fit for Captains and Nobles, and the better fort of people, and were made of divers colours, and dressed and curried like the *Dutch* Cloths: To the finest fort likewise they gave the same name of *Compi*, which was onely for the cloathing of *Insa* of the Royal Bloud, and such of them as were Souldiers and Officers both of War and Royal Bloud, and fuch of them as were Souldiers and Officers both of War and Peace. This finest fort was made in Countries where the best Workmen lived. and the most ingenious Artifles; and the courfer was made by the more dull and courfer fort of Heads. All the Wool for this Cloathing was Spun by the Women; as likewise the Avasca, or courser sort, was Woven by them; but the finest was Woven by the Men, because they always Weaved standing; and both one and the other was the Work of the Subjects, and not of the *Incas*, though it were for their own Cloathing, though some are of opinion that the *Incas* worked and weaved for themselves; which we must contradict, and shall shew hereaster, when we come to treat of the Arms of Horsemen, what it was that they termed the Spinning of the mear. Those Provinces were most charged with the Assessment for Shoeing, where Hemp grew in most plenty, and was made from the Stalk of a Plant called Magney; their Arms likewife were made in those Countries where the Materials for them were most plentifull: In some places they made Bows and the Materials for them were most plentifull: In some places they made Bows and Arrows, in others Lances and Darts, in others Clubs and Bills; some Countries provided Ropes and Winlesses for lading and saftning of Burtlens, and others made Helmets and Targets, besides which they had no other defensive Arms. In short, every Province surnished and supplied such Commodities as the Nature of the Countrey did most easily produce, and such Manusactories as they could make at home; for it was a settled and an established Law through the whole Empire, that no Indian should be obliged to seek or ransack other Countries for the Tribute he was to pay; for as that would not be just nor equal, so it would be a means to make them Vagabonds, and so open a door to the Inhabitants to go on means to make them Vagabonds, and to open a door to the Inhabitants to go out of their Countrey, and forfake their own habitations; fo that the Subjects were obliged to furnish the Inca with four things, viz. Provisions or food ariling from the proper grounds of the Inca; Cloathing made of the Wool of his own Flocks, Shoes and Arms, arifing from Countries where the Materials are most common; all these Assessments were laid and imposed with great order and attention; for those Provinces which were charged with Cloths, by reason of the quantity of Wool, which abounded in their parts, were freed from the charge and care of providing Shoes; those that provided Shoes, were freed from Arms, so that hone could be twice charged, nor the Subject agrieved by the weight of his Oppressions. By this gentleness and lenity of the Yoke which the bica laid on his people,

Book V.

people, every one ferved him with fuch chearfulness and alacrity, that a *Spanify* Hiltorian much admiring thereat, utled these words: "The Riches of those bar"barous Kings consisted in the Number of their Subjects, who were all Slaves
"to them; and what is most wonderfull is, that all the labour and toil they used
"for their Kings, was their greatest delight and recreation; and such was the
good rule and order observed in it, that no labour was tedious, but rather of
contentment and fairsfaction. These words are not my own, but the expressions of sosph de Acosta, a Person of good authority, which I gladly infert here, as in other places, to desend my self against the Malice and Obloquy of those who are ready to charge me with Fables forged in honour and favour to my own Kindred and Country. And this is what we have to say of the Tribute which was given to these Idolatrous Kings.

There was another fort of Tribute which the Kings exacted from the Impotent, and fach as were called Poor; and that was, that every one was obliged from for many days, to fach a time, to deliver into the hands of the Governours a Reed filled with Lice. It is faid, that the reation why the hear required this ftrange fort of Tribute, was, that fo no perion, how impotent foever, might pretend an entire exemption from Tribute; and because Lice were the easiest Tribute, the King exacted fach as they could pay; and the rather, that to this people by fuch obligation might be forced for payment to clear and make clean themselves of Vermine, and not pretend to be void of all employment; and the care of this Collection was encharged to a Decurion, or Officer of ten, as before mentioned. By such Acts of mercy and compassion as this towards the Poor, the hear merited the Title of a Lover of the Poor, the which Name he affunded to himself.

amongst his other Dignities and Titles of Honour.

The persons exempt from all Tribute were the Incas of the Bloud-Royal, the Priefts and Ministers of the Temple, the Curacus and Sovereign Lords, Colonels. and Captains, and Centurions, though they were not of the Bloud-Royal; also Governours, Judges, Ministers of State, during the time of their Offices, they were onely obliged to attend their charge and employments, without other trouble or diversion: All Souldiers who were actually in Arms, and attending in the War, were excused from other Services; and Youths under the Age of twenty five years, being untill that time esteemed Servants to their Fathers, and without power over themselves; and not capable to dispose of themselves in Marriage, were not obliged to pay any fort of Tribute; as also new-married persons for the first year were dispensed with in that particular. Old Men from lifty years and upwards, as also Women, and Maids, and Widows, and Married people were also exempt from Tribute, though the Spanish Writers alledge, that Women were obliged unto that payment, because they were observed to work and labour as other people; but herein they were miltaken, for that Women were not obliged to this labour by way of Tribute, out onely for the help and athiftence of their Parents or Husbands, that fo they might more speedily dispatch their tasks, and finish the labour allotted to them. It was also an excuse for any to prove himself to have been fick and indifposed in his health; the lame also and the blind, but not the dumb nor deaf were freed from their personal labour; the which belonging properly to every particular person, became a debt not to be remitted, unless on the preceding Conditions and Provifoes. And thus much *Blas Liders* alledges to agreeable to our fenfe, as if what we shall hereafter declare in this matter, or have already herein delivered, had been onely a Copy, or Extract, out of his Wri-

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

That Gold, and Silver, and other things of value, were not given by way of Tribute, but of Presents.

A LL that great quantity of Gold and Silver, and pretious Stones which the Inca poffeffed, were not Rents, nor Fruits iffuing from Tribute, but Prefents which the People voluntarily offered to their Kings; for neither Gold nor Silver were efteemed necessary for maintenance of Peace, nor (as we will have it) the Sinews of War, nor reckoned as any part of Riches, or Estate, nor were they measures in buying or selling, or given in payment to the Souldiers; for they could neither drink nor satisfie their hunger with those Metalls, and therefore were valued at no other rate, than for their glittering Lustre, and resplendent Beauty, designed onely for Ornaments to adorn the Temples of the Sun, and the Palaces of the Incas, and the Monasteries of the Virgins, as we have already made appear, and shall hereafter have occasion to prove more at large. They sound out the Mines of quick-silver, but knew not the use of it, onely that it was hurtfall, and of a quality noxious to the Head, and for that reason prohibited the

People from gathering or medling with it.

We say then, that Gold and Silver was a free Offering from the Subjects to their Prince, and never demanded by them in way of Tribute, or Duty: and in regard it was a custome amongst that People, never to appear before their Superiours with empty hands, for when nothing better offered, even a basket of dry or ripe fruit was acceptable: and that also it was accustomary for the Curaca, and Princes, who had fovereign Authority over Subjects, to prefent themselves before the Inca at the principal feafts of the Year, which were dedicated to the Sun. fuch as Raymi, and at other times when Triumphs were celebrated for great and fignal Victories, or when a Prince and Heir was born, or his Head fhorn, or that the Inca visited the Provinces, and the like, the Curacas did then never prefume to appear before the Inca, and kifs his Hands, without their Prefents of Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones, such as the Indians, who were their Vaslals, had at their leifure times extracted from the Mines; for in regard that these things were not necessary for support of humane Life, the acquisition of them was scarce escenned worth their labour, and the employment onely appointed for their vacant hours; for when they knew that there was no other use for them, but onely for the adornment of their Temples, and Palaces of the Inca, they then esteemed them worthy their trouble, for no other reason, than that they might appear with confidence before their Gods, who were the Sun and the Inca,

Moreover besides such rich Gifts as these, the Caracous did commonly present to the King Timber of the best and strongest nature for his Buildings, with excelent Masters, and the most able Artists and Workmen to erect them; for if there were any Persons ingenious, or excellent in Arts, or Crafts, such as Silver-sinishs, Painters, Stone-cutters, Carpenters, or others, they were always preserved and recommended by the Caracous to the service of the Inca; for indeed such Person as these could find no Employment or Encouragement with the common People, every one of which had skill and art sufficient for building his own poor Hutt or Cotrage where he dwelt, and making his own Shoes and Garments; for though anciently the Community had the care of providing every Eamily with a House, yet now, since every single Person hath learnt that mystery, and become a rare Architect, and can, with the affishence of a few Friends and Relations, be able to form his own Neft and Habitation; the Art of Surveyors, and the Labour of Workmen is of little use to them, for being poor, and living onely with design to supply the necessities of humane Life, they have no need of those supply

fluities

Book V

Auries which are necessary to support the Magnificence and Pomp of great Per-

142

fonages.

Moreover they prefented to the *Inca* wild Beafts, fuch as Tygers, Lions and Bears, with other Creatures less fierce, such as Drills, Monkies, Mountain-Care Deer, Parots, and other greater Birds, as Offritches, and another fort of Bird called a Cuntur, which is the biggeft of any in the world: Hereunto they fome times added Serpents which were produced in Anti; the biggeft and largeft of which they call Amaru, being twenty five or thirty foot in length, as also Toacs of a montrous bigness, and Snakes that were very fierce. And from the Sea-coast they sent Soils and Allagators, which they called Capmaner, and were some of they tent Soils and Allagators, which they called Capmanes, and were some of them twenty five or thirty foot in length. In short, there was no creature excellent in its kind either for ferocity, or bigness, or nimbleness, which they omitted to carry and present with their Offerings of Silver and Gold, that so by this way of Homage, and Duty, they might acknowledge him the supreme and universal Lord of all, and testify the zeal and affection they bore to his Service.

#### CHAP. VIII.

How this Tribute was conserved, and laid up, and how it was expended, and in what Service.

E are come now to enquire in what manner this Tribute was conferred, in what it was expended, and what account was given of it: and herein it is to be observed, that there were three Treasuries in the whole Kingdom, wherein they amassed and kept the Tributes, and publick Profits. In every Province whether it were great, or finall, there were always two Magazines, or Storehouses, in one of which they laid up corn, and provisions for support of the Natives against years of scarcity, or famine; in the other, all the Profits and Benefits belonging to the Sun, and the *Inca*, were laid up: besides which they had other smaller Store houses, built upon the King's High-way, about three or four Leagues one from the other, which the *Spaniards* make use of at present for Inns and Lodgings when they travell.

All the Estate of the Sun, and the Inca which lay within fifty Leagues about the City of Cozco, was all brought thither for maintenance, and support of the Court, that so the Inca might not onely have a sufficient plenty for himself and Family, but likewife to bestow in Rewards and Presents to his Captains and Curac.u, and to entertain and treat them: But some part of the Revenue which belonged to the Sun, and which was within the aforesaid limits of fifty Leagues, was separated, and laid up apart for the common benefit of the People.

What Revenue was coming in from other places more remote, without the compass of the fifty Leagues, was laid up in the King's Store-houles, which he had in every Province, and from thence it was transported to the places which were built on the common Road, for receiving Provisions, Arms, Cloths, Shoes, and all neceffaries for an Army, that to in all parts they might readily be tupplied, whento-ever they marched unto any of the four quarters of the World, which the Indiant called Taxaninfing. These Store houses being thus, as we have said, provided, were able to supply and furnish an Army with whatsoever they needed; so that in their march they neither lay upon free quarter, nor burthened the People; nor might any Souldier rob or vex the Inhabitants upon pain of Death. Pedro de Cieça in the 6oth Chapter of his Book, speaking of the great Roads, hath these Words.
"The Incas had great and large Store-houses, wherein they stowed and laid up " all their Ammunition and Provisions of War, in which they were so careful, " that they never failed to make due and large Provisions, and in failure thereof

" the Officer encharged was feverely punished; and confequently the Army being " thus well provided, no perfor was permitted to break into the Fields or Houses of the Indians, though the damage were never fo inconfiderable, under less than of the *Indians*, though the camage were never to monnterators, under teistman "a capital punithment. Thus far are the Words of *Pedro de Cicca*; and the reafon of this leverity was grounded on the fufficient maintenance which the Souldiers received, who were thus well provided for by the People, on condition that they might be secured from their violence and outrages; and thus as the Magazines in the Roads were emptied by the Souldiers in their March, fo they were again replenished, and supplied by the Provincial Stores. Augustin de Carate dif-couring of the great Roads, or the King's High-Ways, (as we shall hereafter have occasion to mention more at large) doth in the 14th. Chapter of his first Book fay: "That befides these common Store-houses on the Roads, Guarnacause gave command for building in all the mountainous Countries large and capacious Houses, able to receive him, and his Court, and all his Army, and to be feated at the diffance of a days march, one from the other. In the plains also he built others of the like capacious Form, but those were situated more allo ne built others of the INEC CAJACIOUS FORM, but those were intuated more remote one from the other, being at eight or ten, or perhaps fifteen or twenty. Leagues afunder, according as the Rivers or conveniences of Water happened; and thefe Houles were called *Tombos*, where the *Indians* laid up fuch quantities and ftores of Arms, and other necessaries, for an Army, that every one of them was sufficient to cloath, and arme, and feed twenty or thirty thousand. Men, with the Provisions contained within it self; and yet the Army, though Men, with the Provinons contained within it tert; and yet the Army, though it was numerous, was yet well accounted with all forts of Weapons, fuch as "Pikes, Halberts, Clubs and Pole-Axes, made of Silver, and Copper, and fome of them of Gold, having tharp points, and fome of them hardened by the fire, befides Slings, and Darts thrown by hand. Thus far are the Words of Angulin Carate, touching the Provisions lodged in the Roads for accommodation of the Army.

If the King were at any time put unto exceffive charge in his Wars, fo that his Revenue could not reach the expence, then in that case it was lawfull for the Inca, as universal Heir to his Father the Sun, to make use of his Riches, and Revenue, and that whensoever the Wars were finished, the overplus which remained of fuch Provisions were carefully laid up in the respective Store-houles, for support and maintenance of the People in Years of Famine and Scarcity; in which fuch care was taken, that the *loca* himself judged it an Employment fit to be supervised

by his own particular regard and inspection.

by his own particular regard and inspection.

The Priefts, in all parts of the Empire, were maintained at the charges of the Sun, that is, whilft they were actually employed in the Service of the Temple, for they attended by Weeks, according to their turns; but when they were arrhome, and out of waiting, they then fed and maintained themfelves from the fruits of those grounds, which were equally divided to them with other People; by which, and the like Parsmony, used in expending the Revenue of the Sun, his Stores were always great and plentifull, and sufficient to affist, and fuccour the beautiful and progressive and measures did require. Inca, as his necessities and urgencies did require.

BOOK V.

144

#### CHAP. IX.

That the People were supplied with Clothing, and that no Beggars were allowed amongst them.

AS by this good Order, and Method, the Souldiery was well provided with Clothing, so with the like care every two years a certain proportion of Wool was distributed to the Commonalty, and to the Curacas in general, where with to make Garments for themselves, their Wives, and their Families; and it was the Office of the Decurions to fee, and render an account to the Superiour Officers. how far this Wool was employed to the uses, unto which it was designed. cers, how far this Wool was employed to the ules, unto which it was defigned. The Indians were generally very poor in Cattel, and the Curacus themselves for the most part were Matters of so sew as were not sufficient for supply of themselves and their Families, whereas on the other side, the Sun, and the Inca, had such valt Flocks and Herds, as were almost innumerable. The Indians report, that when the Spaniards came first in amongst them, their flocks of Cattel were greater than their Passures could feed, and I have heard from my Father, and others who lived in his time, that the Spaniards made great Destruction of the Cattel, as we shall hereafter have occasion more largely to relate. In the Countries they gave them Cottons to spin for the clothing of themselves and Families; so that every one having a sufficiency of Food and Raiment, none could properly be termed poor, nor could any be forced to beg, because his Necessitive fupplied; it is true, that none could be called rich, if Riches be placed in affluence and abundance; for as none wanted, so noon had more than his Needs required. What we have declared at large, is confirmed by \$\(\textit{Act}\)\textit{fail} in a few words, who in the 15th Chapter of his 6th Book, speaking of \$Peru\$, hath this passage: "At the seasons they shore their Cattel, and then divided unto every one sufficiently." ent for him to spin, and weave for his own, and the clothing of his House and " Family, and how diligent he was in his work, and how well he complied with his Task, was carefully inspected by an Officer, appointed for that Affair: " what Wool or Cotton remained after fuch Division, was laid up in the com-" mon Storehouses, which was performed with that good Husbandry, that they were found full when the Spaniards entred their Countrey. And herein no " thinking Man can without due reflexion admire and wonder at the Providence " of this People, and their political Government; for though they had not been refined with the pure Doctrine of the Christian Religion, nor yet had been taught the Rules of a Monaftical Life, yet they had learned that point (which we call perfection) how, and in what manner to provide all necessaries both "for the King and his People, without appropriating any thing to a particular possession." And thus Acofea ends this 15th Chapter, which he entitles, The Revenue and Tribute of the Inca. In another Chapter following, discoursing there of the Offices held by the Indians, he touches many points which we have already declared, and which we shall have occasion to speak of more at large hereafter, he hath farther these express words. "The Indians of Peru had this Rule and Maxime amongst them, that it was necessary to teach their Children so soon as they were capable, those works which were conducing to humane Life; for in regard they had no Trades amongst them, such as Shoemakers, Weavers, and the like, whose Profession it was to make Shoes and Clothing for others, as well as themselves; but every one applyed himself to make and provide that of which he had need and occasion; so that all knowing how to weave and fow, provided themselves with Garments out of the Wool which the Inca dionly provided themere with Gamens out the wood which the man difficult to them. Every one knew how to plow, and manure his Land without putting himfelf to the charge of Labourers; every one was a Carpenter, and Mason, and was able to build his own House, especially the Women were the most ingenious and diligent of any; for being bred up, and educated

"in hardfhip and toil, contributed much to the affiftence of their Husbands in all their labours. But those Professions and Arts which were not common, and which did not so properly belong to the necessity of Humane Life, such as Silversiniths, Painters, Potters, Boatmen, Accountants and Pipers, had their particular Masters and Professions; but the ordinary and necessary Works were taught and practised in every Family, every one doing his own business, did not hire, or pay another for it, but made his own Cloaths and Shoes, sowed his own Fields, and gathered in his own Harvest: And this, as it was the ancient custome amongst them, so it hath continued even to this day; wherein they seem to have imitated the Lives of the Ancient Monks, as the Fathers of the Church have delivered them to us. The truth is, they are a people neither covetous, nor luxurious by nature; that, in reality, were the life they lead a point of free-will, rather than necessity, or chosen for the sake of Mortification; certainly these people would be rarely well disposed to receive the Doctrine of the Gospel, which is an enemy to pride, and covetousness, and luxurious living, though the Preachers up of these Graces unto the Indians do not always live according to those Precepts which they deliver in their Pulpits. And then soon after he adds; "That it was an Established Law amongst them, that no Man should change the Habit and Fashion of his Countrey, though he altered his Habitation out of one Province into another; the observance of which Rule, the Inca enjoined with great severity as a matter of importance in relation to the Government. Thus far are the words of Acossa. To which I shall add, that the Indians wonder much to see the Spaniards so frequently change their Habits, and attribute it to their pride, prefumption, and wantonness of their

In the Year 1560, when I departed from Peru, it was not the custome for any to beg, or ask Alms; for where ever I travelled in that Countrey, I never obseryed any Man or Woman to beg, unless it were an Old Woman which I knew at Ved any Ivian or vy ofinat to beg, times it were an Old vy ofinal which at Cozeo, called I Jabel; and she neither had no great necessity, onely she was delighted to Gossip from house to house, and, like a Gypsie, with her Jests and Tricks, persuaded the Neighbours to be kind to her. Howsoever, the Indians detested her way of living, and in token of their abhorrence thereof would reprove her with words, and then fpit on the ground, which was a kind of reproach, and for that reason this Woman would never beg of the *Indians*, but onely of the *Spiniards*; and because at that time, in my Countrey, there was no Money coined, they gave her Mayz, which was the chief thing she desired; and if she found this come freely, the would beg a little Flesh, and then some of their Drink; and then with her Tricks and Jests she would get some of their Cuca, which is that pretious Plant for much in efteem amongst the *Indians*, and which they commonly carry in their Mouths; and thus the passed a merry and wanted they commonly they on the Peighbours. Nor were the Incas, amongst their other Charities, forgetfull of the conveniencies for Travellers, but in all the great Roads built Houses, or Inns, for them, which they called Corpahnaci, where they were provided with Victuals, and other necessaries, for their Journies, out of the Royal Stores, which were laid up in every Province; and in case any Traveller fell sick in the way, he was there attended, and care taken of him, in a better manner perhaps than at his own home: But the truth is, no person Travelled for his curiofity, or pleasure, or business, but for the service, and by order of the King, or his Curacas, when they had occasion to diffacth Meffengers, fuch as Captains for the War, or other Officers for confervation of the Peace; and then these were well provided for, and treated with all conveniencies; whereas others who had not the pretence and pass-port for their Travels, were taken up for Vagabonds, and punished accordingly.

## CHAP. X.

The Rule they observed in the Division of their Flocks, and of other strange Beasts.

THE Flocks of Cattel which belonged to the Inca were fo numerous, that for the better keeping an account of them, they separated them by diffined Droves, according to their colours; for their Cattel are of Party-colours in those Countries, as the Horfes are in Spain; and for every colour they have a proper word: Those creatures which have great variety of colours, they call Maramura, which the Spaniards by corruption call Moromoro. As for instance, so soon as a Lamb was Yean'd of a different colour to the Ewe which was her Dam, they presently separated it, and made it to affociate with the Flocks of the same co-

prefently feparated it, and made it to affociate with the Flocks of the fame colour; in which manner they eafily kept an account of their Cattel by their Knots, which were always made of the fame colour with that of their Cattel.

The Beasts which carried their burthens were a fort of Sheep, with a bunched back like Camels, but in every thing else had a likeness with our Sheep; and though it was common for the Indians to Lade their burthens on these creatures, yet the Inda never made use of them himself, unless it were in some case of necessity, or for the publick profit and use; such as carrying Materials for building Fortresses, Royal Palaces or Bridges, or for making the High-ways, Allies and Water-works; these being publick and common concernments, admitted of no excuse or exemption from them.

excuse or exemption from them.

146

We have already mentioned that the Gold and Silver which was prefented by the Subjects to their Inca, was employed in Adorning the Temple of the Sun, and of the Royal Palaces; and herein we shall enlarge, when we come to speak

farther of the House belonging to the Select Virgins.

All the strange Birds and Beasts, such as Serpents of all forts and fizes, Lizards, and other creeping things which the Coraca prefented, they kept in certain Provinces, which to this day have their Names from those creatures: They also kept fome of them in the Court, both for grandeur, and also to please the Indians, who esteemed themselves greatly obliged by the acceptance which the Inca did vouchfafe to make of them.

I remember that when I came from Cozco, there remained some Ruines of those places where they kept these creatures, which they called Amarucancha; which is as much as to fay, the Confervatory of those Serpents which were of the largest fize, for Amaru fignifies a great Serpent, on which place now the College of Jesuits is erected: So likewise they called those Dens where they kept the Lions, and Tygers, and Bears, Puma curcu and Puma chupan; for Puma was their word for a Lion, one of which Dens was formerly at the foot of the Ca(tle-hill, and the other just behind the Monastery of St. Dominick.

Their Aviary for the better Air, and chearfulness of the Birds, was placed without the City, which they called Surihualla, which fignifies the Field of Offritches, which is about half a League Southward from Cozco, and was the Inheritance of my Tutor John de Alcobaça, and descended afterwards to his Son Diego de Alcobaça, who was a Priest and my School sellow.

Those fierce creatures, such as Tygers and Lions, Serpents and Toads of a prodigious bignels, ferved not onely for oftentation and the grandeur of the Court, but also were sometimes made use of to punish and devour Malesactors, of which we thall have occasion to speak where we treat of those Laws and Ordinances which were made against Offenders in Criminal matters.

And thus much shall serve for what we have to say concerning the Tribute which they gave to their *Incas*, and of the Manner and Occasion for which it was expended. From the Papers of that curious and learned Father *Blus Valera*, I have made this following Extract, that so we may by his Authority confirm the truth of what we have related, touching the Beginnings, Cuftoms, Laws and Govern-

of what we ment of this people.

And because he hath wrote on this subject with much perspicuity, order and supply the elegancy of expression, I have thought fit to Adom this History, and supply the defects of it by some of those Excellencies which I have copied from his Works.

## CHAP. XI.

Of the Laws and Statutes which the Incas made for the good and benefit of their Subjects.

THat which now immediately follows concerning the Government of the Incas, we have for the better confirmation and authority of what we have already declared, Translated Verbatim out of the Elegant Latin of Blas Valera.

"The Indians of Peru, faith he, began to lay fome Foundations of a Political Go-"vernment in the Reigns of the *Inca, Manco Capac*, and of the *Inca Roca*, who was alto one of their Kings; for before that time, in all preceding Ages, they " lived like Brutes, in all filthines and beftiality, without order, rule, or any go-" vernment: But from that time they began to educate their Children with some vernment: Dut from that time they began to educate their Children with foline mean rudiments of learning, and to enter into civil and mutual communication; they then alto began to Cloath themfelves, not onely with a refpect to modefly, but likewife for ornament; they then plowed and cultivated their Fields with induftry and labour, and therein afforded mutual affiftence each to treids with induity and abour, and therein anomed mitual affiltence each to other; they then conflitted ludges, and kept Courts, they built Honfes both for private Dwellings and publick Meetings, with many other things commendable, and worthy of praite. Those Laws and Statutes which their Princes from the mere light of reason dictated and prescribed to them, they readily embraced, and thereunto directed and conformed all their Actions in that exact manner, that for my part I cannot but prefer these Incar of Peru, not onely before the Inhabitants of China and Japan, and all those of the East-Indices, but even before the Natural Gentiles of Assa, and the Natives of Greece: For if, it well considered, the labour and industry which Nama Pompilius exercised in framing and constituting Laws agreeable to the humour and disposition of the Romans; and that Solon was an excellent Legislatour for the Athenians, and Licurgus for the Lacedemonians, is not much to be admired, because they were Men expert, and knowing in all the points of Humane literature; which was a great advantage, and availed them much in compoling Laws and Cultoms proper and necessary for those present days, and the happiness and westare of future Ages. But it is strange and wonderfull, that these poor *tudi.urs*, who had none of those helps nor advantages, should be able to lay such a solid soundation of excellent Laws, which (excepting the Errour of their Idolatrous Worthip) were truly rational and comparable in every respect to the Constitutions of the most learned Statesmen, and which these constant Indians conserve with sacredness and veneration unto this day: And which is most strange, that without letters or writing, and onely by knots of thread of divers colours they should be able to dittinguish their Laws, and reade them with their true lense and fignification; and fo well by this invention to commit them to the knowledge of poflerity, that fince they were established by their first Kings, fix hundred years are fully elapted, and yet are as faithfully and as lively conferred in the memory of that people, as if they had been Laws of later date. Such was their Municipal Law, which treated of the particular advantage of every Nation, " and the Privileges and Immunities respective to every people. They had their Agrarian Law, which determined and measured out the bounds and limits of 11 2

BOOK V.

Provinces, which was with fingular diligence and rectitude observed; for they had their fworn Measurers, who meted out their Lands with Cords by Acres which they called Tupu, whereby they made a just division to the Neighbour. hood, affigning to every one his just thare and proportion. They had also that which they called a Common Law, which, as they said, respected every one (unless Old Men, and sick, and Children, and infirm, which were exempted) but all others were obliged to labour in matters relating to the benefit of the Common-wealth, fuch as in the building of Temples, Palaces for the King and the great Lords, raising Bridges, making and mending High-ways, and other matters of like nature. They had another Law, which they named the Law of Brotherhood, which laid an obligation on the people to be aiding and affifting one to the other, in plowing, and fowing, and gathering in the Fruits and in building Houses one for the other, without pay, or expectation of re-" much as to fay, a rotation, or a turn, or circulation of labour, which was no more than that in all the work which was performed by publick affiftence, the " like account should be observed, and measures taken, as was in the division of " the Lands, that so no Province, People, Lineage or Person, should be obliged " to labour beyond their due proportion, but that their Lives should have their " turns and times mixed with recreation and leifures, as well as labours. They " had also a Sumptuary Law, which prohibited all kind of vanity and expence in "Cloathing and Adornments of them with Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones; and especially all profuseness in banquets and delicacies in Diet were forbidden, " onely the Neighbourhood were enjoined to Dine two or three times a Month " together, in presence of their Curacas, and then afterwards to exercise them-" felves in feats of Arms, or in sports and divertisements, which was esteemed a " probable means to reconcile Mens affections, and conferve them in love and " friendship one with the other: And this Law was also made in favour to the "Shepherds, and other Field-labourers, that so they might tast some some and recreations. They had also a Law in relation to those whom they call "Poor; which was, That fuch as were blind, dumb, latne, old, decrepit and lingering with any long or Chronical difease, so as that they were uncapable of work, should be cloathed and sed out of the King's Store. Likewise it was a " Law, that out of these Stores all Strangers and Travellers should be provided; for whom also lines and places of refreshment were erected, which they called "Cerpahnaci, which is as much as a House of Hospitality in which Men had their " charge and expence defrayed by the Publick: And in this Law also it was Or-" dained, that twice or thrice a Month they were to invite those which, as before mentioned, are termed Poor unto their Meetings and publick Feafts, that fo " their miseries might receive some consolation and diversion by the common joy and feciety. Another Law they called the Ordinance of good Husbandry, " which enjoined and required two things: First, that no person should remain idle, or be exempt from labour; for (as we have faid before) even Children of five years of Age were employed in something agreeable to their capacities, nor were the lame and infirm altogether excused, but some work was given " them, which they were best able to perform; for idleness, which was punish-" able with much difhonour and infamy, was not indulged on any pretence but what was of necessity, and unavoidable. And farther it was Ordained by this "Law, That the *Indians* should dine and sup with their Doors open, that to the Officers and Ministers of the Judges might have free and open access to them "at their pleafure; for there were certain Officers appointed to vifit the Houses of particular persons, as well as the Temples, and publick Houses, and Edifices, whom they called *Liastacamapu*; and these were Monitors, or Visitors, appointed " to overfee, and make enquiry into the Houses of particular persons, observing " the order, and regular care, and diligence which the Husband and Wife used in their labour and families, and what obedience and respect the Children paid unto their Parents; the evidence and measures of which they took from the " neatness and politeness of their Attire, and from the cleanliness of their Uten-" fils and good Housewisery in their Houses; such as they found in all things cleanly, they praifed and commended in publick; and fuch as were flovenly and "afly, they punished with stripes, whipping them on their Armes and Legs, or with such other instiction as the Law required; by which care, and severe in spection,

"fpection, every one became laborious, and that industry produced such abundance of all things necessary to humane Life; that those things were given almost for nothing, which now are to be purchased at excessive rates. What other Laws, and moral Constitutions they observed, either relating to Men in a common or a single capacity, they were all regulated, and squared by the rule of right Reason; and which may be known and collected from those particulars, which we shall hereaster relate, concerning the Lives and Customs of this People. And we shall hereaster; in the eight and ninth Chapters, specifie the cause and manner, why, and how they came to loose these Laws and Customs, which were thus worthy and commendable; all which declined, and fell with the Government of the Incast: And that the barbarity of the Indians is much more savage, and their living much less political; and greater want of all things necessary in these days amongst them, than was in the ancient times, when the Incas bore the sway and rule in those Dominions.

#### CHAP. XII.

How they conquered and civilized their new Subjects.

THE Policy and Arts which the Incas used in their Conquests, and the manner and methods they purfued in civilizing the People, and reducing them ner and methods they puritied in civilizing the recopie, and reducing them to a course of moral Living, is very curious, and worthy to be observed. For from the first soundation, which their Kings laid of Government, which served afterwards for an example, or pattern to their Successours, their Maxime was, Never to make War on their Neighbours without just cause, or reason; so the Barbarity and Ignorance of the People seemed a good and lawfull motive, and next the Oppression and Violence which the Neighbours used towards their Subjects was goother. But before their attentioned on their but and of the Mills. jects, was another; but before they attempted on them by any acts of Hostility, they first sent their summons three or four times, requiring their Obedience: After any Province was subdued, the first thing that the Inca did, was to take their ter any Province was indoned, the first thing that the mea did, was to take their principal Idol as an Hoftage, and carry it to Coze, where it was to remain in the Temple as a Captive, untill fuch time as the People, being difabused by the Vanity and Inability of their Gods, should be reduced to a complyance with the mean in their Worship and Adoration of the Sun-Howsdever they did not prefently overturn and demolish the strange Gods of the Countrey so soon as they had subdued it; but rather out of respect to the Inhabitants, they tolerated for formating their Idole, untill that having instructed. fome time their Idols, untill that having instructed, and persuaded them in a better Religion, as they thought, they might without their displeasure, and perhaps with their confent, deftroy and fuppress the God they had adored. Next they carried the principal Cacique of the Countrey, with all his Sons, to Cocco, there to carefs, and treat them with all kindness and humanity; by which occasion they informing them of the Laws, Cultoms and propriety of their Speech, and instructions that their carefs. ing them in their superstitious Rites and Ceremonies, they became more easily reconciled to the Laws and Servitude of the Inca: After which the Curaca being reftored to his Ancient Honour and Rule, was permitted to return unto his Subjects, who were commanded, as formerly, to obey him as their natural Prince and Lord. And that the conquered Nations might be reconciled with their Conquerours, and that the rancour and malice which lay on the Spirits of those, who conceived themselves injured, by acts of Violence and War, might be abated, and affuaged by gentle Lenitives, an Act of Oblivion was paffed, and Banquets were prepared for feafting of the new Subjects, together with the Conquerours of them, that so a perpetual Peace and Amity might be concluded by a coalition of their Minds, reconciled at these Feasts; to which also the blind, the lame, and the infirm were admitted, that so they also might partake of the bounty and liberality of the Inca. At these Banquets they were entertained with the

150

Dances of the young Maidens, and activity of the Youth, and with the military Exercifes of the Souldiery; befides which they prefented them with gifts of Gold, and Silver, and Feathers, for the adornment of their Habits, at the times of their principal Yeffivials; and alfo they gave them Cloths, and other finall curiofities, which they highly efteemed; to that those People, though never to barbarous and brutish at first, were yet made sensible of these kindnesses to such a degree, that they never asterwards so much as attempted to arise in Rebellion. And to take away all occasions of complaint from the Subjects of Aggreivances and Oppressions whatsoever; left those Complaints should from words proceed to blows, and open violence; wherefore to prevent that, their Estates and Liberties were always conserved to them; onely they were required to be obedient to the Laws, Statutes, and ancient Institutions, which were published, and openly promulged amongst them, for unto these, and to the Worthip of the Sun, their submission was required, and no Dispensation allowed in the case, and being obstinate, they were to be compelled by force; sometimes, where it was convenient, they transplanted Colonies from one place to another, but then they provided them with Lands, and Houses and Cattel, and Servants, and whatsoever was necessary and requisite for their livelihood; and into their places they transported perhaps some of the Citizens of Cosco, or others of approved Loyalty, which served for Gnards and Garrisons, to keep the Neighbourhood in awe and subjection, and also to teach and instruct those Savages, and ignorant People in their Laws and Religion, together with the Tongue and Language of their Countrey.

All the other points of Government, and Injunctions impofed by the Isea Kings, were more eafie and gentle than of any other Princes, who ruled the Nations of the New World; the which is not onely made manifeft and apparent by their own Hittorical Knots, by which they committed the occurrences of paft times unto memory, but are allo approved and confirmed by the faithfull Commentaries of the Vice-King Don Francisco de Toledo, who having informed himself of the Custome and manners of every Province from the Indians themselves, made a Collection of them with his own hand-writing, and commanded his Visitors, Judges and Registers to transcribe them, Copies whereof are conserved unto this day in the publick Archives, and serve to evidence that Benignity and Gentleness, which the Kings of Pern in exercise of their Government used towards their Subjects: for as we have noted before, that excepting some particular matters, enjoined and imposed for the Desence and Security of the Empire; all other Laws, and Statutes had no other aspect, than what regarded the sole benefit, and interest of the Subjects; for every Man's private Estate and Patrimony had the same Protection, as that of the publick; no Souldiers were permitted to pillage, or plander even those People whom they had subdued by force of Arms; but received and treated them, as if they were saidfull and true Servants; and for those who voluntarily submitted and furrendred themselves, they conserved in some short time Places and Others of writing to civil or military Commands.

and Offices of preferment, relating to civil or military Commands.

The Duty of Tribute which these Kings laid on their Subjects was so trivial, and inconsiderable, that when in the sequel of this History we shall come to treat of the particulars thereof, and wherein it consisted, it will seem ridiculous to the Reader; in return notwithstanding hereof, the breas were not onely contented to bestow on their Subjects their Food and Rayment, but many other presents, which they bountfully conserved on the Consens, and Great Men, extending also their largesses to the poor, and necessitious; as if they had been Stewards or Masters of Families, whole Office was to make Provision for others, rather than Kings, who bore the renowned Title of Capac Titus, which the Indians conferred upon them; Capac signifying as much as a Prince powerfull in Riches, and Titus as much as Liberal, Magnanimous, a Demi-God, or Angustus. Hence proceeded that great Love and Affection which the Perusions bore towards their Kings, that even to this day, though they are become Christians, they cannot sorget the memory of them, but are ready on all occasions, when their prefent Oppressions prieve them, with sighs and groans to invoke their Names; and in reality they had much reason; for we do not reade in all the Histories of Asa, Asrica, or Europe, that ever those Kings were so gratious to their Subjects, as these; or that they were so frank, or familiar with them, or so gente and carefull managers of their Interest. And now, from what we have already said, and what we shall hereaster declare, the Reader may be able to collect, and understand what were

the ancient Laws, Customs, and Statutes of the *Indians* of *Peru*, and how, and in what manner they lived; and that by the same accustomed Methods of Gentlenes, we may believe, that these People may be best and most easily reduced unto the Christian Religion.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XIII.

How, and in what manner they inflituted, and invested Officers in their respective Employments.

BLas Valera, in the process of this Discourse, hath one Chapter under this title, and also how the Overseers of the labours of the People distributed to every one his respective task. How also they dispensed the Estate belonging to the publick, and to particular Persons, and how also they proportioned and laid their Tributes.

The Inca having subdued any new Province, and carried the Idol God captive cc to Cozco. he then endeavoured to fatisfie and appeale the minds of the Lords of the Countrey, and gain the good-will of the People; commanding that all Indians ee in common, as also their Priests and Sorcerers should worship and adore the God es as the Almighty, or supreme God of Gods. The next command laid on them, was, That they should acknowledge the Inea for their sovereign Lord and Kings. ee and that the Caciques should by their turns appear, and present their Persons at the « Court once every year, or every two years, according as the diffance of the Province was remote from Cozeos by which means fo great was the concourfe of people to ce was remote from Cozeo; by which means fo great was the concourse of people to that City, that it became the most populous part and place of the New World. The Moreover it was ordained, that the Natives and Strangers which came to fojourn in any Province, should be numbred, and registred according to their Age, Line-cage, Offices, Estates and Qualities; all which being performed by help of their Tribute; and measured every thing which had related and proportioned their Tribute; and measured every thing which had relation to the publick Interest. The next thing the Inca did after such Conquest; was to nominate his Generals, and several Officers of the Army, such as Colonels, Captains, Ensigns, Serjeants, and Corporals: Some of which commanded ten, some fifty Souldiers; but a Captain of the most inferiour degree was set over at least an hundred, others commanded five hundred, others a thousand, but the Major-Generals commanded four or five thousand Men: a General was not called cc Major-Generals commanded four or five thousand Men; a General was not called ec fo, unless he were at the Head of ten thousand Men, and then his Title was Hatun Apu, which was as much as Great Captain. Those whom they called Curveas, et were fovereign Lords, such as our Dukes, and Earls, and Marquesses, who being the Natural Lords of their People, ruled and presided over them, both in the first soft was one of their Tribute; and it was their duty also to provide, and to take care for their Subjects in hard times of want and necessity. The Captains of the highest, as well as those of inferiour rank, though they were not capacitated to make Laws, and tay they are the Captains of the make Laws, and they are those of inferiour rank, though they were not capacitated to make Laws, did yet by right of Inheritance succeedings the Offices of their Pa thingelf, as well as thole of inferiour rank, though they were not capacitated to the make Laws, did yet by right of Inheritance fucceed into the Offices of their Pactions, their military Employments privileged and exempted them from the payers ment of Tribute, being freed of all Taxes, and Impolitions, and in case of want were to be supplied out of the Royal, and not out of the common Stores. Hower foever the Officers of inferiour rank, such as were the Chiefs of ten or fifty Men, were not freed of their Tribute, because they were not of Noble Descent. The Generals of the Armies had power to make and commissionate Officers, and confittute them in their Employments, but being once so settled and established, they

BOOK V.

es could not take away their Commissions, or devest them of their Offices. The 55 diligent and carefull discharge which the Decurions performed in their duty, such cc as surveying the fields, overfeeing the true and lawfull disposal of Inheritances. "the Royal Houses, and dispensing Food and Rayment to the Commonalty, was accepted in the place of their Tribute, and no other charge required at their hands. cc Under the great Ministers other subordinate Officers were substituted in all marcc ters relating either to Government, or to the Tribute, it being effeemed the best ec and most certain way to prevent cheats and frauds in Accounts. They had also cc Chief Shepherds, and fervants that were under them, to whose care the Flocks es were committed, which belonged both to the King, and to the Community, which they conferved with that fidelity, that not a Lamb was miffing, nor Paffor es Fido more faithfull to his charge, than thefe trufty Shepherds, whose chief dread and fear was of Wild-beafts, which they watchfully chased away; but as for thieves, there being none, they passed their time with the less fear. They had Guardians, and Surveyors of the Fields, and Possessions; they had also Stewards,
 Administrators, Judges and Visitors, whose chief care and incumbency was to see
 that nothing should be wanting, either to the People in common, or to any pricc vate person whatsoever; for in case any one did signifie his necessities to the Decc curions, they were obliged immediately to make their needs known to the Curace cat, and they to the brea, who readily supplied their occasions, it being his greatest colory to be esteemed the Father of his Countrey, and the Guardian of his People. The Was the Office of the Judges and Vifitors to fee that the Men employed them felves in their respective duties; and that the Women were good Housewives, tacc king care of their Houses, keeping their Rooms clean, and nursing and educating ce king care of their Houles, keeping their Kooms clean, and nurfing and educating their Children; and in short, that every one bussed him or hersolf in spinning and ex weaving. That the young Women obeyed their Mothers and Mistresses, and were diligent about the Assairs of their Houles, and other works appertaining to their seek. The aged and infirm were excused from all laborious works, and hadno is injunctions laid on them, but such as tended to their own benefit, such as gathering cessives, and straws, and lousing themselves, being afterwards obliged to carry their Lice to the Chief of their Squadron, and so they took a discharge for their Tries bute. The Employment for blind men was to cleanse the Cottons of the Seeds, and solubless and tuln out the Mavy from the stalks or base in which is great. ce and foulness, and rub out the Mayz from the falks, or Ears in which it grew.

ce And besides these principal Officers which respected the orderly Government of

the Commonwealth, there were Heads, or Master-workmen set over the Silver
ce Smiths, and Goldsmiths, Carpenters, and Masons and Jewellers; which Order

cand Rule, had it been continued, and confirmed by the Acts and Patents of the

ce Emperour Charles the Fifth; with the same care and policy, as it was first sets. cc blished by the Incas, that People would at this day have been more flourishing, cc and confiderable, and all things, both for eating and clothing, would have been ce more plentifull, and this happiness of affairs would have been a good preparation to the preaching and admission of the Gospel. But now our negligence, and want ce of due care, hath been the cause of the decay and ruine of that People; of which ce the poor *Indians* were to fenfible, that they often murmured, and complained of the prefent Government in all their private Cabals, and Meetings; but how they cc compared the particulars of these times with the Reigns of the Incas, we shall difcc course more largely hereaster, in the 9th Chap, of our 2d Book, pag, 55. Thus far are the Words of Father Blu Valera. And this Authour proceeding farther, in his Discourse, hath these words. cc Besides what we have said already, they cc had Officers fet over the Countrey Labourers, over the Fowlers, over the Fisheree men, who fished either in the Sea, or in the Rivers; some also were set over the cc Weavers, Shoemakers, and over those who hewed Timber for the Royal Palaces, cc and publick Edifices; also over those Smiths, who made instruments of Copper, cc for several uses. They had also Heads and Chiefs over the Mechanicks, who did eall attend with great care and diligence to their Trades; so that it is strange to consider in these our days, that these People who were so fond, and tenacious of cc conserving their ancient Customs and Practices, should be so careless in conservace tion of their Arts, they being wholly disused, and now lost and forgotten amongst

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XIV.

What the Rule and Account was which they observed in publick and private Estates.

"A Fter the Inca had fubdued a Province, he confirmed the Right of possession of the Natives of it, and then constituted Governous over the people, and "Instructors who were to teach them the Doctrine and Ways of Religion, and to "compose all troubles and differences arising amongst them: For better dispatch of which, it was ordered, that they should decipher and set down by their Knots, "a Plat, or Map, of all the Meadows, Mountains, Hills, Arable Grounds, Mines, "Salt-pans, Fountains, Lakes, Rivers, and Plantations of Cottons and Fruit-trees; "together with their Flocks which produced Wool, and Herds of other Cattel. All which particulars, with many more, they ordered to be measured, and laid down diffinctly by themselves. As first a Scheme was drawn of the whole Pro-"vince; then how it was divided into its feveral people; and laftly, how it bor-" dered on all parts and quarters on its Neighbours; then the length and breadth "of it was measured, and notice taken of the quality of the Land, as what was "barren, and what part of it was fruitfull; the defign of all which was, not in or-"der to apply any part or parcel thereof to the Estate, or benefit of the Inca; but "onely that a due knowledge and confideration being had of the fruitfulness or fle-"rility of the Land, fure and certain measures might be the better taken of what "every Countrey was able to provide and give towards their Tribute; and that "having made a just calculate of all things, they might be the better enabled to lay "a due proportion of those supplies which were required from them in times of "Pestilence, Famine, or other Calamities: And lastly, it was publickly promul-"ged, and made known to every Individual person, what Service the Inca, or the "Curacus, or the Commonwealth required at his hands: And lastly, it was Ordai-"ned, that according to fuch Models and Measures as were laid down of the Pro-"vince, and the fituation of it, that Boundaries and Land-marks should be fet up " for diffinction and feparation from the Frontiers belonging to the Neighbouring "Countries. And left in times to come there should happen out any mistakes or "confusion for want of due distinction, they gave new and proper Names to every "Mountain, Hill, Field, Meadow, Fountain, and all other particular places; and "if any of them had Names anciently given them, they confirmed them again, ad"ding fomething new and more diffinguishing; the which will be more remarka-"them especially to be carefull, that these Lands thus measured, and laid out, and " bounded, should in no-wife be mixed or confounded with the Pafturage or Moun-" tains of other people, but that every one should know its own Land-marks and "Boundaries allotted. The Mines of Gold and Silver, whether anciently known, or "discovered of late times, were allowed to the Curacus to enjoy for themselves, "their kindred and fervants; not for Treasure, for they contemned that, but onely " to Adorn their Cloaths and Vestments with which they were apparelled on Festi-"val-days, and with fuch a quantity as might ferve for Cups and Veffels for the "Cursea to drink in, for he was stinted and limited to such a certain number of "them: befides thefe uses, they had little regard unto their Mines, but rather suf-"fered them to be forgotten and loft; which was the reason, that when the spani-"ardy came in, though the Artifts and Labourers in other Crafts were very nume-"rous, yet in this alone few Founders, or skilfull in Melting Ore, were to be found "Such as were employed in the King's Service were abundantly provided with all "Utenfils and Infruments, together with Cloaths and Diet at the charge and ex-" pence of the King, or of the Lord. These Artists were obliged to work two X "Months

154

"Months of the Year in Service of the *Inca*, which was in difcharge of their Tribute, the remainder of the Year was their own, free, and might difpose of themselves as they thought fit; this was a particular Trade and Mystery, and such as a laboured in it were called Smelters. That fort of Copper which they called Anterior to, ferved them in the place of Iron, of which they made their Knives and Carpenters Tools, and the great Pins with which the Women tucked up their Cloths; and likewise of they made great and large Plates, which served for Looking-glasses, and likewise of the same Metal they made all their Rakes and Hammers; so that being of an Universal use to them, they preferred it before Gold or Silver, and for that reason worked more in the Mines of Copper, than in the richer Mines of Gold or Silver.

"The Salt which they made, whether it were from their Salt Springs, or Sea." Water, as also Fish taken in the Seas, or Rivers, or Lakes and Fruit growing from their Wild Trees, as also Cottons and fine Ruthes were by Command of the Inca deemed and judged to be the Common Estate of the people, and the Goods of the Inhabitants in every Province, of which they had right and licence to take and use as much as their occasions did require; but of those Trees which any particular person had planted, the Fruit was peculiar, and appropriated onely the theory of the province of the properties of the province of the province

"any particular person had planted, the Fruit was peculiar, and appropriated onely to the use of him who planted them.

The Corn which the Countries yielded for Bread, and those also which produced other Grane, were by order of the Inca divided into three parts, and applied to different uses. The first was for the Sun, his Priests and Ministers; the second was for the King, and for the support and maintenance of his Governous and Officers, whom he dispatched and employed in foreign parts; and the third was for the Natives and Sojourners of the Provinces, which was equally divided according as the needs which every Family required. This was the division which the Inca observed and proportioned in all parts of his Empire; to that there was no other Tribute required of the Indians payable either to their King, or their Lords or Governours, or to the Temple or Priests, or any person, or for any other matter or thing whatsoever. What overplus remained of the King's Provisions, were at the end of the Year transported to the Common Stores of the people; and what overplus remained to the Sun, was distributed amongst the poor, the lame, and the blind, and others who were in any manner disabled; but no distribution hereof was made, untill such time as the Sacrifices were completed, which were many; and plentifull provision made for the Priests and Ministers of the Temple, who were almost innumerable.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XV.

In what the Tribute was paid, and in what quantity, and what Laws were made in relation to the same.

"COming now to discourse of those Tributes which the Inca Kings of Peru ex"Coming now to discourse of those Tributes which the Inca Kings of Peru ex"Coming now to discourse of the Matters required, that if we
duly reflect on the quality and quantity of the Matters required, we may boldly " affirm, that the great Cafars, who were styled August and Pious, were not to be " compared to thele Incar, in respect of that protection and compassion they had to wards their People; for indeed, if it be well considered, these Princes seemed to have paid Toll and Tribute to their Vassals, rather than they unto their Kings, " whole care and business it was to lay out themselves for the good and welfare of "their people. The quantity of their Tribute being reduced to the Account and "Measures we make in these days, would be very inconsiderable; for the days " work of the Labourers, and the value of the things in themselves, and the con-" fumption which the *Incas* made of their Stores, being all duly calculated, it will "humpton which the mean made of their scores, being an duty calculated, it will be found that many *Indians* did not pay the value of four Ryals of our Money:

"And left this finall Tribute should feem burthensome in the payment thereof, ci-"ther to their *Inca*, or their *Caraca*, they expressed much joy and chearfulnes when they carried it into the Stores; having some consideration that the Tribute was but small, and yet greatly tended to the conservation and benefit of themselves and the publick. Those Laws and Statutes which were made in favour of the "Tributaries, were fo faithfully and inviolably conferved, that neither the Gover-"nours, nor Captains, nor Generals, nor the *Inca* himfelf had power to corrupt or cancel them in prejudice of his Subjects. The which Laws are these which fola cancer them in prejudice of ins Subjects. The which Laws are these which tolalow. The First and principal Law was this: That whosoever hath at any time
been free, and exempt from Tribute, cannot at any time afterwards be obliged
to the payment thereof. Those that were free and privileged, were all those of
the Bloud-Royal, all Captains of high or low degree, even the very Centurions, "with their Children and Grandchildren; together with the Curacas, and all those of their Generation: Souldiers also actually employed in the War were excu-"fed; and Young Men, untill they arrived at the Age of twenty five, were not within the Order, because untill that time they were judged to be under the Tui-« tion, or Pupillage of their Parents. Old Men of fifty years, and upwards, were « also exempted from Tribute; as likewife all Women, whether Virgins, or Wives, " or Widows: The fick and infirm, untill they had recovered their health, were « excused; and the blind, and lame, and deaf, and dumb, were employed in such a Tributary Work as they were capable of. The Second Law was, That all others, unless Priests and Ministers attending on the Temple of the Sun, and the Select Virgins, were all without any limitation, or restriction, (except before excepted) obliged to payment of their Tribute. A Third Law was, That no Indian what-"obliged to payment of their Tribute. A Third Law was, That no Indian what Gover was obliged to pay his Tribute, or any part thereof, out of his own Stores or Eftate, but onely by his Labour, or in difcharge of his Office, or by the time which he employed in the publick Service of his King and Countrey; and here in every Man was equal, the Rich being not farther charged than he that was "Poor: We call him Rich that had many Children and Servants, who affifted him in his Work, and speedily to dispatch the task of Tribute which was imposed fed upon him; for a Man might be Rich in other things, and yet Poor in this particular. A Fourth Law was, That no Man could be obliged to any other Labour, but that which was properly his own, unless it were upon Tillage of Land, and in the Wars, for those were Matters of common concernment. A Fifth Law was, That no Nation, or Province, in payment of their Tribute, was obadied to any Contribution, but of that which was of the Growth of their own X 2. "Counties' is continued to the contribution of the counties in the counties in the Counties' in the counties in the Counties in the Growth of their own X 2. "Counties' is continued to the counties in X 2

"Countrey; for otherwise it would be an agreivance unto the people to be obli-"ged to wander into foreign parts for fruits of different nature to them which "their foil did produce, The Sixth Law was, That all those Officers and Matter-"their foil did produce. The Sixth Law was, That an those Onicers and avaster—
workmen who were engaged in fervice of the *Inca*, or the *Curacas*, were to be pro"vided at the charge of the Employers, with fuch Tools and Inftruments as their
"Trade, and fuch materials as their work required. As for example, he that
"worked upon Metalls was to be provided with Gold, or Silver, or Copper, on "which he was to exercise his art and labour; the weaver was to be supplied with "Wool, or Cottons, the Painter with Colours, and so the like in other matters: " fo that the Artift was not obliged to bestow more than his time and skill: and "then at the end of two months, or three at most, he was dismissed from his task "and made free from his Labour, for the remaining part of the whole year: and in "case any one, out of his own voluntary good-will and pleasure, or out of a desire to "finish and perfect any part of his work, already begun, should think fit to con-"finish and perfect any part of his work, already begun, inoute think fit to con"tinue his labour untill a longer time, then such overplus of time was passed to his
"credit, and discounted in the two months of the following Year, and notified,
"and kept in memory by the help of their knots. The Seventh Law was, That
"all those Artists who laboured in any Trade or Mystery, being in discharge of
"their Tribute, were to be provided of all necessaries, either for Food or Rayment,
"and of Medicines in case of sickness; and that not onely they, but also their
"William and best the terms to their offshare were also." "Wives and Children, and those that came to their affiltence were also to be main-"tained with the like provisions; but then the account was kept according to the "task imposed, and not by the time; for if a Man could, with the help of his Af-"task imposed, and not by the time; for it a Man could, with the help of his Af"fiftents, perform that in a week, which would require two months of his own
"fingle work, he was judged to have complied with his obligation, and so dischar"ged from his service. And this shall serve to discover the errour of those who alledge, that anciently the Mother, and Sons, and Daughters, paid their Tribute,
the same being a mittake, by not rightly distinguishing that from right and duty,
which was onely performed by a voluntary affishence, which the Wives, and Chil"dren, and Servants, yielded to their Fathers and Masters," for in case the Husband
"Col." "dren, and Servants, yielded to their Fathers and Masters; for in case the Husband of the Family were pleased to labour singly, and without other assistence, his "Wife, or Children, could not be forced to work; nor had the Jusges or Decurions any other power, than to correct and punish their idleness, in case they were negligent and remis in their own Affairs: So that in the time of the Incas, "those persons were onely accounted tich, who had a numerous Family of Children, able to work, and to be affissent to him, by whose help a quick riddance was "made of his task, whilst others moiling and toiling singly for a long time at their work, untill their Tribute was accomplished, often fell sick, and fainted under their burthen: Wherefore for ease and remedy herein, a Law was made, that the rich Family having personned their own task, were to bestow the labour of a day "or two on their fellows. which was very acceptable, and pleasing to all the In-"or two on their fellows, which was very acceptable, and pleafing to all the In-" dians.

#### CHAP.

#### CHAP. XVI.

The Order they used in imposing and proportioning their Tribute; and how the Inca requited the Curacas in return of those pretious things they gave him for Presents.

"THE Eighth Law ordained and prescribed the manner and rule how every person was to be taxed for his proportion of Tribute, for equality and just proportion was observed in all matters by them; and the manner was this: Upon a certain day appointed, the principal People of every Province, such as their Judges, Tax-gatherers, Accountants, and Keepers of their Knots in threads, as semany as the Inhabitants of the Province were, they made their Accounts so exact, that I know not who are more to be commended, either those who without figures of Arithmetick were able by a quicker way, than our Accountants, to make a speedy or just reckoning, or the Governour and Ministers, who easily apprehended the method and reason of their Accounts, by such obscure and unin-

" telligible ways to us.

BOOK V.

By these Knots they were informed of the work done by every Indian, what "Offices he had acted, what journies he had undertaken by order of his Curaca, or "Superiour, what Trade he had exercised, all which was placed to his Account, "Superiour, what Trade he had exercifed, all which was placed to his Account, "in difcharge of his Tribute: Then they readily made appear to the Judges and "Governours every thing diffinctly by it felf, as how much Provifion was laid up "in the Stores, and what was the quality of them, as Pepper, Cloths, Shoes, "Arms, and other things, which were matters of Tribute, together with the Gold, "Silver, pretious Stones, and Copper; and what thereof appertained to the Inca, and what proportion unto the Sun. They also accounted for the Stores of every "Province; and farther the Law ordained, that every Inca, Governour of a Province, should keep a Copy of the Accounts or Tally in his own possession, as a means to avoid and prevent all fraud and cheats in the Ministers. A Ninth Law "was, that what overplus remained of Tribute after the occasions of the Inca were supplied, were to be transported to the common Magazines of the Countrey, and there lodged for common support and maintenance of the Natives in the times of there lodged for common support and maintenance of the Natives in the times of fearcity and famine, As to Jewels, and pretious Stones, Gold, and Silver, Feathers of Birds, with various Colours for Painting, and Miniature, with divers there of Birds, with various Colours for Painting, and Miniature, with divers other Curiofities, which the Curious every year prefented to the Inca; they were all taken, and disposed of for adornment of the King, and his near Relations; and then afterwards, in case any overplus remained, or that there was more than the occasions of the Royal Family required, they were in grace and favour to the Captains, and Lords, who presented them, returned again to them; for though they were the goods and product of their own Countrey, and that they could not make use of them; yet being restored with such obliging circumstances from the Inca, the savour and honour was highly esteemed: from all which it is evident, that the Inca enjoyed the simallest part of all the Tribute, and that the Taxes and Impositions were more for the benefit of the People, than of the King. The Tenth Law enumerated, and particularized the several Works and Employments, which were to be performed by way of Tribute, for service of the King and Countrey; as making and plaining the High-ways, building or repairing the Temples of the Sun, and other Holatorsus Sanctuaries, crecting publick Houses, as Store-houses, and places for the Tribunals of Justice, and seats for the Governours, making Bridges, or taking the Employment of Messengers, whom they called Chasqui, tiling the Grounds, and inclosing Orchards, seeding Flocks and Herds of Cattel, watching the Possessing and Storeshouses, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giving their attendance there for succourtality for Strangers and Travellers, and giv 158

" and help of fuch as were in their journey. Moreover they had some farther charge " and duty laid upon them, for the common good and benefit, and which had re-"lation to the service of the King, and of the Curacas, but in regard there were at "that time great numbers of Indians, which were obliged to take their turns in that "Office, the which was observed without partiality or favour to any, the time of the trouble was fo short, that no person could be sensible of the inconvenience. "It was also farther provided by this Law, that care should be taken for the amend-"ment of the High-ways, and that the Overfeers (hould repair the Bridges, and clear the Aqueducts and Chanels by which the Lands were watered, all which "being for the common good and advantage, was to be performed without any " charge or expence whatfoever.

These were the principal Laws which had any relation to the Tribute: there were other Orders of less consideration, which for brevity sake we omit; thus far were other Orders or less connectation, which has been a deep and the words of Blas Valera. And now I should gladly demand of a certain Historian this one question; Wherein did the severity of those Laws, relating to Tribute consist? which he charges on the Incas; and indeed I would the more willingly be resolved herein, because I find that the Kings of Spain, of glorious memory, did afterwards confirm the same, which they would never have done, had they been blaineable, and severe to that high degree which he pretends; and in this opinion Blas Valera concurs with me. And thus let us now return to the Prince Viracocha, whom we left embroiled in a thousand difficulties to defend his own

Reputation, and the Honour of his Ancestours.

#### CHAP.

The Inca Viracocha receives intelligence of the approach of the Enemy, and of the Recruits and Succours coming to him.

THE noble Actions of the Inca Viracocha, do now call upon us to omit other Relations, and return to the History of his Wars and Bravery. We left him towards the end of his Father's Reign at Mayna, from whence (as we faid) he returned to Cozco, rallying, and gathering in his way the People into a body, who were wandring, and dispersed through the Fields and Countrey; and that when he departed from the City, he intended to march towards the Enemy with resolution to dye with Honour, rather than live with Infamy, and basely to behold his City made captive by the violence of Rebels, and the Temple of the Sun, and the Convent of the pure Virgins, and all that was effeemed facred by them. prophaned and unhallowed by the infolence of polluted Hands. Now we must know, that about half a League Northward from the City, there is a certain plain, where the Prince Viracocha appointed his general rendezvous; that the People both from Cozco, and other parts might there meet, and join in a Body, which being in a floot time affembled, formed an Army of about eight thousand Men, who were all *Incar*, and refolved to dye before the face of their Prince, and in defence of their Countrey. During this flay news came to the Camp, that the Enemy was within nine or ten Leagues of the City, having already paffed the, great River of Apprimacs, but this ill news was the next day followed by a more comfortable Melfage, which was, that from the parts of Contifugu an Army of twenty thousand Men were marching for relief of the Prince, being composed of the Nations of Ancelona, Companina, Cotanera, Timara, and other parts, bordering on the revolted Provinces, and that they were come near, and not many Leagues distant.

The Quechuas, who were the nearest Neighbours to the Chancas, were the first that discovered the Conspiracy, and in regard the urgency of the Affair admitted of no delay, nor time to advife the *Inca*, and receive his orders, they immediately complied with the prefent necessity, and putting all their People into arms. they marched directly towards the City, resolving to evidence their Loyalty to wards their King with the last drop of their Bloud. These People were of those who in the time of the Inca. Capac Yupangui, (as we have already declared) volume tarily submitted themselves to the Obedience of the Inca, and therefore being moved by a Principle of Love and Affection towards his Government, did readily give a testimony thereof, by the seasonable Succours they brought to his service: and also the ancient hatred they bore towards the Chancus was a farther incentive hereunto; for being jealous, and fearfull, that in case the Changas should prevail, they were in danger of falling again under their Tyranny, and the Yoke of that Sewitude, from whence they had been lately refcued by the power of the Incus, they took a resolution to march with all expedition imaginable, that so they might arrive at the City before the Enemy could attempt it, and croffing the nearest way towards the Northward, the Enemy was not sooner come, than they

appeared also to bid them defiance.

Book V.

The Prince Viracocha, and his People, were much furprifed with the news of this unexpected Succour, admiring from whence it should come; untill at length recollecting themselves, they called to mind the Apparition of his Uncle Vivica: cha, who in a Dream promifed his favour and affiftence, at times of his greatest Extremity, and that he being of his Bloud and Flesh, would in all occasions of necessity perform the Office of a faithfull Kinsman: from the remembrance Hereof they certainly concluded, that these Forces and Recruits were effects and accompliffuments of this Promife, and were fent in an extraordinary manner, as in were, from Heaven; the which being often mentioned by the Prince, and inculcated into his People, it took fuch deep impression in their minds, that being encouraged thereby, they refolved with full affurance of Victory to meet the Enemy, and attack them within the Hills, and difadvantageous Paffes, which are between the River Aparimac and the Mountains of Villa-cunca, which being high and rugged, are not to be attempted without hazard and difficulty. How foever it was refolved first to attend the arrival and conjunction of the Recruits with them, and that then afterwards they should allow some day of repose and refreshment to the Forces wearied with their long march, and should likewise give time to the Enemy to diflodge themselves out of their advantageous posts, and thew themselves in a more equal field: It was likewise agreed by the Prince and his Council, that confidering the increase of their Army, their best and wifest course was to continue their Camp in their present station, where they were not onely enabled to relieve the City, but also more easily supplied with Provisions and Ammunition for their numerous Army: with this resolution the Prince remained quietly expecting his additional fuccours, which shortly after arrived, to the number of twelve thousand Souldiers. The Prince received them with all the gratious Expressions of Thanks and Acknowledgments for their Loyalty towards the Inca, and rewarding the Captains and Curacus of each Nation, together with the Souldiery, with fuch Gifts and Prefents, as then offered; he highly applauded their Loyalty; promising for the future some more signal rewards for such eminent and feafonable fervices. The Curacus having performed their Complements and Respects towards the Inca Viracocha, acquainted him that about two days march off, were other five thousand Men coming; which for haste and expedition fake they thought not fit to expect, but leave them to follow with what convenient speed they were able. The Prince having returned them thanks for the affiftence of both Armies, and confulting with his Kindred in the cafe, gave orders to the Curacas, immediately to dispatch an Express to those who were coming, adviling them, that the Prince was encamped with his Army in the plains, and that they should march towards certain hollows, and close places in a mountain not far distant from thence, where they should lie in ambush, expecting the Enemy, where, in case the Enemy should offer Battel, he with his Forces would be ready to enter into the heat of the fight, and they might them fally forth, and attacking one wing of them, might make the victory easie and secure; and in case they declined the engagement, they had still performed the Office of good Souldiers, according to the Rule of Martial Discipline. Two days after these Recruits

Book V.

160

came, the Van-guard of the Enemy appeared on the top of the Mountain called Rimac-tampu; where having notice that the Inca lay encamped about five Leagues off, they made a halt, and passed the Word to the Rere, that both the Main Body and Rere-guard should hasten to come up and joyn with the Van of the Army and rere-guard mound nation of our up and joyn with the varior the Almy.

In this manner and order having marched the whole day, they came at length and joined at Sacfabassa, a place diffant about three Leagues and a half from the Quarters of the Prince Viracocha; where afterwards that famous Battel was given between Gonçalo Picarro, and de la Gasca.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Bloudy Battel which followed, and the Courage with which the Prince overcame his Enemies.

THE Prince Viracocha fent his Ambaffadours to the Enemy then encamped at Sacfahuana, with offers of peace and friendship, promiting to them Pardon, and an Act of Oblivion for all that was part. But the Chancus being well informed that the Inca Yabuar-huacae had left his City, and retired into fome remote part; they were fo encouraged thereby, that though they knew that the Prince his Son was in Arms, and in a posture to defend the City; yet they so flighted his Ambaffadours, that they would not fo much as hear them, or give them Audience; for being puft up with the vain opinion, that the Father being fled, the Son would speedily give place, promised to themselves an affurance of Victory, with these hopes; next day following they removed their Camp from Sacsahuana, and marched towards Cozco ; and though they made what hafte they were able; vet in regard they were to March in order of Battel, the night came on before they could arrive at the Prince's Camp, and therefore they pitched about half a League thort of the Enemies Quarter: Notwithstanding which, the Inea Viracecha dispatched other Messensers to them with Tenders of Peace and Pardon; but the Chancas still continued obstinate, not vouchsasing other Answer, than with great fcorn and disdain; saying, That to morrow it should be determined who deferyed the Title of King, and in whose power it was to offer Peace, and Conditions of Pardon.

This Answer being given, both Armies remained the whole night upon their Guard, with Centinels fet on each fide; and in the morning, by break of day, the Squadrons Arming themfelves, with great Noife and Shouts, with found of Trumpets, and Timbrels, and Cornets, they began the on-fet. The *Inca Viracocha* marching in the head of his Army, was he that threw the first Dart at the Enemy, with which the Battel began. The *Chancas* in hopes of Victory, of which they with which the Battel began. The connects in nopes or victory, or which they feemed to be affured, fought with great refolution: And the *Ineas*, who did not definair neither of fuccefs, adventured to refcue the Life of their Prince, and revenge the affront which the Rebels offered. The Fight continued until Noon, being maintained with equal Courage on both fides; the flaughter was great, and not as yet determined to which party the Victory inclined: At length the 5000 Indians which lay in Ambush made their fally, and with extraordinary resolution and shouts attacking the right Wing of the Enemy, began to give a turn to Fortune; for being frelh, they so pressed the Chancas, that they were forced to give way, and retreat with great loss and flaughter: Howfoever, animating one the other, they engaged a fecond time, endeavouring to recover the Ground which they had loft, being enraged to meet that opposition which they never expected, and so much difficulty in attaining a Victory which they promifed to themselves with fo much ease and affurance.

After this fecond onfet they fought two hours longer, the advantage still continuing doubtfull and uncertain: At length the Chancas growing tired and wearv. been to faint; and observing that fresh recruits continually re-inforced the Army began to failt 3 and other than the chances became discouraged, and desperate of Victory: For those people, who before were fled from the City with fear, and the Neighbouring Countries thereabouts, having received intelligence, that the Prince Viracocha was returned, and made head against the Enemy, in defence of the Temple of the Sun: they joined together into small Bodies of fifty, and a hundred in a Company; and in fuch Troops rufhed into the Battel with more noise than numbers. The Incar observing these unexpected succours to come in, cried out, that the Son and the God Viracocha had converted the Rocks and Stones of the Country into Men, and had raifed them up to fight in defence of his own cause and people, the which report took the easier impression in the minds of that people; who being accustomed to the belief of superstitions Fables, were willing in this exigence to support their courage with the power of a Miracle. The Chamcas also, who were a people of the like superstitious fancy, giving ready credence to this rumour, were strook and affrighted with a strange amazement; and this belief so far dilated and radicated it felf afterwards in the minds of the simple people of the whole Kingdom, that it was accounted an Impiety, and a piece of Atheilm and Prophaneness to distrust, or question, the truth of this report. Of which Geronimo Roman writing in his Treatile of the Welf-Indies, and in the 11th Chapter of his fecond Book, speaking particularly of this Battel, hath these very words

"It is certain, according to the report of all the Indians, who discourse of that famous Battel, that the Inca remained Master of the Field, and won the day; and "they farther believe, that by a miraculous power of the Sun, the Stones of the Field were Metamorphofed, or transformed into Men, and arofe up in Battel against the Enemy; and that this was done in accomplishment of that promise "which was given to the Valiant Pachacui Inca Tupanqui; for fo also they give this Title to the Prince Viracocha. These are the Words of that curious Authour of the aforementioned Book, who in the said Chapter touches many points in brief, of which we have recited some, and shall farther have occasion to touch on others in the Sequel of this History of the Kings of Peru. In like manner Acoffa mentions the Vision which appeared to Viracocha, though there be some difference in the proper Names belonging to the Kings of that Age. And indeed both he and other Writers mention this Battel, as other matters, with fuch brevity, that they feem almost to pass it by, as a matter inconsiderable: And indeed, for the most part, all the Relations which the Spaniards give of the Indians are very intricate and confused; the which we may lawfully attribute to the little knowledge they had of their Language, and the loss of those Knots, which were the Monuments and Characters of their History; howsoever, they deliver the substance of them without any regard either to time or order; but in what manner or method foever that they are wrote, I am yet pleafed to recite the paffages which they deliver, that so by their Authority I may be acquitted of the Scandal of writing Fables; for if they prove fuch, they ought to be effeemed the Fictions of my Parents, and fuch as the Spaniards themselves have heard, and perhaps believed, though not with fuch Faith as I have done, who fucked in those Stories with my Milk, and received a deep impression of them in the time of my tender Infancy.

This Acofta farther proceeds in these words, which I have copied from the 21st Chapter of his fixth Book. " Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui reigned 70 Years, and made great Conquests; the principal cause and original of his success was occasioned by his Elder Brother, who taking upon him the Government by confent of his Father, was overthrown in a Battel by the Chancas, who are a Nation which inhabit in the Vally of Andaguarlas, which is about thirty Leagues distant from Cocco, in the way to Lima: His Younger Brother Tupanqui taking advantage of this difgrace, feigned a report, that he being at a certain time penfive and melancholy in a folitary retirement, a strange Apparition under the Name of Viracecha presented it self before him; complaining, that he being the Universal Creatour, and Lord of all things, who had made Heaven, and the Sun, the World, and Men, and placed them under his feet, and in fubjection to him, had not received that due respect and obedience which was owing to him; but in lieu thereof, Mankind was become so blind as to divide their Service and

" Worthip,

163

Worship, and to share a proportion of the veneration which was owing to him the onely God, unto the Sun, to the Thunder, and other Creatures who had no other Being, Vertue and Beauty, but such as they received from him; and that therefore he was now come to make known to him, that his Habitation was in Heaven where he was Worshipped under the Title of Viracocha Patchayachachie, which signifies the Universal Creatour of all things. And that they might be assured to raise him People and Armies by his Omnipotent power; and that though the Chancas were numerous and victorious, yet he would send him invisible Troops, and such as should not be known from whence they came, should aid and succour him against his Enemies. With this assurance and belief he raised his Men, which slocked to him in those Numbers, that he obtained a Victory; and afterwards deposing both his Father, and his Elder Brother, he made himself Absolute and Sovereign Prince of the Empire. From the time of which Victory he Established a Law, that Viracocha should be Worshipped and Adored as the sole and Supreme Lord of the Universe; and that the lmages of the Sun and Thunder should bow before his Idol, and doe him reverence; and from that time afterwards the Image of Viracocha was exalted above those "Worthip, and to there a proportion of the veneration which was owing to ges of the Sun and I hunder infolia Dow Defore his Idol, and doe him reverence; and from that time afterwards the Image of Viracocha was exalted above those of the Sun and the Thunder, and the other Minor Guacas, or Little Deities. And though this Juca Tupanqui did affign, and set out Lands and Flocks for the maintenance of the Sun and Thunder; yet he made no Establishment for the Viracocha, by reason that he being the Universal Lord, and Creatour of all, contained All-sufficiency within himself, having no need of supplies from the Creatures which his Denga had made. tures which his Power had made.

After this Battel was ended with Signal Victory over the Chancas, he decla-"red to his Souldiers, that it was not by their Force and Valour that their face amies were subdued, but it was by the Aid and Affistence of Numbers of Men with great Beards, which the Viracocha had fent to fight for them, and that they were invifible to all, but to himself: And that now their Work being finished, they were returned again to their former invisible Beings, and Nature of Stones: Howfoever, it feemed neither decent, nor convenient to omit due acknowledgements, even to those insensible Beings, which none but he could know; and therefore going into the Mountains, he cast up heaps of Stones, which he culled and separated with his own hands from the rest, setting them up for Guacas. or Demi-gods, commanding Adoration and Sacrifices to be offered to them, calling them by the Name of Paramanca, the which they carried with them to the Wars with great devotion. And such credit did this Fable gain in their " minds, that by force of this superstitious impression, this Inca obtained many great and fignal Victories. Thus far are the Words of Acofta, which agree in the fubstance with what we have before related; but as to what he alledges concerning the Image of Viracocha, that it was exalted above the Idol of the Sun; it was a novelty, and new manner of Worship introduced by the Indians, in compliance with the Spaniards: For it is a mistake to conceive, that they apprehended any notion of the Name of God, with a peculiar respect of his Supreme and Omnipotent Essence, for they had no conceit of any but of two Deities, one was the invisible and unknown, which was the Pachacamac; the other was the Sun, which was clear and apparent to the fight of the Universe; but as to Viracocha, and other Incas, they efteemed them as Children, and Off-spring of the Sun.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XIX.

Of the Gratuities which the Prince Inca Viracocha bestowed on his Souldiers after the Victory.

THE Incas finding their Enemies to faint, and retreat, cried out the more violently, invocating the Name of Sutio Inca Viracocha, which was the Vifion that appeared to the Prince, and therewith strenuously invaded the Enemy, non mat appeared to the Prince, and therewith including invaled the Enemy, fubduing them with mere violence and dint of Sword; great numbers and heaps were flain, and thrown one on the other; the remainder turned their backs, and fled, not being able to make farther refiftence. The Prince having purfued the Enemy a while, caused a retreat to be sounded, and Command given to design racmy a while, cauted a retreat to be founded, and Command given to defilt from farther flaughter, the Victory being already evident and complete; and then the Prince in Perfon ran through the Plain where the Battel was fought, giving order to bury the dead, and to take care that the wounded and disabled should be used: To the Prisoners he freely gave liberty and licence to return into their own Countries, proclaiming Mercy and Pardon unto all. The Battel continued for the fiace of eight hours, being fought with fuch courage and refolution, that the Bloud did not onely Dye the Fields, but the streams of it overflowed the Banks of a Brook which ran through the Plains; for which cause they gave the Name of Tahnar Pampa to that place, which signifies as much as the Field of Bloud. In this Fight there were thirty thousand Indians stain, eight thousand of which were of the side of the Incar, the rest were such as rook part with the Rebels, consisting of several Nations of Chanca, viz. Hanchobadlu, Oramarca, Villea and Untunfulla, with

Hanchobnallu having received a flight wound, was carefully cured; and being taken Priloner with two others of his chief Officers, were referved for the greater glory and oftentation on the day of Triumph, which was afterwards with great Solemnity performed. But fome few days after this Battel, an Uncle of the Prince with much gravity reproved the bold infolence of those Priloners, for daring to raile themselves up against the Family of the Sun; who, that they might appear invincible, the very Stones and Trees, by virtue of the Sun were transformed into Men, as was apparent in the last Battel, and would again be made manifest so often, as Enemies and Rebels should dare to lift up their hands and armes against the Divine Race. Many other Stories and Fables he recounted in favour of the Incas; concluding as the furn of all, that they were obliged in duty to render a thousand thanks to the Sun for sending his Gratious Children into the World, commanding them to the compatition and mercy, and to receive the Rebellious Indian; unto pardon; for which reason the Prince did not onely conser upon them their Lives as a gift, but reftore them also to their Estates and Dwellings, and their Curacus to their Dominion and Government, though the crimes they had committed deserved no less than Death; conditionally, that for the future they behave themselves as good Subjects, lest by a second offence they provoke the Sun to avenge the first, and cause the Earth to open its bowels, and swallow them alive. After this Lecture the Curacas with profound humility acknowledged the favour, promising all Loyalty, Duty and Obedience for the suture.

After this Victory the Inca Viracocha immediately dispatched away three Expresses; One of them was sent to the Temple of the Sun, to inform him of the good news of this Victory, which by his aid and fuccour they had obtained; for though they efteemed the Sun for a God, yet in all respects they treated him as a Man, and as one who had need of intelligence and information of matters which fucceeded; befides which, they formed other gross conceptions of him; as to drink to him; and that he might pledge them again on their Festival-days, they filled a Golden Cup with Liquour, which they fet in a part of the Temple, which was most open to the Sun-beams; and what was exhaled by that heat, they

they judged to be drank up by the Sun; they also set meat for him to eat, and when any novelty occurred, they fent him the advices of it by Messengers, and when they were victorious, they returned him Thanks for their Successes. In pursuance of this ancient custome the Prince Viracocha sent advice to the Sun of this his Victory; and commanded the Priefts, that having recalled those others. which for fear were fled away, they should join together in offering new Sacriwhich for lear were ned away, they included but objected in ording new Sacrifices, with Praifes and Thankfgivings, to the Sun. Another Mellenger he difference to the House of the Select Virgins, giving them to understand, that by means of their Prayers and Intercessions, the Sun had bestowed that Favour and Victory upon him. A third Messenger, whom they call Chasqui, he dispeeded to his Father the Inca, giving him the particulars of all the late Successes, desiring him to continue in the fame station where he was, untill he should in person prefent himfelf before him.

#### CHAP. XX.

The Prince pursues his Conquest, returns to Cozco, sees his Father, and dispossesses him of his Empire.

HAving made these dispatches, he selected fix thousand Souldiers to accompany him in the pursuit of his Enemies; the rest of his Army he disbanded, giving them licence to return unto their own homes, the Body which he referved was commanded, befides other inferiour Officers, by two Major Generals, who were his Uncles; and with this Force two days after the Battel, he marched in the pursuit of his Enemies, not with intention to treat them ill, but to cure them of their fears, affuring them of pardon for their late Offence; fo that as many as they overtook, in case they were wounded, he ordered them to be cured; and fuch as were whole and found, he treated them with gentleness and kind usage; fending likewife Messengers to the respective Provinces and People, to assure them of the pardon and favour of the *Inca*, and that he was coming in person to give them farther testimonies thereof. Having by these pre-advices comforted and encouraged the people, he marched with great expedition, and being come to the Province of Antahuaylla, which belongs to the Chancas, all the Women and Children affembled together, and came forth to meet him, and carrying green branches in their hands, went crying, O thou undoubted Child of the Sun, who art the The Prince received these people with grace and favour, telling them, that it

was not they, but their Fathers, and Husbands, who were guilty of the crime; and that even them also he had pardoned for their actual Rebellion; and to affire them hereof, and confirm them in this belief, he was come in person to pronounce their pardon with his own mouth. He ordered likewise that they should give them such provisions as their necessities required, treating them with all civility and affection imaginable, and that especial care should be taken of the Widows and Orphans of those who were slain in the Battel of *Yahuar Pampa*.

In this manner he over-ran all the revolted Provinces, constituting his Governours with fufficient Guards over them, and made fuch expedition, that in a months time (as the Indians report, who count their Months by their Moons,) he finished his march, and returned again to his City of Cozco. The Indians, as well those who were loyal, as those who had rebelled, were wonderfully surprized with this strange gentleness of the Prince, whose Humour and Disposition being sowre and fevere, promifed nothing but Revenge and Destruction to the last drop of his Enemies bloud; but finding his Nature otherwise changed, they concluded that the

command of the Sun had altered his Disposition, and reduced him to the natural temper of his Fore-fathers. But the truth is, that Ambition and thirst of Honour which makes great changes in the minds of Men, had fo miraculously operated on his rough and hard temper, that his Nature feemed entirely to be altered, and to have put on that gentle and fweet humour, which was Royal and natural to his

Royal Commentaries.

This being done, the Inca Viracocha made his entry into Cozco on foot, that he might appear more a Souldier than a King; he descended thither by the way of Caramenta, and in triumphant manner, being encompaffed by his Souldiers, and on each hand supported by his two Uncles, that were Major Generals, causing the prisoners to be conducted behind, with great joy and loud acclamations he was received into the City. The grave *lness* aged, and ftricken in years came forth to meet him, and with due reverence having faluted and adored him and acknowledged him for a true Child of the Sun, entred amongst the ranks of the Souldiery, to partate of the glory of this Triumph; adding farther this complement to their Courthip, That they wished themselves youthfull again for no other reason, than that they might be Souldiers, and serve in the Wars under his fortunate and auspicious Conduct. His Mother also Coya Mama Chic-ya, with her Women, and others nearly allied in Bloud to the Prince, being attended also with a multitude of Pallas, or Ladies, went forth, with Songs and Dancings, to meet and receive him; some embraced him, others wiped off the sweat from his Brows. others fivept the duft from his Feet, strewing the ways with Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs, in which joyfull and folemn manner the Prince first visited the Temple of the Sun, in which making his entry on his bare Feet, according to their utual cuttome, he returned thanks for the Victory, which his Father the Sun had given him. Then he vifited the Select Virgins, Wives of the Sun; and after these two Offices were performed, he departed from the City to see his Father, who all this while conserved himself within the Straits of Muma, and in the same place where he had formerly left him.

The Inca Yahuar-Huacac received the Prince his Sun with all the expressions of iov and contentment imaginable, congratulating his Success, and victorious Atchievements, but yet his Countenance appeared to melancholy and referved, that he feemed thereby to testifie more of Emulation and Envy, than of real Satisfaction; for the shame and confusion he conceived in seeing his Son victorious seemed to upbraid his Cowardife; nor can it well be determined, whether the Envy of his Son's Honour, or the fense he had for basely forsaking the Temple of the Sun, or the fear of being deposed for his mean and pusillanimous Behaviour, was most prevalent in his confused mind. But certain it is, that at this publick interview few words paffed between them; what afterwards happened in private is not certainly known, but it is believed by the *Indians*, that the whole Difcourfe was in reference to the Government, which of the two should reign, and which appeared by the feguel, it being resolved between them, that the Father having forsaken and abandoned the City, was no more worthy to return unto it. For Ambition, and defire of Government, is so prevalent in the minds of Princes, that they are willing to take any pretext to cover their aspiring thoughts; and indeed this imputation of Cowardife feemed the more plaufible reason, in that it was feconded by the fuffrages of the people, and the confent of the Court; to which the Father condefcended, being conftrained thereunto by force, and by an abhorrence he naturally had to War, especially to Civil Diffentions. Upon which agreement the draught of a Palace was immediately defigned, and intended to be built between the Straits of Muyna and Quespicancha, where was an excellent Air, and pleasant Situation, and easily improveable by Gardens, and Orchards, and all the Divertifements of Hunting, Fishing, and other Royal Pastimes, being much advantaged therein by the benefit of the River Tucay, into which many Streams and Brooks fall, on the East-quarter of the House. The Foundation of this House being laid, (some ruines of which do to this day remain) the Prince returned to Cozco, where he changed his yellow for the crimfon Wreath, and yet was contented that his Father should still conserve his Royalty in the colour of his Ribbon, on condition that he renounced the substantial parts of Government; for proud and ambitious Men can endure punctilio's, and immaterial circumstances

Booк V.

in others, whilft Power and Greatness is reserved for themselves. This Fabrick in others, whilft Power and Greatness is referved for themselves. This Fabrick being completed, it was furnished with all things necessary, and such attendance allowed, as was agreeable to the State and Magnistence of a King, so that Tahnar-huncae sound no difference in his living, unless it were in being freed and eased from the Burthen of Government. In this solitary manner this poor King passed to the Countrey, having exchanged his condition with his Son, who now lived and governed in the City, whilst the Father lived an Exile in the fields, having his Conversation with Beatls rather than Men.

This mydanys Fortung (as the Indiana believe) was the effect of the dianal.

This unhappy Fortune (as the Indians believe) was the effect of that direfull This unhappy Fortune (as the *Indians* believe) was the effect of that direfull Omen of weeping bloud; but yet in their political reflexions on some passages, they concluded, that in case the *Inea*, in the time of the obstinacy and perversences of his Son, had, instead of a confinement to a Countrey Lite, given him a small Dose of that Poison which was in practice amongst the Tyrants and Magicians of that Empire, he might easily have diverted that sad Fate, which his Tears of Bloud portended. But others, better inclined to speak savourably of the Prince, for though they could not wholly acquit him of Crime towards his Father, yet they moderated it in some manner, by alledging, that his Father's Fate might have been worse, in case his Enemies had prevailed; for having forsaken the Protection of his City, and Empire, out of mere Cowardise, it was some Happiness to have his Desaults repaired by the Valour of his Son, under whom the Succession was secured, and his own Life spared and desended. Others, seaking of the general Praise of their Kings, said to this effect. That this thers, speaking of the general Praise of their Kings, said to this effect, That this unhappy Inca had no thought or imagination of Poifon, for that all other his Predecedors having made it their business to prohibit the practice of it, and destroy the use of it in the World, he himself was ready to have checked any such motion within his own Mind, in case either his Thoughts, or persuation of others had suggested such a remedy to him. Others herein applauded the Religion and Generosity of the *Incas*, who scorned to act that which their own Decrees had made unlawfull; it being unfeemly, and beneath the Dignity of the Sun's Race, to allow that in themselves, which they had made illegal in their

Many fuch Discourses and Reflexions passed on this matter, according to every Man's particular fancy and opinion; with which we shall conclude our Historian ry of Tahnar-Huacac, and not farther mention other particulars of his Life, leaving him at his Countrey retirement to die with obscurity.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXI.

Of the word Viracocha, and why they called the Spaniards by that Name.

BUT to return now to the Prince, to whom they gave the Name of Viracocha, by reason that the Vision which appeared to him in a Dream, so called himself. And in regard this Phantafin was described by the Prince to appear with a long Beard, and Garments trailing on the ground, which was a much different habit to the fashion of the *Indians*, who naturally have little Hair in their Faces, and beard, and Gaments thango the Judians, who naturally have little Hair in their Faces, and by custome wear Coats not reaching farther than their knees; so so so as they had a sight of the first Spaniards that invaded Pern, and observed their long Beards and Garments which clothed all parts of their Bodies; and that their first Action was to take and kill Atabualpa, their Tyrant King, who not long before had murthered Huasear, the lawfull Heir and Successor, who not long before had murthered Huasear, the lawfull Heir and Successor, who not long before had murthered Huasear, the lawfull Heir and Successor, who not long before had murthered Huasear, the lawfull Heir and Successor, without any regard to Age or Sex, with many other Cruelcies, which we shall recount in their due place. When, I say, they observed that the Spaniards revenged the Bloud of their Insas, and punished the enormous Crimes, they called to mind the Apparition Viracocha, and comparing the punishment which he executed on the Chancas for their rebellion, with the Justice which the Spaniards performed on Atabualpa in revenge of the Murthers he committed on the Royal Family, they presently concluded, that the God Viracocha was the Parent of the Spaniards, for which reafon they received and welcomed them to their Countrey, and worshipped and adored them with the Natne of Viracocha; and hence it was, that the Conquest and them with the Name of Viracocha; and hence it was, that the Conquest of Peru became so easie, that six Spaniards onely, of whom Hernando de Soto, and Pedro de Barco were two, adventured to travell from Cassamarca to Cozco, which is a Journey of two hundred and thirty Leagues, by which they made a discovery of the Riches of that City, and other places; and to shew their great kindness and civility they carried them over the Countries in Chairs, or Sedans; giving them the Title of Incan, and Children of the Sun, in the same manner, as they did their own Kings. Now had the Spaniards taken the advantage of this credulity of the Indians, persuading them, that the true God had sent them, for their deliverance from the tyrannical Usurpations of the Divel, which enslaved them more than all the Cruelties of Arabnaspa; and had preached the Holy Gospel with that sanctity and good example, which the innocence of that Doctrine requires, they had certainly made great Progresses in the advancement of Religion. But the Spanish Histories report things in a different way of proceedings, to which, for the truth thereof, I refer the Reader, lest being an Indian my self, I should seem partial in the relation: But this truth we may considently aver, that though many were blameable, yet the greater number discharged the Office and Duty of good Christians; howfover amongst a people so ignorant and simple, as these poor Gentiles, one ill man is able to doe more mischief, than the endeavours of a hundred good Men are able to repair. adored them with the Name of Viracocha; and hence it was, that the Conquest good Men are able to repair.

The Spanish Historians farther say, that the Indians gave this Name to the Spani-

ards, because they came over the Sea, deriving Viracocha from the composition of two words, namely, Vira, which is vaft, immenfe, and Cocha, which fignifies the Sea or Ocean. But the Spaniards are much miltaken in this composition, for though Cocha is truly the Name for the Sea, yet Vira fignifies fatness; and is no other than the proper Name which that Apparition gave to it felf; the which I more confidently aver, because that Language being natural to me, and that which I sucked in and learned with my Mother's Milk, I may more reasonably be allowed to be a Judge of the true Idioms of that Tongue, rather than Spaniards, who are Strangers and Aliens to that Countrey. But befides what we have already mentioned, there may yet be another reason for it, which is, that the Indians gave them that

Name from the Cannon and Guns they used, which they taking to be Lightning and Thunder, believed them Gods, by whose hands they were used. Blav Valera and funded; believed the doctors of the word and funded, says, that it fignifies a Deity, which comprehends the Will and Power of a God; not that the word doth properly fignifie fo much, but that it is a Name which the *Indians* found out to give to this Apparition; which they Worthipped in the fecond place to the Sun, and after that they Ado.

Royal Commentaries.

which they vornipped in the record place to the out, and after that they Adored their Kings and Incat, as if they had been Gods.

It is disputable whether the Inca Viracocha was more admired for his Victory, or for his Dream; but certain it is, that he was so reverenced for both, that they efteemed him for a God, and adored him as one expressly fent from the Sun to efteemed him for a God, and adored him as one expretly tent from the Sun to fave his Family, and the Divine Off-fipring from utter ruine; and because that by him the Imperial City, the Temple of the Sun, and the Convent of the Select Virgins were preferved; he was afterwards Worthipped with greater oftentation and honour, than any other of his Ancient Progenitors. And though this Inca endeavoured to persuade his Subjects to transfer the Honour which they gave to him, unto his Uncle, the Vision which appeared to him; yet so far was this devotion infixed in their minds, that they could not be diverted from performing Divine Honours towards him, untill at length they compounded for their superfition, and agreed to impart and divide their Worship equally between them and whereas they had both the same Name, they should Adore them together under the same Title and Notion: And for this reason the Inca Viracocha (as we shall hereafter mention) erected a Temple in Honour and Memory of his Uncle

Viracocha; in which also his own Fame was celebrated.

We may believe that the Devil, who is a cunning Sophister, did appear to the Prince either sleeping or waking in that Figure; though the Indians confidently report that the Prince was waking, and that this Apparition presented it self to him as he lay reposing himself under the shadow of a Rock: We may imagine also that this Enemy of Mankind played this trick to delude the World, and confirm the Authority of that Idolatrous superstition, which he had already planted in the minds of this people: the which seemed the most plausible way that he could proceed; for that in regard a soundation was already laid of the *Indian Em*pire, and that by the Constitutions of it, the Incas were to be the Lawgivers, and the Oracles of their Religion; and that they were to be believed, and effeemed. and obeyed for Gods; whatfoever contributed to this end, and to augment the reputation and fanctity of the *Incas*, was a point gained towards the advancement of this Gentilifin; of which, though there go many Stories, yet none is recounted by them with that admiration, as this Apparition of Viracocha, who coming with the popular character of an Allye to the Sun, and Brother to the Incas: And having the good fortune to have his Dream confirmed with the success of a Victory, carried fo much force of belief with it, that on all occasions afterwards of their distress, they had recourse to his Temple, where the Oracle was consulted, and directions taken for the management of their affairs. This is that imaginary God Viracocha, of which some Writers report, that the Indians esteemed him for their principal God, to whom they were more devoted than to the Sun: But this is certainly a miltake, and ferved onely for a piece of flattery to the Spaniards, that they might believe they gave them the fame Title and Name, as they did to their chiefest God: but in reality they Adored no God with such devotion as they did the Sun, (unless it were the Pachacamac) which they called the unknown God: For as to the Spaniards, they gave them at first the Title of Children to the Sun. in fuch manner as they did to the Apparition Viracocha.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXII.

The Inca Viracocha gives Order for Building a Temple in Memory of his Uncle, who appeared to him in a Vision.

THE Inca Viracocha, that he might the better perpetuate the Memory of his Dream, and keep the Honour of it up in the efteem of the people, commanded that a Temple should be erected in Honour of his Uncle, who appeared diffant from the City to the Southward: He ordered, that the Pabrick and Modern from the City to the Southward: He ordered, that the Pabrick and Modern from the City to the Southward: del of it should, as near as could be possible, imitate, or resemble the place where the Vision presented it self; which was like the open Field, without covering; joining unto which there was to be a little Chapel with the roof of Stone, refembling the hollow of the Rock, under which he reposed himself: The whole Fabrick was made of Stone rarely polifhed, as are all the Buildings of the Indians; it had four Doors corresponding to the four Quarters of the Heavens; three of them were shut, being rather Portals, than Gates, serving for Ornament more than Use. The Gate which looked Eastward, was that alone by which they entred, and by which they went out, being placed exactly in the middle; and because the Indians were not arrived to such Excellency in Architecture, as to lay the weight of their Building on Arched Work; they supplied that defect by flrong and deep foundations of Stone Walls, which were more lafting than Timber, and for ever durable. These Walls were laid three Foot in thickness, and feven Foot diffant each from the other, making twelve feveral Rows, or Isles; the top was not covered with Boards, but paved Stone, for about ten Foot in length, and half a Yard in thickness: At the Entrance to this Temple, turning to the right hand, they walked to the end of the first Isle; thence turning to the left, they went forward to the end of this Walk, and then faced again to the right, and fo winding about again through the feveral rows; they came at length to the end of the twelfth Ifle, where was a Stair-cafe, by which they afcended to the top of the Temple. At the Front of every Ifle, on each hand, there was a Window, like a Port-hole, to let in the light; and below every Window there was a Nich made in the Wall for a feat, where the Porter might fit, without incumbring, or flopping, the paffage. The Stair-case had two passages, one to go up, and the other to come down; that to go up fronted a top with the High Altar: The Floor above was paved with a kind of black Marble, rarely polifhed, that it looked like Jett, brought from some Quarry, far distant. In place of the High Altar there was a Chapel of about twelve Foot square, covered with the same fort of black Stone, in-laid in divers Figures, in form of Mofaick Work, which was the most excellent piece of Art in the whole Fabrick: Within this Chapel was the Image of the Apparition placed within the hollow of the Wall, as in a Tabernacle, with which two other Tabernacles were made to correspond on each fide for ornament and better uniformity. The Walls of this Temple, from the top to the bottom, were but three Yards in height, without any Window, the Cornish of which on all sides, both within and without, was made of polithed Stone; and within the Tabernacle of the Chapel was placed a Pedeftal, on which an Image of Stone was erected, representing the Image of the Apparition, in fuch shape and figure as the Inea Viracocha had directed. This Image represented the figure of a Man, with a Beard of about a fpan long, his Cloaths reaching to his feet, not very wide, but fomething feanty, like a Caffock: About his Neck a strange kind of creature was chained, with Claws like a Lion, the Image holding one of the links of the Chain in his hand; all which was framed and engraven out of Stone: And left the Workmen, who had never feen this Figure,

Book V.

should mistake any thing of giving it the due form; it is reported, that the Inc. himself did oftentimes lit, and shew himself to them in the same habit and figure. nument and orientances in, and move infinite to their in the failer habit and figure, in which, he faid, the Apparition prefented it felf: Nor would be permit, that the Image of the God Viracetha flould be undervalued by any form, or other flage than that of a King, fuch efteem and superflition did they conceive of their Idol

Royal Commentaries.

This Statue did fomething refemble the Images we make of our Bleffed Ano. files, particularly that of St. Bartholomew, whom they paint with the Devil at his ittes, particularly that of of. Bartholomew, whom they paint with the Devil at his feet, as they did this Figure of Viracocha, with fome unknown Beaft couching beneath him. The Spaniards observing this Temple, and the form and fashion of this Statue, will have it, that the Apostle St. Bartholomew came as far as Peru to Preach the Gospel to thee Gentiles, and that in Honour and Memory of him the Indians had erected this Temple and Image. And fuch as were Natives of Cozeo, and of the Mongrel breed between Spanish and Indian Bloud, have for a bove thirty years past Associated themselves into a Fraternity, or Community. into which they would not fuffer any Spaniard to enter. These upon their Solenn days are at great Expences, taking St. Bartholomor for their Aposstle, and in despight of all contradiction, they will have it, that he came and preached in Pern, and for that reason will own no other than him for their Patron; which seemeth a ridiculous fancy to fome Spaniards, who laughing at the bravery and fine Verlments they produce on that day, tell them, that this Feftival and Proceffion is not defigued in Honour of the Apostle, but of the Inca Viracocha.

But why the Inca Viracocha should build this Temple in Cacha, rather than in Chita, where the Spirit appeared to him, or in Yahuarpampa, where the Victory was fought; the *Indians* cannot well affign any more probable and just reason for it, than the free will and pleasure of the Inca, unless it were some secret and hidden caufe, not revealed or made known to any. This Temple being of fuch an odd and fitange Model, as we have declared, was demolified by the Spaniard, as many other fately Fabricks in Peru have been deftroyed by them; which in my opinion ought rather to have been conserved and kept in good repair, that Ages to come might fee and know the Grandeur and Valour of their Ancestours, who were able by their good fortune and conduct to subdue a Nation which was capable to erect such Buildings and Monuments of their Art and Wisedom; but perhaps envy or fcorn of that people might have moved the Spaniards to destroy their Works, not allowing them the Honour to be maintained in repair; and indeed the Dilapidation hath been fo great', that scarce one Stone remains on another; the which destruction, Men of Curiofity, and Lovers of Antiquity, do much lament. But the reason which they give for it is, that they could not be persuaded, but that much Treasure lay buried under the Foundation of those Buildings, which could not be discovered, but by a total subversion of the Fabrick. The first thing demolished in this Temple was the Statue, they having an opinion, that much Gold was buried under the Pedestal on which it was erected: other parts of the Temple they digged up, fometimes in one place, and then in another, until at length they defaced, or destroyed the whole Pile and Mass of Building: Howfoever, the Image of Stone is still in being unto this day, though much broken and battered by the Stones, which they threw at it.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of a famous PiEture; and of the Reward which was given to those who assisted the Prince.

IN this our discourse concerning Viracocha, we must not omit to add how much joyed and pleased he was with the new Adoration and Worship which the Indians gave him; so that he did not think fit to terminate the Magnificence of his Royal Mind with the stately Structure of this Temple onely, but to extend his Acts and Monuments with greater glory to posterity; and to this purpose he caused an Emblem to be drawn, representing the low and mean spirit of his Facaused an Emblem to be drawn, representing the low and mean spirit of his Father, and the generosity of his own mind, ordering it to be painted on one of those many Rocks, amongst which his Father absconded himself, when for fear of the Chancas, he abandoned and sorsook his City. The Emblem was of two Birds, which the Indians call Cuntur, which are Fowl of such large spreading Wings, that they measure five Yards from the end of one Pinion, to the tip of the other: they are Birds of prey, and so very fierce, that Nature denied them Talons to their feet, giving them onely Claws, like those of a Hen; but their Beak is so strong and sharp, that with one nip they are able to tear out the Skin of a Bullock; and two of them are sufficient to kill an Ox, as if they were Wolves. They are of a brownish colour, with white Spots, like Pyes. Two Birds of this fort he ordered to be painted, one of them with his Wings close clapped together, his Head shrung in, and drooping, like an affrighted Hen, which hides it felf, with its Beak turned towards Cohasson, and its Tail towards Coxeo the other Bird was on the contrary painted in a Rampant manner, with its Wings nuces it ieit, with its deak turned towards cottajum, and its 1411 towards Cozco: the other Bird was on the contrary painted in a Rampant manner, with its Wings extended, hovering on the Wing, and ready to floop at its Prey. The Indians fay, that the first of these represented the Father in his timorous and dejected condition; and the other was the Emblem of Viracceta, under the covern g of whose Wings the City and Empire was fecured and defended.

This Picture, in the Year 1580, was in being, and very perfect; and in the Year 1595, I asked a certain Priest which was born there, and who came from *Perm* into Spain, if he had seen it, and in what condition it was? and he told me, that it was so defaced by Rain, and the weather, none taking care to preserve it, that it was caree discernible what it was 5 the which was the fate and missortune also of divers other Antiquities in that Countrey.

The Inca Viracocha having in this manner obtained a supreme and absolute Dominion over all his Subjects, being infinitely beloved, and reverenced, and adored by them as a God; his great Work at the beginning of his Reign, was to Establish his Dominions in perfect peace and tranquillity for the good and benefit of all his

In order unto which, the first thing he did was to gratifie and reward all such with Favours and Honours who had served him in the late War, and taken Arms in his affiftence against his Rebellious Subjects; and herein a more particular notice was taken of the Quechuas, who belonged to the Countries of Cotapampa, and Cotanera; for in regard that they had been very active in promoting the interest of the Inca, and unanimously arose in Arms for his Aid and Defence; he bestowed on them the privilege of wearing their Hair shorn, and their Heads bound with the Wreath, and of having their Ears boared after the manner of the Ima, though the holes of the Ears were not to be so wide as theirs, but proportioned to such a fize as the first Inca, Manco Capac, had ordained.

To other Nations he bestowed Privileges of different Natures, as were most agreeable to their Countrey, and Conditions; and in fine, every one remaining entirely fatisfied and contented, he vifited his feveral Kingdoms, affording to his people the fatisfaction of beholding his Person, which their Eyes so much longed to fee; and of whom so many Wonders and Miracles were recounted,

BOOK V.

that nothing could come more defirable, and nothing more welcome than his Prefence. Having in this manner frent some Years, he returned to Cozco, where by advice of his Council, he refolved to conquer those great Povinces, which are called, Caranca, Ullaca, Llipi and Chicha; the Subjection of which was omirted by his Father, who was diverted from that delign by the jealousie and sear he conceived of this his Son, as we have already mentioned; but now in order to this Expedition, the Inca Viracocha commanded that thirty thousand Souldiers should be raised in Collasium, and Cuntisum, and put in a readiness against the next Spring; one of his Brothers, called *Palmac Maria Inca*, he made his General, or Commander in Chief; the Sirname of *Palmac* (which fignifies flying) was given him for his admirable fwiftness, being nimble and active, beyond

any Man in his time.

For the affiftence of his Brother he ordained four Incas to be Counfellours, and Major-Generals; who departing from Cozco, collected their numbers and increated their Army in the way, as they marched. At length they arrived at the afore faid Provinces, two of which, called Chica, and Ampara, adored the lofty top of a fnowy Mountain for their God; for they admiring the Beauty and Height thereof, from whence those Streams proceeded which refreshed their Lands, and made their grounds fruitfull, they were eafily perfuaded in natural gratitude to own that for their Deity, from whence they received fuch benefit and bleffing. In these proceedings they encountred some light Skirmishes with the Enemy, who rather designed to give a proof of their warlike Disposition, than fight in hopes of prevailing against the *Bosa*, whose Reputation was exalted so high the Valour and Atchievements of *Viracocha*; that their power seemed invincible, and not to be fubdued by humane force. For this reason, these great Provinces submitted to the Dominion of the *Incas* yielding with more readiness, and with less danger, and loss of bloud than was expected from a people, esteemed numerous, and of a warlike Temper. Howfoever three years past in this expedition, before the Conquest was completed, and the Nations reduced to an abfolute and entire fubmiffion.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

Of the New Provinces, subdued by the Inca. and of the Chanels they made to water their Pastures.

THE Inca Palmac Mayta, and his Uncle having concluded this War, and placed Governours and Officers to rule and inftruct their new Subjects, they returned to Cozco, where they received from the Inca a hearty wellcome, being rewarded by him with fuch Honours and Favours, as their Services and Labours had deferved. And now it feemed as if the Inca Viracocha had extended his Territories to the utmost limits of the Universe, for to the Eastward they reached as far as the foot of the snowy Mountain; to the Westward they were bounded by the Sea; to the Southward they extended to the utmost parts of the Province of the Charcas, which are above two hundred Leagues distant from the City; fo that on all these three Quarters there remained no farther Land to conquer; for on one fide the Sea bounded their proceedings, and the Snows, and inaccessible places of the Mountains of Antis on the other; and to the Southward the Defarts and Sands between Peru, and the Kingdom of Chili, made the way impaffable for the march of an Army. How foever the Defire of Rule, and the unfatiable thirst of Dominion moved the mind of this Inca to bend his forces towards the Northern Countries, which are in the Division of Chinchasury; and

having communicated his refolution to those of his Council, he appointed that an Army should be raised, intending himself in person to command it, with the affiftence of fix others, who were men of Valour and Experience. During the ablence of Virscocha the City was governed by his Brother Pahnac-Majia, whom he left Deputy in his place; and all things being provided, and in a readiness, the Army marched towards the parts of Chincafuyu, and came to the Province Analogy, which belongs to the Chinca, a people branded with the infamous Epithete of falle, and treacherous, by reason of their Rebellion against the Inca, which imputation hath so closely cleaved to them even to this day, that scarce at any time are the Chancas mentioned without the addition of Auca, which is as much as falle, or treacherous; this word also fignifies a Tyrant, a breaker of his Faith, and every thing which denotes Falseness and Treachery: Moreover it may ferve to express Contentions, and Battels, by which variety of fignifications, we may observe how copious and full this Language of Peru is, which comprehends fuch variety and divertity of fenses in one word.

The poor Chancas confcious of their former crimes, feared greatly the approach of the Inca Virococha, left he should now revenge their offence upon them; but then finding, contrary to all expectation, nothing but Mercy and Gentleness in their Prince, they prefently quitted their Fears, receiving him with all the Demonstrations of Joy and Fertivity, that an afflicted people was capable to express. And to confirm them in this good humour, he not onely treated them with gratious Words, but conferred on them Prefents of Garments, and other curiofities. He also visited the several Provinces, taking care to provide what was wanting, and to amend that which was amilis, and then appointing a General rendezvous for the whole Army, he marched forwards to those Countries, which were not as yet reduced to Obedience. The first and nearest Province, rich and populous, was *Humara*, a people warlike and mutinous, fuch as had flewed themselves in the Head and Van of the Rebels. But how front soever they had been, fo foon as the Inca Viracocha had fent them a fummons by his Ambassadours, they with readiness submitted and obeyed, coming forth with all humility to receive and acknowledge him for their Lord; for as yet the Battel of Tahuar-pampa was fresh in their memory, and the success thereof confirmed them in a belief, that the *Inca* was invincible: this humble Submiffion met a like Generofity in the Inca, who received them with a gratious acceptance agreeable to their Humility, onely charging them to live quietly and in peace, as being most for the common good, and most acceptable to himself.

Thence he marched forwards to another Province called Poera, known sometimes by the name of *Hummunea*; thence he proceeded to *Almann*, *Pineo*, *Piney* and *Acot*, all which chearfully fubmitted, efteeming it a great honour to remain under the Empire and Protection of the Inca, whose mighty Actions had acquired him Renown in all Quarters of that new World. And having thus gained this people to his power, he dispeeded his Army away, lest they should be burthensome to the Countrey, and then employed his Thoughts and Endeavours for fecuring his Government, and performing those matters which might conduce to the common Good and Welfare of the people; particularly he opened and made a Chanel of water, of about twelve Foot in depth, running for abour one hundred and twenty Leagues in length: the fource or head of it arole from certain Springs on the top of a high Mountain, between *Paren* and *Pieny*, which was 60 plentifull, that at the very head of the Fountains they feemed to be Rivers. This Current of Water had its courfe through all the Country of the Ruemas, and ferved to water the Pasturage of those uninhabited Lands, which are about eighteen Leagues in breadth, watering almost the whole Countrey of

There is another Aqueduct much like this, which traverses the whole Province of Camifing, running above one hundred and fifty Leagues from South to North; its Head or Original is from the top of high Mountains, the which Waters falling into the Plains of the *Quechnas*, greatly refresh their Pasturage, when the heats of the Summer and Autumn have dried and burnt up the mossture of the Earth. There are many Streams of like nature, which run through divers parts

BOOK V

of the Empire, which being conveyed by Aqueducts, at the charge and expense of the Incas, are works of Grandeur and Ostentation, and which recommend the Magnisticence of the Incas to all posterity. For these Aqueducts may well be compared to the miraculous Fabricks which have been the works of mighty Princes, who have left their prodigious Monuments of Ostentation to be admired by suture Ages; for indeed we ought to consider, that these Waters had their source and beginning from vast high Mountains, and were carried over craggy Rocks, and inaccessible passages; and to make these ways plain, they had no help of Instruments forged of Steel or Iron, such as Pick-axes, or Sledges, how she the invention of Arches, to convey their Water on the level from one precipice to the other; but traced round the Mountain, until they found ways and passages at the same height and level with the Head of the Springs. The Citterns, or Conservatories, which they made for these Waters at the top of the Mountain, were about twelve Foot deep; the passage was broken through the Rocks, and Chanels made of hewen Stone of about two yards long, and about a yard high; all which were well cemented together, and rammed in with earth, so hard, that no Water could pass between to weaken or vent it self by the holes of the Chanel.

This Current of Water, which passes through all the Division of Cunissyu, I have seen in the Province of Quechua, which is part of that Division, and considered it as an extraordinary Work, and indeed surpassing the Description and Report which hath been made of it: But the Spaniards, who were Aliens and Strangers, little regarded the convenience of these works, either to serve themselves of the use of them, or keep them in repair, nor yet to take so much notice of them, as to mention them in their Histories; but rather out of a sconfull and disclaining humour, have suffered them to run unto ruine, beyond all recovery.

The same sate hath befallen the Aqueducts, which the Indians made for watering their Corn-lands, of which two thirds at least are wholly destroyed, and none kept in repair, unless some sew, which are so usefull, that without them they cannot sustain themselves with Bread, nor with the necessary provisions for Life. All which works are not so totally destroyed, but that there still remain

some ruines and appearances of them.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXV.

The Inca visits the remote parts of his Empire, and Ambassadours come thither to him, offering the Subjection, and Vassadge of their People.

THE Inca Viracocha having provided all things towards the work of this great. Aqueduct, which was necessary for watering the Herbage of those Countries, he passed from the Province of Chinchassing, to Cantissya, with intention to visit all the parts of his Empire. The first Provinces which offered in this Journey, belonged to Quechua, two of which being of greater note, than others, were Congampa, and Cotanera; to which the Inca made extraordinary demonstrations of Honour, out of respect to the Service they had done him, in his late War against the Chancas. Thence he travelled forwards through all the other Provinces of Cantissya, as well the Mountainous Countries, as the Plains and Valliages, and Lands along the Seacost, that so no place or Region might complain of disfavora, or want of the Inca's presence, which was the most welcome and desirable object to them in the whole Universe.

In all the places where he came, he made ftrict inquifition concerning the behaviour of his Othicers and Ministers, and in what manner they discharged their Duty and Trust, such as were found guilty of any neglect, or injustice, he punished with the utmost rigour and severity, saying, that those who had made use of the Royal Authority to pillage or oppress his Subjects, were more criminal than those common Robbers, who in contempt of the Imperial Ordinances and Laws, and by force of their own private power, invaded the Rights and Properties of the People. From Consispus he entred into the Provinces of Collasgus, passing from one unto the other, as they offered in his way, all which he comforted with the Rays of his Favours, which he imparted in their respective degrees, as well to the Commonalty, as to the Curacus; and on the Sea-coast he journyed as far as

to Taracaba

During the stay which the Inca made in the Countrey of the Chancas, Ambassadours came to him from the Kingdom of Tucma, which the Spaniards call Tucuman, being distant about two hundred Leagues Southwest from the Chancas; addressing themselves unto him after this manner. "Most mighty" Prince, Capa Inca Virtacoha, The Report of your samous Deeds, the Equity and Justice of your Proceedings, the Excellency of your Laws, instituted for the sole Benefit and Welfare of your Subjects, the Purity of your Religion, Clemency and Mercy, and the wonderfull Miracles which your Father the Sun hath performed in your savour, and for your affistence, hath reached the utmost Conlines of our Dominions, and is yet carried farther on the Wings of Fame, the which Report hath made such impression on the Hearts of all the Curacas of Tucman, that they have sent us hither to implore the powerfull Protection of your facred Empire, and that you would appoint Incas of the Royal Bloud to preside over them, who may not onely administer Justice to them, but likewise instruct them in those Laws, and Customs, and Religion, which they are to obsceive; in hopes and expectation of which, we do here in the name and behalf of all our Kingdom, prostrate our selves before you, as the undoubted Off-spring and Inty thereof, we do here ofter our Persons, with the Fruit of our Lands, as Livery and Selsin, and in token and evidence that we surrender our Persons and Lands into your possession, had one could be a surface that we surrender our Persons and Lands into your possession. Having staid thus much, they laid open their Presents of Garments, made of Cotton, Pots of excellent Honey, as also Corn, and divers forts of Pulse; but as to Gold, or Silver, they produced none, being not

176

of the Growth of their Countrey; and which the Spaniards, notwithstanding the fearch and pursuit which they made after it, have not discovered in those Ouar-

The Ambaffadours having made these Presents, they prostrated themselves with profound reverence before the *Inca*, who received them with a gratious acceptance. according to his accustomed goodness; and in farther token of his favour, he commanded the Incas, who were his Kindred, to drink with them, which was the greatest Honour he could confer. At this entertainment they were farther affinred of the Good-will of the Inca, and how much he took this voluntary submisfion and refignation of themselves and Countrey in good part; in return whereunto, they affured them of all the kind treatment imaginable, and that the hea diffinguished between those, who out of good-will and affection, freely became his Subjects, and those who by force of Arms were compelled to Obedience. Then they gave them for Prefents to their Curacas, Vestments of such fort as were made for the Inca, woven by the hands of the Select Virgins, and which, for that reason, were accounted Divine and Sacred; and to the Ambassadours many other Prefents were made of different qualities. Then the Incas of the Royal Bloud were appointed, who were to inftruct them in Religion, and prefide over them as Governours; that leaving their bestial and brutish course of living, they might receive and observe the Laws and Ordinances of the *Incas*: And in company with these Ministers, several Artists and Workmen were sent, who were skilfull in making Aqueducts, and cultivating the Lands, that fo by good husbandry the Estate of the Sun, and of the King, might be improved and increased.

The Ambaffadours having been thus entertained for fome days at the Court of the Inca, where they observed the good Order, and Rule, and Excellent Laws of his Government: They confessed, that such Constitutions as those could have no other Original than from the Sun, or fomething Divine; and that their own Customs and Laws did partake of nothing but what was brutish, and without any Morality. And with this confideration being made zealous for the Inca's Service and Glory, they expressed themselves in this manner to the Inca: Sir, said they, we are greatly sensible that the World is made happy by your Laws and Government; of which that every part may partake some share and proportion, we are to make known unto you, that not far from our Countrey, to the South-West from 111, there lyes a Kingdom called Chili, which is very rich and populous; and though we our selves have had no Commerce, or correspondence therewith, by reason of those snowy Mountains, and inaccessible Passages, which divide us from them ; yet we have received by an undoubted Tradition from our Forefathers. that there is such a Nation worthy the Employment of your Arms, and of your Dominion: The which we the more willingly discover, that so they also with us may Adore your Father the Sun, and enjoy the same common Benefits and Laws which are made and designed to civilize and improve the Nature of Mankind. The Inca having taken notice of this advice, ordered the Ambaffadours to be dispatched, that they might return again into their own Countrey.

Thence he proceeded forward on his progress through all the Provinces of Collafuju, dispersing his Favours and Rewards to the Curacas and Captains, not neglecting the Commonalty, and people of low degree and condition; so that all forts, from the highest to the lowest, received particular satisfaction and contentment from the presence of the Inca: For so much had the Fame of his Divine Dream, and his Victory at Yahuarpampa, raifed his Esteem in the minds of the people, that they not onely received him with Joy and Acclamations, but paid him Divine Honours and Veneration, as if he had been fome New God; though now by the Mercies of the true God they have quitted that Idolatry, and being difabuled, and rightly informed in Religion, they onely conferve a gratefull Memory of that King, who was fo fortunate and propitious to them both in War and Peace.

From Collafum he paffed into Amifum, where the people being poor, and mean, were not able to demonstrate such Ostentation and Magnificence as others had done; howfoever, according to their degree and quality, they shewed as joyfull hearts, as their simplicity was capable to express: In evidence of which, they erected Triumphal Arches in the way by which he was to pass; the which being formed of Timber, they covered with Ruthes, and crowned with Garlands, ffrowing all the ways with Flowers, expressing the joyfulness of their hearts, after the cufrome of their Countrey, and as was usual at their greatest Festivals. In these visits the Inca spent three years, not omitting at the due seasons to celebrate the Feasts of the Sun, which they called Raymi, and Citua: And though they could not be performed with fuch Solemnity as at Cozco, yet in compliance with their Religion, they expressed their Devotion with such Rites and Ceremonies, as the circumstances of time and place would admit.

And now having accomplished his Progress, he returned to the City, where his Presence was greatly desired, as the Protectour and Desender of it, or rather as he who had laid a new foundation of an abandoned and ruined place: And therefore the Court and City affociated together with new Sonnets and Panegyricks, composed in his praise, to meet and conduct their Adored King to his place of Relidence.

## CHAP. XXVI.

The Valiant Hanco-huallu flies out of the Empire of the Incas.

Thus, in the manner which we have declared, this *Inca* travelled twice through all Outrers of his Dominions and all outrers of his Dominions all Quarters of his Dominions; and when that in his fecond Progress he passed through the Province of the Chichas, which is the most remote part of Peru to the Southward, News was brought him of the flight of the brave Hancobuallus at which he was greatly concerned, wondring at the reason, or cause, for

fuch a refolution.

This Man, it feems, was King of the Chancas; and though for nine or ten Years he had proved the gentle Government of the Incas, who in revenge, or punishment, of his late offence, had not diminished the least point of his Power or Jurisdiction; but rather, on the contrary, treated him with due honour and re-spect; yet in regard that he and his Foresathers had reigned as absolute Lords and Princes over many Nations, whom they had fubdued by their Arms and Power; his generous spirit could not yield to any Subordination, or hold his Countrey in feud to a Superiour: He also envied the *Quechnas* for the Esteem they had gained in the favour of the *Inca*, by the Services, which in the late War they had performed; and by whose means and affistence the Victory was wrested from himself: Nor could he endure to behold that people which was Inferiour, and once truckled to him, to stand now in equality, and in competition with him for Monour and Power: the which unpleafing imaginations to possessed his disquiet mind, that contrary to the sense and opinion of the Lords and Nobles of his Countrey, he refolved to purchase his own Liberty, and absolute Power, though with the loss and resignation of the Estate he possessed in his own Dominions. In order hereunto he imparted his Refolutions to certain Indians, who were his Friends, and faithfull to his Interest; giving them to understand, that he could not support a Subjection to the Will and Dominion of another; and therefore was refolved to Abandon his Native Patrimony and Inheritance, to recover an Absolute Sovereignty in remote parts, or dye in prosecution of it. This defign of Hanco-buallu being rumoured abroad amongh his people, it was agreed, that fuch Men as inclined to his party, should, with their Wives and Children, depart privately in small Companies, lest Numbers of People and Troops should make a noife, and give jealousite to the Inca; and that at length they should assemble and meet at a general Rendezvous in some place beyond the Dominions of the *Inca*, where he himself would follow after them, and appear in the Head of them as A a their

BOOK V

178

their King and Leader. This feemed to be the most agreeable counsel, and her expedient to recover their Liberty; for that it were a folly, and rathness, to endeavour it by force, or to fet up their Power against the Puissance of the bica. Nay, though fuch a defign should feem feasible, and practicable, yet considering the gentleness of the Inca, and with what kindness and humanity he had returned the Acts of Hostilities which they had offered him, it would seem a part of in. gratitude and perfidiousness, which could not enter into the Breast of a Generous Prince to rife again in Arms against him: But then to recover their Liberty by a peaceable furrender of their Estates and Power, was not onely inno. cent and inoffensive, but allowable also under the strictest circumstances and obligations by which they were bound to the *Inca*, than whom there could not be

a more benign, and more indulgent King in the whole Universe.

With these Arguments and Reasons the brave Hanco-hually prevailed on the minds of those to whom he first communicated his design; and they whispering it one to the other, it became the common discourse; and found such a general approbation and concurrence, that the Chancas, who naturally loved their Lord and Sovereign, were easily persuaded to run the fortune of their Prince; so that in a fhort time they numbred 8000 fighting Men, which in a Body marched out of their Countrey, befides Women and Children, under the Command and Conduct of the Valiant Hanco-hually; the fame of whose Courage, and the fierceness of the Chancas, who were always reputed for a fighting and warlike Nation, struck fuch terrour in all places and regions through which they marched, that none durft oppose, or interrupt them in their passage: The fear likewise of them caused the Inhabitants to furnish them with Provisions untill they came to the Provinces of Jarma and Pumpu, which are about 70 Leagues distant from their own Countrey. And though in this March they encountred certain inconfiderable Skirmishes, and could easily have overcome the Natives, and planted themselves in their possessions; yet they seemed as yet to have too near a Neighbourhood with the Empire of the Inca, whose ambition might soon arrive them, and bring them under the fame subjection from which they fled, and endeavoured to avoid: For which reason they marched forward, removing themselves as far as it was possible from the reach of the *luca*, at least to such a distance, as during his life, it was not probable that his Arms could extend. With this intention they travelled, bending on the right hand towards the great Mountains of *Antis*, with defign to inhabit there, and people those places which were most commodious for Humane life. Those of this Nation of the Chancas report, that they removed 200 Leagues from their own Land, but at what place they entred, or what parts they peopled, it is not certain; onely that they entred by a great River, and planted their Colonies by the banks of a great Lake, where it is faid, they encreased in such Riches, and performed such mighty Acts, that they feem rather Romances, than Reports fit for a true History. And though we may believe, or fanfie nothing too great for the Courage and Wisedom of Hanco-bradly; yet his Actions not falling within the subject of our History, we shall put a period to a Relation of them in this place, as impertinent and foreign to our prefent discourse.

CHAP

## CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Colonies fent to inhabit the Lands of Hanco-huallu: and the Description of the Valley of Yucav.

THE Inca Viracocha was much furprifed with the News, that Hanco-huallu was fled; and had abandoned his Countrey; which he would have prevented had he been pre-advised of his Intention; but fince now there was no remedy. and that no cause was given to move or force his departure, the Inca was the less concerned, though the people were generally rejoyced at his Flight, to whom the Humour and haughty Disposition of a Prince, like him, was never pleasant. The News of the flight of Hanco-hualln, with all the particulars of it, being made known and confirmed; the Inca commanded his Brother Pabuac Marta, whom he had left Governour at Cozco, with two others of his Council, to pass with a considerable number of Souldiers, into the Countrey of the Chancas, there to see and inform themselves of the true state of that remaining people, whom they were ro treat and carefs with all gentleness, giving them comfort and affurance of Protection; for that though their Prince was fled, yet they should not want the care of the Inca, who was both more able to defend them, as also more mild and loving

than their fierce Hanco hually.

These Incas having visited all the Provinces belonging to the Chancas, and difposed them to a quiet and satisfied condition, they went to the two famous Fortreffes of Hanco-hually, built by his Ancestours called Challey marca, and Sura mareas Marea in that Language fignifying a Castle or Fortress. In these places Hancobually passed some days before his departure, which (as the Indians report) he was more troubled to leave, than all the other possessions he enjoyed in his Dominions. The diffurbance which the flight of Hanco-huallu had caused, and the consternation in the minds of the People, being in some manner quieted and appealed; and all other matters of the Empire being well ordered and established, the Inca returned again to Cozco to enjoy the fruits of Peace, and employ his time in the administration of Justice, and performance of matters beneficial to the wellfare of his Subjects; hoping that with time the fears and jealousies which Hanco-huallie had raifed, would blow over, and vanish. The first thing therefore that he did was to publish certain Laws, which in that conjuncture of Affairs were seasonable and convenient, and which ferved to prevent infurrections of the like nature for the future. Next he fent a Colony of about ten thousand Persons, under the Command of Incas, into the Countrey of the Chancas, to Supply the places of those who were flain in the Battel of *Tabuar-pampu*, and of those who had deserted their Countrey in company with *Hanco-buallu*. Then he appointed several sumptuous Houses to be built in all places of his Empire, particularly in the valley of Yucay, which is lower than Tampu. For this Valley is the most pleasant and delightfull place in all Peru; having for that reason been chosen by all the Kings, since the time of Manco Capae, for their Garden, and place of Recreation; to which they often retired, to refresh and divertise themselves after the toils and labours which are incident to Government. The fituation of it is about four Leagues diftant Northeast from the City, in a most sweet and healthfull Air, where the Climate is so temperate, that neither cold or heat are in excess; the Waters are excellent and cool, nor are the Flies or Gnats troublefome, or any other infect there poisonous or vexatious. It is placed between two Mountains, that to the East is the snowy Mountain, an arme of which extends to the plain, and supplies it with continued fireams, from which they draw feveral Branches, and convey it by Chanels to water their Grounds. Though the middle of this Mountain be lofty, rugged and afperons; yet at the foot and skirts of it are verdant Pastures, and Lands abounding with Fruits: where also are all forts of Game, such as Stags, and Fallow-Deer, the

Aaa

BOOK V.

the Huanacus and Vicunna, (which is a Mountain Goat, from whence they have the Bezar-stone.) as also Partridges, and all forts of other Fowl; and though the havock which the Spaniards have made hath destroyed all the Game in those parts, yet in the place thereof they have planted Vines, and Fruit-trees, and Sugar-canes, which is the improvement they have made in that quarter. The other Mountain to the Welt is not fo high, or lofty, being not above a League in the afcent. At the foot thereof runs the plentifull River of Yuc.19, deep, and not rapid, but passing with a smooth and gentle Current, and therefore abounds with great quantities of excellent fish, and is frequented with Hearns, Wild-Ducks. and all forts of Water-fowl. Those that were fick at Cozo, which is a cold and flarp Air, and therefore not so proper for infirm Bodies usually resorted thister to recover their healths; so that there is now no Spaniard who lives at Cozo, and esteemed a Man of an Estate, but who hath a Country house, or some possession in that Valley. This Inca Viracocha had a particular delight and affection for that place; and therefore built feveral Houses there, both for oftentation, and for plea. fure.

He enlarged the Temple of the Sun, both in the Building, and also in the num. ber of Servants and Officers, endowing it with a Revenue agreeable to the Enlargement. And as all the Incas conceived a particular Veneration, and Devotion for that Temple, so Vivacocha seemed more sensibly affected from his religious fervour to that Spirit which appeared to him.

180

## CHAP. XXVIII.

The Name which Viracocha gave to his Eldest Son; and his Prophecy concerning the Invalion of the Spaniards.

TE have seen already by what hath preceded, in what manner Viracocha pasfed some years, and in what tranquillity and prosperity he governed his Empire. We are now to speak of his Children and Family; his Eldest Son was born of Coya Mama Runtu, who was his Sifter, and true and lawfull Wife; he was at first called Titu Manco Capac, though afterwards by the last Will and Appointment of his Father, his Name was changed to Pachacutec, which fignifies as much ment of his Patner, his Name was changed to Pacadettee, which fignifies as much as one who fubverts the World, or turns it upfide down; and though it was commonly taken in the worft fenfe, for some alteration from bad to worfe, yet it is said he was so affected with this Word, that he was desirous to have called himfelf by that Name; but in regard that the Name of Viracocha was so dilated over all Countries, and the Voices of the people so accustomed to it; that he could not affume that Appellation to himself, yet he was desirous to communicate it to his Son, being, as he believed, a means to keep alive the memory of the Apparition, and the renowned Actions of his Father. Acofe in the 20th Chap, of his 6th Book faith, "That the people were so much scandalized at the Name of Viracocha, which this Inca took to himself, because it was the proper name of God, that he was forced to clear himself of this prophanation, by saying that the Spirit which appeared to him in his Dream, had commanded him to take that Name and Title upon himself: And that the Inca Pachacuti, who succeeded him, was and The upon himler: And that the *linea Pachaeumi*, who increeded nim, was "a great Souldier and Politician, having invented many superstitious rites, which he introduced into the Worship of their Religion; which are the words with which *Acosta* concludes that Chapter: All which is in confirmation of what I have said, namely, that a Vision appeared to him in his Dream; that he took the Name of that Apparition, and that afterwards he gave the Name of *Pachaeumica* the South of the said of the tec to the Son who fucceeded him.

The Name of the Queen was Mama Runtu, which Word Runtu fignifies an For, so called, because of the whiteness of her Face being perhaps fairer than the Women commonly are of that Countrey.

The Indians report, that this Viracocha was the Authour of the Prophecy which foretold the Invalion of the Spaniards, and was conferved amongst the Archives of the Kings of Peru: which was, "That at a certain period of Years after the of the Kings of Peri: Which was, a trial at celtain period of freas after the fucceffion of fuch a number of Kings, there should come a fort of people from a far remote Countries, never seen, or known before in those Regions, who should " take away their Religion, and Subvert their Empire. The Substance of which Prophecy was contained in two fuch obscure Sentences, as were difficult to be explained or interpreted. The Indians fay, that this Inca, after the fuccels and verification of his Dream, became the Oracle of Mankind; for that the Amount who were the Philosophers of those times, as also the High Priest and the most Ancient Elders of the Temple of the Sun, who were the Magicians, that wells Ancient Elders of the Temple of the Sun, who were the Magicians, filat prefaged of things to come, did often interrogate him concerning his Dream; and of Comets feen in the Heavens, as allo of Divinations by the flying and fingling of Birds, and of feveral other fuperfittious Prognoftications which they made from their Sacrifices, and Entrails of Beafts, and to all the Refponses which Firmach, made to their Enquiries, they yielded entire Faith and Oredence, effecting was judged worthy to be conserved by Tradition in the memory of their Kings onely; and that the knowledge of fuch divine Revelations was not to be made companied to the Beophel. mon, or prophaned by the Discourse of the People; for that it was not fit for them to be pre-acquainted with the times and feafons, when their Idolatrous Wintthis should have an end, and the Empire be overthrown, and the Divinity of the Incar questioned, and changed into the state and common condition of humane kind. For which reason there was no farther mention made of this Prophecy. untill the time of Huayna Capac, who revealed it openly a little before his Death, as we shall hereafter declare more at large; though some Historians make but a short tale of it, and say, that a God which the Indians worshipped, called Tici Viracocha, delivered this Prophecy. But for what I have delivered herein, I have the authority of an old Inca, whom I have often heard recount the Fables and Antiquities of their Kings in presence of my Mother.

And in regard the coming of the Spaniards into Peru, and the Conquest of it by them; the destruction of their Idolatry, and the preaching of the Gospel of Christ in those parts, did correspond with the Prophecy of Viracocha; the Indians did therefore give the Name of Viracocha to the Spaniards, fanfying them to be Sons of that imaginary God, whom he had purpolely fent (as we have already faid) to relieve the *Incas* from the Oppression and Violence of the cruel Tyrant. Thus we have cursorily touched on this wonderfull Prophecy, which for many years had been revealed to the Inca-Kings; and which was afterwards accomplished in the Reigns of *Huascar*, and *Atahnalpa*, which were great Grandchildren to the third Generation to this *Inca Viracocha*.

182

#### CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Death of Viracocha; and how the Authour saw his Body.

T length the Inca Viracocha, in the Height of Majesty, and Zenith of his Profeerityl, submitted to the common fate of Mankind; he was gene rally lamented, and bewailed by all the Empire, and adored afterwards as a Child of the Sun, to whom they offered Prayers and Sacrifices. He left to Pachacute his Eldest Son, the Inheritance, besides whom he had many legitimate Sons and Daughters of the Royal Bloud, with others born to him by his Concubines: he conquered and reduced Eleven Provinces, four of which were to the South of Cozeo, and feven towards the North. It is not certainly known to what age he lived, nor how long he reigned, though according to common report, he governed above fiftyYears; and so he seemed to me to have been an ancient Man, when I faw his Body at Cozco, about the beginning of the Year 1570, which was the time when I was upon my departure for *Spains*; and then I remember, that going to take my leave of the Governour, or Chief Justice of the City, called *Paul* Ondegardo, a Native of Salamanca; amongst other Favours which he did me, he was pleased to lead me into an inward room, and there tell me, that before I departed it would be convenient for me to have a fight of fome of my Relations. that so I might have another Story to tell of them in Spain; with that he shewed me five Bodies of Incas, three of Men, and two of Women; one of which the Indians report to have been the Body of Viracocha, which feemed to be verv aged, the Hairs of the Head being as white as Snow: The fecond they fav was the Great Tupac Tupanqui, who was great Grandson to Viracocha: The third was Huayna Capac, the Son of Tupac Tupanqui; and Grandson of the Fourth Generation to Viracocha; the two last were Men with gray Hairs, yet did not feem so aged as Voracocha. One of the Women was said to be the Body of the Queen Mama Runin, Wife of Viracocha; the other of Coya Mama Occlo, Mother of *Huayna Capac*; and it is probable that they might be Husband and Wife, confidering that the Bodies were laid and found fo close together; and what is more strange, these Bodies were more entire than the Mummies, wanting neither Hair on the Head, nor Eye-brows, and even the very Eye-lashes were vifible. They were clothed with the same fort of Garments which they wore in their Life time; the Lift or Wreath appeared about their Heads, which was all the Badg or Ornament they shewed of their Royal Dignity. The posture they were in was fitting, after the manner of the *Indians*, their Hands crossed on their Breafts, with the right hand upon the left, their Eyes cast downwards looking towards the Earth. Acoffa it feems had feen one of these Bodies, of which discoursing in the 21st Chap. of his 6th Book, saith, "That it was fo well conferred by a certain fort of bituminous matter, with which they embalmed it," "that it feemed to be alive; the Eyes were fo well counterfeited by a mixture of Gold, that they feemed lively and natural. I must consess, that my want of Curiofity did not move me to make fo narrow a fcrutiny into this matter, as I should have done, had I believed that I should have had occasion to write of them; for then I should not onely have viewed and confidered the Bodies themselves more exactly, but also have made enquiry of the Natives concerning the manner and receipt of this way of embalming; which perhaps they might rather have imparted to me, who am a Native, and one of their Relations, than to the Spaniards, who are Strangers and Aliens to them, unless perhaps the Art and Secret is loft amongft them, as many other things are, of the like nature. For my part, I could not difcover any thing of this bituminous matter, of which Acela ipeaks, though certainly there must have been some excellent Secret, without which it was impossible to have conserved Bodies, with their Flesh so plump and full

as these were. This Acosta treating farther of these Bodies, in the 6th Chapter of his 6th Book, bath these Words which follow. "In the first place, faith he, they had an Art to conferve the Bodies of their Kings, and Great Men, with-" our flinking or corruption, for the frace of above two hundred Years; in which " manner the Bodies of the *Inca*-Kings were found at Cozco, erected in their Cha-" pels and Oratories, where they were adored; which the Marquels of Cannete, when he was Vice-roy of the *Indies*, caused to be removed from thence, that he might abolith the Idolatrous Worthip, which they performed towards then. and transported three or four of them to a place called the King's Town; which appeared very flyange and flupendious to the Spaniards, to fee Bodies after for many years fo firm and found as they were. These are the Words of Acolla, from whence I observe, that these Bodies had been removed to the King's Town almost twenty years before he had a fight of them; which being a hot and moith Air, was more apt to taint and corrupt Fleth, than the cold and dry Air of Cozco: and yet notwithstanding he faith. That twenty Years after their removal they were still firm and uncorrupt, as formerly, and appeared with such Life, that they wanted onely Speech to make them feem to be living. I am of opinion, that the way to conferve Bodies, is after they are dead to carry them to the Mountains of Snow, where being well dried, and congealed by the cold, and all humours confumed and digefted, then afterwards to apply that bituminous matter, which may plump up the Flesh, and render it full and solid as the Living. But I onely adventure on this conjecture, from what I have feen the Indians doe, when they have carried a piece of raw Flesh into the cold Mountains, where after it hath been well dried by the Frost, they have kept it as long as they pleased without falt, or any other prefervative; and this was the manner which the *Incas* used. for drying and keeping all the flesh Provisions which they carried for Food to maintain their Army. I remember that I once touched a finger of Huavna Capac, which feemed to me like a flick of wood; and fo light were these Bodies. that an Indian could eafily carry one of them in his Armes, or on his Shoulders to the Houses of Spanish Gentlemen, who defired to see them. When they carried them through the Streets, they covered them with white Linen; and the Indians falling down on their knees before them, fighed, and wept, thewing them all the reverence imaginable; and some of the Spaniards also would take off their Caps, and uncover their Heads to them, as they passed, in testimony of the respect they bore to the Bodies of Kings; with which the Indians were so pleased and overloved, that they knew not in what manner to express their thankfulness to them.

This is all that we have been able to deliver concerning the Actions of *Viraco-tha* in particular; the other Monuments and Sayings of this famous King are loft, for want of Letters and Learning to record them to pofterity, and have incurred the Fate of many famous Men, whose glorious Exploits and Deeds have been buried in the Graves with them.

Onely Blas Valera reports one memorable Saying of this Viracocha, which being often repeated by him, was observed by three Incas, who kept it in remembrance; as also the Sayings of some other Kings, which we shall hereafter specifie. That which this Inca delivered, had reference to the education of Children, of which he was made the more fenfible, by that Severity and Disfavour with which he was treated by his Father in the time of his Minority; his Saying was this, That Parents are oftentimes the cause of raine to their Children, when either they educate them with fuch fondness, that they never cross them in their Wills, or desires, but suffer them to all and doe what soever they please, whereby they become so corrupt in the manners of their infuncy, that Vice grows ripe with them at the Years of Manhood. Others, on the contrary are so severe and cruel to their Children, that they break the tenderness of their Spirits, and affright them from learning, discouraging them in that manner by menaces and lettures of a supercilious Pedant, that their Wits are abased, and despair of attaining to knowledge and vertue. The way is to keep an indifferent mean between both, by which Youth becomes valiant and hardy in Itar, and wife and political in the time of Peace. With which Blue Valera concludes the Reign of this Inca Viracocha.

#### CHAP.

Of the Buildings, Ornament and Furniture of the Royal Palaces.

HE Services and Ornaments of the Royal Palaces belonging to the Kings of Peru, were agreeable to the Greatness, Riches and Majesty of their Empire, with which also corresponded the Magnificence of their Court and Attendance; which, if well confidered, might equal, if not exceed the State and Grandeur of all the Kings and Emperours of the Universe. As to their Houses and Temples, Gardens and Baths, they were all built of Free Stone, rarely well polished, and so well joined together, and so close laid, that they admitted no kind of Cement; the truth is, if any were used, it was of that fort of coloured Mortar which in their Language they call Llancac Allpa, which is a fort of flimy Cement, made up like a Cream, which fo united and closed the Stones together. that no feam or crevife appeared between them; for which reason the Spaniards were of opinion, that they worked without Mortar; others faid, that they used Lime, but both are mistakes; for the Indians of Peru neither knew the manner or use of Lime, Mortar, Tile or Brick.

In many of the Royal Palaces, and Temples of the Sun, they closed up the Seams of their Building with melted Gold, or Silver, or Lead. Pedro de Cieça, a Spanish Historian, saith, That for greater Magnificence they filled the joints between the Stones with Gold or Silver, which was afterwards the cause of the total destruction of those Buildings; for the Spaniards having found these exteriour appearances of Gold, and fome other heaps of Metall within, have for farther Discovery subverted the very Foundations of those Edifices, in hopes of finding greater Treasure, which otherwise were so firmly built, as might have continued for many Ages. Pedro de Cieça confirms the fame at large, and faith farther, That the Temples of the Sun were plated with Gold, as also all the Royal Apartments. They also framed many Figures of Men and Women, of Birds of the Air, and Fifthes of the Sea; likewife of fierce Animals, fuch as Tygers, and Lions, and Bears, Foxes, Dogs and Cats, in thort, all Creatures whatfoever known amongst them, they cast and moulded into true and natural Figures, of the same shape and form of those Creatures which they represented, placing them in corners or cones of the Walls, purposely made and fitted for them.

They counterfeited the Plants and Wall-flowers fo well, that being on the Walls they feemed to be Natural: The Creatures which were shaped on the Walk they teemed to be reactions. The Creating which were maped on the Walls, fuch as Lizards, Butter-flyes, Snakes and Serpents, fome crawling up, and fome down, were fo artificially done, that they feemed Natural, and wanted nothing but Motion. The *Inca* commonly fate on a Stool of Maffie Gold, with they called *Tiana*, being about three quarters of a Yard high, without Arms or Back. and the fact formething hollow in the middle; this was fet on a large fourer Plate of Gold, which ferved for a Pedeftal to raife it. All the Veffels which were for the service of the Inca, both of the Kitchin, and of the Buttery, were all made of Gold or Silver; and these were in such quantities, that every House, or Palace belonging to the *Inca*, was furnished in that manner with them, that there was belonging to the men, was furnished in that the man there was no occation, when he Travelled, to remove them from one place to the dwar In these Palaces also there were Magazines, or Granaries, made of Gold and Sil. ver. which were fit to receive Corn, or Grane, but they were rather places of Space and Magnificence, than of use.

The Inca had his Palace well furnished with Bedding, and so many changes of Apparel, that having worn a Suit twice, he gave it to his Kindred, or his Servants. Their Bed-cloaths were Blankets, like our Freezes made of Goats Wool and fo foft and fine, that amongst other curiofities of that Countrey, they care ried over some of the Blankets for the Beds of Philip the Second King of Spain: these Blankets served them for Beds to lye on, as well as Coverings: But they would by no means be reconciled to Quilts, or be perfuaded to fleep upon them: perhaps because, that having seen them in the Chambers of the Spaniards, they feemed too effeminate and foft for Men, who made profession of a more hardy feemed too effeminate and foft for Men, who made profession of a more hardy life; and who had not created to themselves so many superfluous necessities as Men, who ranged both Sea and Land for Riches and Treasure. They had no occasion of Hangings for their Walls, which (as we have said) they Adomed with Plates of Gold or Silver: The Dishes of Meat provided for the Incas Table, were many, because many Incas of his Kindred were his frequent Guess, and his Servants were very numerous, being all to be sed at the charge and care of the Incas. The usual hour of Eating, for all sorts of people, was from eight, or night in the Mogning to the Eurang they surved by Daulight, making as to nine in the Morning; in the Evening they supped by Day-light, making no more than these two Meals. In Drinking they were more intemperate; for though they did not Drink during the time of their Meal, yet afterwards, when they fate to it, they drank commonly till Night. But this was a cultome amongst the Rich, and Men of Estates, and not amongst the Poor, whose poverty obliged them to a necessity of being absternious: And the common custome and practice amongst all in general, was to retire betimes to their repose, and to rise early in the Morning to follow their Employments.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

Royal Commentaries.

How all the Ornaments and Curiofities, which Beautified the Royal Palaces, were made of Gold and Silver.

A LL the Royal Palaces had their Gardens, and Orchards, and places of Plea-fure, wherein the *Inca* might delight, and divertife himfelf; and theie Gardens were planted with Fruit-trees of the greatest beauty, with Flowers, and Odoriferous Herbs, of all forts and kinds which that Climate did produce. In refemblance of these they made Trees, and Flowers of Gold and Silver, and so retendance of there they made trees, and Flowers of Gold and Shiver, and flowers of Gold and Shiver, and committee them to the life, that they feemed to be natural: fome Trees appeared with their Fruit in the bloffom, others full grown, others ripe according to the feveral feafons of the year; they counterfeited also the Mayz, or Stalk, of the Indian Wheat, with all its Grane and Spikes: Also the Flax with its Leaves and Roots as it grows in the Fields; and every Herb and Flower was a Copy to them. to frame the like in Gold and Silver.

They fashioned likewise all forts of Beasts and Birds in Gold and Silver; namely, Conies, Rats, Lizards, Serpents, Butterflyes, Foxes, Mountain Cats, for they had no tame Cats in their Houses; and then they made Sparrows, and all forts of leffer Birds, fome flying, others perching on the Trees; in fhort, no Creature, that was either Wild, or Domestick, but was made and represented by them according to its exact and natural shape.

In many Houses they had great Cisterns of Gold in which they bathed themfelves, with Cocks and Pipes of the fame Metal for conveyance of the Water. And amongst many other pieces of State and Magnificence, they had heaps, or flacks, of Faggots and Billets made of Gold and Silver, piled up in their Storehouses, as if they had been there laid for service of the Inc.a.

The greatest part of these Riches, when the Spaniards came in, were thrown into Wells, and deep waters, by the Indians, who observing their Enemies to be covetous, and thirsty of Gold, out of Malice to them, concealed, or destroyed them in fuch unrecoverable places, where they could never be again retrieved, that so the Memory and Tradition of the hidden treasures might be designedly lost that to the Memory and Tradition of the inducen tradities inglice be definedly foltotheir posterity, because they thought it a Prophanation to have that Wealth and Substances which was Dedicated to their Kings, to be converted to the common benefit and use of Strangers. Whatsoever we have related concerning the Riches of the *Ineas*, is confirmed by all the Historians who write of *Peru*, with a more enlarged report of the prodigious Treasures. Those Writers who treat of these matters most fully, are Pedro de Cieça de Leon, and Angulin de Carate, who was Accountant General in those parts; which latter, in the 14th Chapter of his first Book, hath these words: "Gold was a Metal of great esteem amongs? "them, because the principal Vessels for service of their Kings were made there-"of, and the Jewels of his Dignity and State were set in it: Likewise they "made Offerings of it in their Temples: And the King Tigaya made
"a Chair of Gold, in which he fate weighing twenty five Quilats, and which
"was worth twenty five thousand Ducats, and was the same which Don Francisco
"de Picarro challehged for his own prize; because it was agreed, at the time of the Conqueft, that befides his own thare and proportion with the reft, he might claim that Jewel which he should chuse and esteem of the greatest value. Guagnacava, at the Birth of his Eldest Son, made a Chain of Gold so big and weighty, that 200 Indians having feized the Links of it to the Rings in their Ears, were scarce able to raise it from the ground: And in memory of this joy at his Birth, and of this great Chain, they gave him the Name of Guafest, "which is as much as Chain, or Cable, with the Addition of Inca, which was the Title of all belonging to the Royal Family. The which particular I pur-

BOOK VI.

posely alledge in this place to confute the opinion of those who living in *Spain*, and being ignorant of the affairs of the *Indies*, believed that the *Indians* had no efteem of Gold, nor knew the value or price of it: Besides which, they had Vessels made of Gold wherein to lodge their Corn, also the Figures of Men, of Trees, and Plants, and Herbs made in Gold, as all Animals of what fort soever: which are the Words of that famous Authour in his History of *Peru*.

That rich Prize which fell to the lot of D. Francisco Picarro, was part of that which Atahnalpa gave for his Ransome, and which Picarro justly claimed as his due by Military Right, being General of the Army: He might moreover challenge, by agreement, the best Jewel from the great heaps of Riches: And though there were others perhaps more valuable, such as Jars, and Vesses: And though the regard that this had been the Seat of a King, and the seizure of it presaged the Dominion of the Spanish Monarchy, it seemed a prize more singular, and worthy the choice of Picarro before any other of greater estimation. In the Life of Huayna Capac, who was the last of all the Incas, we shall speak more at large

of Huapha Capae, Who was the latt of all the Incas, we man speak more at large of this Gold Chain, which was a thing incredible.

What Pedro de Cieça writes of the Riches of Pern, and how the Indians made them away, and concealed them, is that which he specifies in the 21st Chapter of his Book, as follows: "If, says he, all that which was buried in Pern, and in "these Countries, were discovered, and brought to use and light, the value of it would be ineftimable, and all the possessions of the Spaniards inconsiderable in comparison of the hidden treasures: For, says he, I being at Cozco, in presence of many Persons of Quality, heard Panlo the Inca discoursing of this matter, and saying, That if all the Treasures which belonged to the Provinces and Temples, which are now loft, should be again recovered and amassed toge. ther, they would be fo.immense and great, that all the Riches which the ob-mards possess, would be no more in comparison of them, than a drop of water is to a whole Bucket: And to make the similated more clear; the *Indians* tais to a whole Bucket: And to make the immittude more clear; the *Indians* taking a handfull of Grane from a whole measure, said, Thus much the Christians have gained; and the remainder is lodged there, where neither we, nor any else is able to affign: Whatsoever this Treasure may have been, though the *Spaniards* had not been Masters of it, would certainly have been offered to their Devils, and Temples, and Sepulchres of their Dead; for the *Indians*, who neither purchase Lands, nor Houses, nor Cities with it, nor esteem it the sinews and nerves of War, do onely Adorn themselves with it, being alive, and bury it with them in their Graves, being dead: Howfoever, in my opinion, it was our duty to have advifed the *Indians* of these Errours, and to have made it our business to instruct them in the knowledge of the Gospel, and our Holy Faith, rather than our profession and whole concernment, to fill our Purses, and en-"rich our Coffers: These are the Words of Pedro de Gieça, in the 21st Chapter of his Book, which I have copied Verbatim from thence. This Inca, which was called Paulo, or by them Paullu, of whom all the Spanish Historians make mention, was one of the many Sons of Huayna Capac, being a Man of Courage, who took the King of Spain's fide in his Wars against the Spaniards; at his Baptism he took the Name of Christopher Paulla, to whom my Master Garcitasso at this Dapthim ne took the Name of Christopher Paulla, to whom my Master Garcitasso de la Vega was Godfather, as also to his Brother Titu Aqui, who afterwards was Baptized by the Name of Philip, in respect to Philip the Second, then Prince of Spain; I was well acquainted with them both, as also with their Mother called Annas, though the two Sons died foon afterwards.

Lopes de Gomara writing of the Riches of the Kings of Pern, in the 122d Chapter of his Book, hath these very words: "All the Utensils of Inca's House, "Table and Kitchin, were all of Gold and Silver, at least of Silver and Copper. In the with-drawing Rooms and Antichambers, were Statues of Gold cast in the form of Giants, and the Figures of all kinds of Animals in a like large proportion, as also Trees and Herbs, Fishes of the Sea, and fresh Waters of all forts, which their Kingdom produced: they had also Ropes and Chains, Baskets and Hampers of Gold and Silver, and Faggors of Gold, piled up in Stacks, as if they were intended for sewel: In short, there was no Figure of any Creatine in the whole Kingdom, which they did not imitate, and represent in Gold: They report also that the Incas had a Garden situated in an Island near to Puna, where being desirous to enjoy the Air of the Sea, they passed over to divertise, and recreate themselves 3 and therein were Trees, and Plants, and Flowers made

" all of Gold and Silver, with rare Art and Invention: On the other fide of this " Island were vast heaps of Gold and Silver laid up, with intention to carry it to Cozee; that it might be worked there; all which was loft by the Death of "Gualcar: For the Indians observing that the Spaniards thirsted after Gold, and " transported all into Spain, that they could seize, and lay their hands upon; they " made it away, and concealed as much of it as they were able. Thus far are the Words of Lopez de Gomera. As to the Garden, which he says, the Kings of Peru had near Puna, in which all Creatures were represented in Gold and Silver; he particularly specifies that place, because that when the Spaniards came in, it was the onely Garden which continued in its Beauty and Ornaments; for the Indians, in despight of their Enemies, destroyed all the rest, and consounded the Riches of them in fuch manner, as are never to be recovered; in which Relation this Authour, and all other Spanish Historians, do agree. That infinite treasure of Gold and Silver, which, he says, was heaped up with intention to be carried to Cosco, and there worked, was the surplusage of what remained, after all the Royal Palaces were surnished, and adorned in the manner we have before related. This may not feem incredible to those who have accounted and observed those valt and immense quantities of Gold and Silver, which have been transported from my Countrey into Spain, there having paffed over the Bar of St. Lucar, in the Year 1,995, in the space of eight Months, onely five and thirty Millions in Gold and Silver.

#### CHAP. III.

Of the Servants of the Court, and those who carried the King's Chair, or Sedan.

THE Servants defined for the Services of the Court were many in number, figh as Sweepers. Carriers of Water, and Clearest of Water. fuch as Sweepers, Carriers of Water, and Cleavers of Wood, Cooks. Butlers, Porters, Keepers of the Ward-rope, and of the Jewels, Gardiners and Stewards of the Houshold; in short, there were as many Officers and Servants retained in this Court, as in the most magnificent and splendid Palaces of our Kings, or Emperours: But herein there was fomething different from our Courts; for here particular Men had not the charge of an Office committed to them; but it was the care, or incumbence of two or three Provinces to provide fufficient Men for every Office, such as were faithfull, diligent and dexterous for the place; and fuch a number of them, as that they might take their turns by Days, or Weeks, or Months, as often as they should think fit to exchange them. This being part of the Tribute which was exacted from every Province, great care was taken in the choice of able Men; for that the default, or crime, of every particular person, reflected on the whole Province, who made themselves answerable for his good behaviour, and were accordingly punished with such severity, as all offences against the Royal Majesty did require. And fince we have spoken of Hewers of Wood, we must not understand, as if these were sent into the Mountains to cut and fell Trees; but fuch Timber or Wood as was brought by the Vaffals in payment of their Tribute, was received by these Officers, and by them and their Asfiltants laid up, and flowed in the Houles for that purpole: The like may we understand of all other Offices, wherein there was no servile labour appointed; it being a gentile employment to ferve the *Inca* in fuch capacity, and to be near his Royal Person, which was the greatest honour and happiness that any one could

Those who were qualified to be Servants and Officers in the Court, were people of the Neighbourhood, and parts adjacent, within five or fix Leagues of the

City

BOOK VI.

City of Cozco, and were the Generation or Children of those Fathers whom the first Inca, Manco Capac, sent abroad to instruct and reduce the wild Salvages of those times to a Humane manner of living; and to whom, as a particular note and savour of distinction from the more rude and uncivilized Nations, he bestowed the Honour and Title of Incas, with privilege to wear the Habit and Wreath belonging to the Royal Person. As we have declared at the beginning of this History.

The Sedan-men that were appointed to carry the *Inca* in his Chair of Gold upon their Shoulders, were always chosen out of two Provinces, which have the same Name, and border one upon the other, being both called *Rucana*; but for distinction sake, one was called *Haum Rucana*, or *Rucana Major*: the Inhabitant thereof are a strong, nervous people, healthy and well-complexioned, and about fifteen thousand Inhabitants in number. These people had a custome to train up the Young Men at about twenty years of Age to carry Chairs steady, and without tottering or stumbling; for in case any Man should be so unfortunate as to fall, or stumble, in carrying the *Inca*, the Chief or Cape of these Sedan-men was obliged to punish him with some notorious disgrace, and cashiere him from farther service of the *Inca*; as is practised also in *Spainy*; and as a certain Historian reports, the missortune of such a failure was punished with Death. This Service was the Tribute which this people paid the *Inca*; who being many in number, took their turns, so that the attendance was the less grievous; and in regard it was a singular honour to carry the *Inca*; Person, his weight seemed no burthen; of which so much care was taken, that lest by mischance any of the Chair-men should stumble, or stall, there were twenty four or twenty five Men attending on each fide ready to catch the seat, and prevent the fall.

The Provision of Victuals for the Court, especially of Flesh, was very great, because that all those of the Royal Family residing in the City, were supplied out of the King's Kitchin: Howsever, there was no great consumption of Bread made of Mayz, because no other provision was made thereof, than what was sufficient for the immediate Attendants in the Family; for all Houses and Families had their separate Allowances of Bread laid up in their Store-houses, as we have before mentioned. All forts of Game, such as Deer, Stags, Wild Goats, and the like, were not ordinarily killed for common provision of the Court, or the Tables of the Caracas, or Lords, but were referved for Sports and Hunting, which they called Chacas; and the Flesh, and Wool, and Skins of such Game as was taken, was afterwards distributed amongst the Poor and Rich: of which we

thall treat in a particular Chapter.

The Drink spent in the Court of the *Inca* was great; for in regard that their courtesse was such, as to make every one drink that came thither; whether they were *Curacus*, or Commoners, or came upon business, or on visits, or complements; there was no set or established Allowance for it, but the entertainment was free without measure or account, and the quantity consumed was almost incredible.

## CHAP. IV.

Of the great Halls, and Rooms of State, and other things belonging to the Court.

'N many of the King's Palaces were long and spatious Galleries, of about two hundred paces in length, and about fifty or fixty in breadth, wherein they often danced and celebrated their Feafts at those seasons of the year, when the Rains and bad weather incommoded them in the open Air. I remember that in Cocco I saw four of these Galleries, which when I was a Child, were still in being, and not ruined: One of them was in Amarucanha Street, where Hernando Picarro then lived, and is now the Jesuits College: The other was in Cassana Street, but now built and converted into Shops, the Rent of which belonged to my School-fellow John de Cillorico: Another was in Colleampata Alley, where the Inca Paully, and his Son Don Carlos, who also was my School-fellow, had a Rent in Houses: This Gallery was the least of all the four, and the biggest was that of Callana, being capable to receive three thousand persons. It is wonderfull to consider, where it was possible for them to find Timbers so long and square, as were fit for the Roofs of fuch Edifices. The fourth Gallery is now turned into were nt for the Roots of inch Ediffices. The fourth Gallery is now turned into the Cathedral Church. One thing is remarkable, that the *Indians* of *Peru* in building their Houtes, did never raife one Story above another, nor did they join one Room to another, but always left some space or distance of one Chamber from the other, and perhaps a whole Court-Yard, or Quadrangle, between, unless sometimes to their large Halls they built at the corners some Closets, or withdrawing Rooms, for better convenience; and in the Divisions they made of their feveral Offices, they raifed Walls of Apartment to keep them private one from the other. It is farther also observable, that when they had built the sour Walls of Stone or Brick for a House or Chamber, they erected Pillars, or Posts, in the middle of it, for support of the Roof; for they knew not how to cross their Beams, or Rafters, or how to fasten them with Nails, or Wooden Pins, but laid their Timbers loofe upon the Walls, fastning them onely to each other with Spart, or Cords made of Straw, or Rufles, as strong as our Hempen Ropes. These main Beams they crossed with Rasters, fastning them one to the other; on which they laid a covering of Straw so thick, that the Thatch was a Yard deep, extending its Eves above a Yard over the Walls, so as to be a Pend-house to them to preferve them from the Rain. I remember that in the Vally of Yucay I once faw one of these large Rooms, which was about seventy Foot square, covered in form of a Pyramid; the Spire of which was twelve Rod high, though the Walls were not above three, having two little Chambers on each fide, This Building was not burnt by the *Indians*, when they made their general Infurrection against the Spaniards; for though they destroyed many other Houses of pleasure in that Vally, the Ruines of which I have feen; yet they foared this Structure out of respect to their mean, who had frequented this place, being a large and open Square, or Quadrangle, which terved for a wide and spatious Theatre whereon to represent their shows and sports at the times of their principal Festivals.

Besides the Walls of Stone, they made also Walls of Clay, which they sorted in Clay, which they sorted in Clay which they s

Befides the Walls of Stone, they made also Walls of Clay, which they formed in Cases or Moulds, for that purpose, mixing the Clay with Straw for beter binding. The Moulds they made as little, or as large as they pleased in measure, or proportion to the Wall; the shortest were about a Yard long, and about the fixth part of a Yard broad, and of a like thickness; which, after they had well dried in the Sun, they laid them one upon another in order; and after that they had I ain two or three Years under covering from the Sun, and the Water, so that they were fully dried; they then used them in their Buildings, as we do our Bricks, cementing them with the same Clay, well tempered, and mixed with

CHAP

They knew not how to make Mud-Walls, nor did the *Spaniards* use other than Clay, in making their Sun-burnt Bricks. In case any of these great Houses which we have mentioned should by any accident have been burnt, they did not build again upon the same Walls, because, as they said, the Straw which strengthened and bound the Clay, and made it firm, and folid, being consumed by the fire, the Wall must necessarily be weakned, and the Clay become loose; and unable to bear the weight of the roof and covering which was laid upon it; but this was but an erroneous conceit of theirs, for I have seen and observed several of the Walls of those Houses, which have been burnt, that have remained firm and so lid as before.

So foon as the King happened to dye, they prefently locked the door of the Chamber where he did ufually fleep, with all the Omaments and Riches of Gold and Silver, which furnished it, or were found therein at the time of his death; and this Chamber was in this manner kept always locked, that none should enter; for that place being ever afterwards eftermed facred, was not to be prophaned by the Feet of any; onely the room was without-fide kept and maintained in good repair. The like Ceremony was observed in the Chambers of all the other Royal Palaces, where the Inca had reposed and slept, though it had been but the space of one night, as he travelled, or in a journey where he passed: And then immediately they fell to building other Chambers for the living Successiour, in place of the living but he had been such that the death of the late King.

thatery they left to buttening other Chambers for the living Saccerious, in plate of those which had been flut up at the death of the late King.

All the Veffels and Services of Gold and Silver, which belonged to the former linea, fuch as Cups, Jarres, or Goblets of Gold, in which he drank, as also all the Dishes and Plates of his Kitchin, with Cloths, and Jewels, appertaining to his Person, were all buried and interred in the same Grave with him; which absurdity proceeded from an opinion they had, that the Inea would have occasion of such Utensils and Services in the next World. All the other Ornaments of Majesty and State which belonged to the Chambers, Gardens, Baths, and the like, were the Inheritance of the Succession:

All the Wood and Water which was confumed in the *Inca's* Court at *Cozo*, was brought thither by the People of the four Divifions, (called *Tavanninfun*) being the Inhabitants neareft adjacent to the City, that is within fifteei or twenty Leagues about. The Water which they ufed for their beverage, (which in their Language they call *Aoa*) was a fort of heavy water, and fomething brackilh; and indeed they did not much defire a fweet and light Water, for they were of opinion it made them lean, and would not flick by the ribs, but eafily corrupted in the Stomach; for this reafon the *Indians* not being curious in their Waters, did not delight in fountains, or clear Springs; nor indeed was there any good Water near the City of Cozo. When my Father, after the War of Francifeo Hermander, in the Year 1555, and ---56, was Governour of the City, they then brought their Water from *Ticatica*, which water was excellent good, arifing about a quarter of a League from the Town, to the chief Market-place; from whence, as I hear, they have now turned it by a Conduit pipe, to the Square of St. Francifeo; and inflead thereof they have brought another Fountain to that place, of exquilite Water, running with a plentifull ftream.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. V

Of the manner how they Interred their Kings; and that the Obsequies and Rites of Burial continued for the space of a whole Year.

THE Rites of Burial which they performed for their Kings were folemn, and of long continuance. In the first place they embalmed their Bodies with fuch rare Art, that (as we have said before) in the year 1559, they were so firm and plump, that they seemed to be living Flesh. Their Bowels were interred in a Temple, which was situated in the Countrey, called Tumpu, upon the Banks of a River, below Tucay, about five Leagues distant from the City of Coxco, where were many stately Edifices of Stone. Of which Pedro de Cieça speaking in the 94th Chapter of his Book, saith that it was reported for certain, how that in some places of the Palace, or Temple of the Sun, the Stones were joined or cramped with melted Gold, which with the cement they used, were well fixed and consolidated together.

When the Inca, or some principal Curaca dyed, the Servants, who were his greatest Favourites, and the Wives, that were the most beloved by him, did either kill themselves, or offer themselves to be buried alive in the Tomb of their Masters, that so they might accompany them into the other World, and renew their immortal Services in the other Life, which, as their Religion taught them, was a corporeal, and not a spiritual Being; whereby it may appear, that what some Historians write relating to this matter; namely, that they killed the Servants after the death of their Masters, is a mistake; for that would have been a piece of Tyranny, and Inhumanity, above the capacity of humane Nature; for under this pretence one Man might lawfully kill another, and remove him out of the way who was hatefull to him, or stood in opposition to his Designs or Interest. The truth is, they needed no Law or compulsion to enforce them to follow the Fate of their Master; for when he was dead, his Servants crouded so fast after him, desiring death, that the Magistrates were forced sometimes to interpose with their Authority, and persuade them, that for the present their Master had no need of more attendance, but that in due time, when they naturally yielded to their own Mortality, it might then be seasonable enough for them to repair to their Services and Offices in the other World.

The Bodies of their Kings, after they were embalmed, were feated before the Image of the Sun, in the Temple at Cozco, to whom they offered Sacrifices, as to Demons, or Men of Divine Race. For the first month after the death of the Mea, the whole City bewailed their loss with loud cries and lamentations, and every Parish, or quarter of the Town, went out in their several Divisions into the fields, carrying the Trophies of the Inca, his Banners, and Arms, and Garments, and whatsoever was to be buried in the grave with his Bowels; with their sighs and lamentations they mentioned and repeated the mighty Acts that he had done in the Wars, and the good Acts of Charity and Beneficence that he had shewed to them and their Neighbourhood. After the end of the first month, they then commemorated the Death of their Inca, at the Full and New of the Moon, and of continued till the end of the first Year, when they concluded the solemnity with full pomp and state, appointing Men and Women practised in the Art of Cries and Lamentations, who, like excellent Tragedians, acted their parts of fortow in the most formal and passionate manner imaginable, singing the Acts of the dead King in forrowfull Tones and Accents. What we have said hitherto, was the part onely of the Commonalty, besides which the Court and Nobility Personned the Obsequies with as much difference to those of the people, as there

J €

was of Eminence in their condition, and of Wealth and Politeness in the manner

What was practifed in the City of this kind was also imitated in the Countries the respective Curacas stirring up the people to demonstrate by their outward ge. three and actions, their inward forrow and paffion for the death of their lines With these Cries and Lamentations they went to visit all the places within their Province, where at any time their *Inca* had pitched his Camp, or made his abode or residence, though but for a night; and there they all with loud Lamentations repeated the Favours, and Honours, and Benefits that he had performed for them in that place. And thus much shall serve to have said touching the Funeral of the *Incas*, in imitation of which, fomething of this nature was performed in honour of their *Caciques*, of which I remember to have feen fome passages in the time of my infant Years; for in the Province of the Quechnas, I once faw a mal. titude of people gathered in a field, to lament the Death of a Cacique, Carrying his Garments upon Poles, in fashion of Banners, or Ensignes; my curiosity prompted me to ask them what all that noise and tumuli meant; to which they answe red me, that it was the Funeral Lamentation of Huamam-pallpa, for fo they called the deceased Cacique.

#### $\mathbf{V}$ I. CHAP.

Of the General and Solemn Huntings which the Kings made in all parts of their Kingdom.

THE Kings of Peru enjoyed, with their other parts of Greatness and State, certain days appointed for Solemn and General Huntings, called in their Tongue Chacu. And herein it is to be observed, that all forts of Game were forbidden to be killed, unless Partridges, Pidgeons, Doves, or lesser Birds, for the Service and Table onely of the Incas, who were Governours, or of the Curacas; nor was thus much permitted neither, but under a limited quantity, and by command and order also of the Justice.

This prohibition was observed under the same penalties that all other observances of their Law were enjoined, and herein they were rigorous, and fevere, lest Men betaking themselves to the pleasure of the Field, should delight in a continued course of sports, and so neglect the necessary provisions and maintenance of

their Families.

By which strict restraint the Game both of Birds and Beasts was so common, and in abundance, and tame, that they entred even into their Houses; where though they could not kill them, yet howsoever they might affright and drive them out of their Fields and Pastures; for that though the Inca was Master of the Game, yet he loved his Subjects better than to have them prejudiced by Laws which were made for the good, and not for the detriment of his People.

At a certain feason of the Year, after breeding-time was over, the Inca appointed a place for Hunting, where either his own pleasure directed, or where was most convenient for his Affairs, either of War or Peace; and there he appointed 20 or 30000 Indians to encompass all that space of Land, which was defigned for the Hunt; half of whom taking to the Right-hand, and the other half to the Left, were to beat twenty or thirty Leagues round, by the sides of Rivers and brooks and churchy or thirty Leagues round, by the sides of Rivers and brooks and churchy or thirty Leagues round. yers, and Brooks, and through woody and mountainous places, wherefoever the limits and bounds of the chase did extend, but by no means were they to touch or encroach on other Lands, which were laid out for the Hunt of the following year. Thus they went beating and peeping into every bush, and when

they faw or met any game, they hooped and hollowed to give notice thereof to their Companions, and fo marched along till they came fo to straiten the beats on all fides with a narrow compass, that they could come and take them up with

BOOK VI.

What fierce Beafts they encountred, as they beat the Woods and Mountains : fuch as Lions. Bears, Foxes, Mountain-Cats, which they call Ozcollo, as also Serpents and venomous Creatures they killed before they came within the Field. or Gircle of their Hunting. We make no mention here of Tygers, because there were none in those Countries, but onely in the vast and horrid Mountains of Antis. What number of Game they might kill at fuch a Hunting, is uncertain. that happening according to the Countrey, and their fortune; for fometimes they killed twenty, thirty or forty thousand head of Beasts, such as Stags, Fallow Deer. the Huanacu which yields a fort of course Wool, and the Vicuna, which is a Goat with very fine Wool; with many other Creatures, which afforded not onely profit, but foort and pastime in the taking of them. Such in those times was the abundance of their Game; but now it is faid, that fuch havock hath been made by the Guns which the Spaniards use, that there is scarce a Huanacus, or Vicuna to be found; but what are affrighted into the Mountains, and inacceffible places. where no path or way can be made.

All the Game being thus furrounded and encompassed, they took up with their hands. The Female Deer, whether red or fallow, they fuffered to escape, because they had no Wool, but old and barren Does they killed: they let go also as many Males as were thought necessary to serve the Females, and all the telt they killed, and divided their Fleth amongst the Commonalty, likewise having shorn the Huanacus and the Vicuna, they let them escape, keeping an exact account of all these wild Cattel, as if they had been tame Flocks, noting them in their Quipus, which is their Book of Register, distinguishing the Males from their Females in exact and orderly manner. They likewise noted the Number of the Beafts they killed, as well fuch as were fierce and hurtfull, as those that were tame and ufefull, that so knowing the direct Numbers that remained, they might the better fee at their next Hunting feafon, how their stock was multiplied

The course Wool of the Huanacus was distributed amongst the common people; and that of the Vicuna, because it was very fine, was reserved for the Inca, who divided it also amongst the Incas of his Kindred: For besides them, no other upon pain of Death might prefume to wear it, unless in favour; some part thereof was given to a particular Curaca, who upon no other terms could pretend to that honour and privilege. The Fleth of the Humacus and Vicuma was distributed amongst the common people, with whom the Curaeas would vouchsafe to take some part, as also of the Venison; not that they wanted it, but to shew their compliance and familiarity with the people; and that they who laboured in the Hunting, did not form to receive their share of the prey.

These general and solemn Huntings were appointed every fourth Year in the respective Divisions; for the Indians were of opinion, that in such time the Wool of the Vicuna would be at its full growth, and that the wild Cattel would have time to increase; and would be less affrighted at the approach of Men, than if they were every year teased and hunted: Howloever, they hunted in one place or other every year; but with tuch method and order, that the Provinces being divi-

ded into four parts, each division took its turn but once in four years.

In this orderly manner and method the Incas appointed the times of Hunting, as well for the pleature and delight, as for the profit of his people; it being an opinion amongst them, that the Pachacamae, or the God and Creatour of all things, had commanded that the fame care should be taken of the wild, as of the tame Flocks; and that they were to destroy the hurtfull and devouring Beasts, as they were to cut and root out noxious Weeds or Herbs out of their Corn, and Fields that were fown. And fince we observe the order which these Incas directed in their very Huntings, which they called Chacu; how can we doubt, but that thefe people maintained the like in matters of Government, and things of greater importance, and were not so brutish and salvage as the World hath figured them. It is farther to be noted, that the Bezar-stone brought from that Countrey, (in the goodness whereof there is great difference) was taken from some of those wild cattel, which we have before mentioned.

C C 2

According

BOOK VI.

According to the same form and method the Incas, who were Vice-Kines practifed and regulated their Huntings in their respective Provinces, at which they were for the most part perfonally prefent; not onely for pleasure and recreation, but to inspect and oversee the just and due distribution of the Venison ta-

Royal Commentaries.

then, but to infect and overtee the just and due difficultion of the veniion taken in Hunting amongst the common people; and see that those also who were old, or fick, or infirm, should have their share and just proportion.

Unless it were the Collin, the Commonalty in general were so poor in Cattel, that they seldom or never eat Flesh, but what was dispensed to them by the Charity and Beneficence of their Curacus, sunless former times they killed a few tame Conies which they kept and fed in their Houses, called by them Coy: So that the Inca, and the Curacas, took great care, that an equal division should be made a-mongst the Commonalty of all the Venison which was taken in Hunting: the which Fleth they cut out into large flices, (called *Charqui*) and then dried them in fuch manner, that they were not fubject to corrupt; and being abftenious and frugal in their diet, their provision served them for the whole year round, until

the next feafon of Hunting returned again.

In dreffing their Meat, they used all forts of Herbs, whether fweet, or bitter, or fower, or of any quality, but fuch as were poisonous or hurtfull: The bitter Herbs they did usually boil in two or three several Waters, and then dried them in the Sun, and used them at those seasons when green were not to be procured. And fo fond they were of green Herbs, that they would eat the Duck-weed which grows in Ponds; which after they had well washed and dried, they would eat in the feation, as alfo Herbs raw or crude, fuch as Lettuce and Radithes, which were efteemed fubfrantial Diffies, rather than Salads, or Sauces to provoke an appetite.

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Posts, and the Dispatches which they carried.

THE Posts, or Carriers, who were intrusted with the charge of carrying the King's Orders and Commands were called Chasqui; and these also brought the News and Advices to the Court from the most remote Provinces: In settlement of which Pofts, they ordained and appointed four or fix nimble Indian Boys to be laid at the end of every quarter of a League, and lodged under a Stall like that of our Centinels, to defend them from the Sun and Rain. These had the that of our Centineis, to defend them from the Sun and Rain. These had the charge of carrying the Message from one Post to another, and to take their turns in running; and also of fallying out to see or discover at a distance the coming of a Post, that so they might be ready to take his message without loss of time. And these Stalls, or Lodges, were raised something high, and placed with that advantage, that they might be seen at a distance, and not farther than a quarter of a League one from the other; being so much as they said, a Man may be able to true in full breast and strength. able to run in full breath and strength.

able to run in full breath and strength.

The word Chasqui signifies changing, or giving, or taking, for they gave and received their Messages interchangeably one from the other. They were not called Guehr, for that signifies a Message, and, as they used it, an Ambassadour, whom they sent to Sovereign Lords and Princes. The Advices which the Chasqui carried were by word of mouth, for the Indians did not understand Letters: Wherefore the Messages were ordered, and disposed in such thore and concile words, as were easily apprehended and remembred. He that brought the Message, before he came to the Lodge, cried loud, and called out as he ran to give warning of his coming, as our Posts wind their Horn to give notice at the Stage of their near approach; and when he was come, he then delivered his Message to the other Post-boy, repeating the words two or three times, untill he had rightly

rightly understood them, and taken the words to perfectly, as to be guilty of no

If there were any other Meffages, they were committed to writing, and not to word of mouth: Writing, I mean, not fuch as we deliver and express in Letters, but in Knots made up in different threads of various colours, which ferved for cyphers, which were well understood by the Inca and his Governours: For by these Knots and Colours of thread, they specified what number of Souldiers, what Garments, what Provisions, and what other necessaries were to be surnished, and put into a readiness for the service of the Army. These knotted threads which the *Indians* called *Quipn*, were the Cyphers which they used in all their Advices, and the Figures in their Accounts: of which we shall treat more at large in the following Chapter. But as to these Chasqui, or Post-boys, when at any time any extraordinary business was in action, they encreased them often to gen and quick; if at any time an extraordinary occasion happened, they gave their Signal in the day-time to them by making a finoak, and in the night-time by the flame of a Beacon; which being discovered at a distance, it served as a warning to every Stage to have their Posts in a readiness, and to watch night and day for the coming of this Meffage. But there Beacons were never fired but on some great occasion of Rebellion, or Infurrection of a Province, that for the news of it might speedily arrive at Court in the space of two or three hours, though it happen five or fix hundred Leagues from thence; the which ferved to give an Alla-rum untill fuch time as the particulars of the News arrived with greater certainty. And this was the Office and Use of the Chasqui.

## CHAP. VIII.

That they made their Reckonings and Accounts by Threads and Knots; and that the Accountants were Men of great faith and integrity.

Oipu fignifies as much as Knots, and fometimes Accounts; in ordering of which the *Indians* Dyed their Threads with divers colours; fome were of one colour onely, fome of two, others of three, or more; which, with the mixed colours, were of divers and various fignifications. These strings were twisted of three or four Threads, and about three quarters of a Yard in length; all which they filed on another firing in falhion of a Fringe. And by these colours they understood the number and meaning of every particular: By the yellow they signified Gold, by the white Silver, by the red Souldiers and Armies, and so of other things diftinguished by their colours.

But as for other things which could not be so distinguished by Colours, they described them by their order and degrees of quality and goodness: For as we in *Spain* take every thing in their degrees of comparison, so they having occasion to mention Corn, do first nominate Wheat, then Barly, then Pease and Pulse, exc. So when they contribute the contribute of the contrib when they gave an account of Arms; the first mentioned were the most Noble, fuch as Lances, next Darts, then Bows and Arrows, Pole-axes and Hatchets, and fo forward. So when they had occasion to number the people and several Families: The first were Aged Men of seventy years and upwards, then Men of sifty, and the several families are the seventy years and upwards, then Men of sifty, and the several families are the several families. and for of feventy, then of forty; and fo from ten to ten, until they came to fucking Children: The which Order also was kept in numbring their Women.

Then amongst these grosser strings, there were others which were more short, and slender adjoining to them; and these were Exceptions to the other more ge-

neral

BOOK VI.

neral Rules: for in the account made of Men and Women married, there was another string annexed to it, which fignified Widows, and Widowers of such an

age; all which accounts ferved onely for one Year.

These Knots expressed numbers in their several orders, as by units, tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, but seldom went so far as to hundreds of thousands, but in case they should have had occasion to have arrien to so great a number, no doubt but their Language, which is full and copious, would have found words sufficient to express that fum, and the greatest number to which Arithmetick could arrive. All which Accounts were made by Knots on ftrings one underneath the other, and knit on a cord, as the knots are on the Girdle of

At the top of the cord the greatest number was placed, as the tens of thousands. under that flood the thousands, and last of all was the place of the units; all which were placed directly with exactness one under the other, as our good Accounwere placed directly with exactness one under the other, as our good Accountants, well skilled in the Art of Cyphering, are used to set and place their figures. The *Indians* who kept the *Quipus*, or to whose charge the keeping of Accounts was committed, were called *Quipumann*, and were esteemed Men of good reputation, and chosen for that Service, on good assurance and proof of their fidelity and honesty; and though the supplicity of those people in that Age was without any mixture of malice, and that the strictness of the government admitted out any mixture of mance, and that the fifteeness of the government admittee on cheats, or frauds on any fcore whatfoever, yet notwithflanding great care was taken to chufe Men for this work of approved Ability, and of a tried and experienced Faithfulness and Probity. For indeed Offices were never amongst them chosen for favour, nor bought, or fold, because that Money was not current amongst them; but it was Vertue and Merit onely which purchased a Trust and Office: And though buying and felling was not known to them, yet it was ordinary for them to truck or barter their provisions of Food one for the other; but nothing else either of Garments, Houles, or Inheritance.

The Quipucanasus, or Accountants, being honeft and faithfull, (as we have faid) ferved in the nature of Registers, of which there were four at least appointed for every Lineage, or People, how little foever it were; and in case the Country was great, they entertained twenty or thirty; for though one Accountant might have served the turn, yet to avoid all mistakes and frauds, they judged it requi-

fite to constitute many in an Office of such importance.

#### CHAP. IX.

What it was that they fet down and placed in their Accounts; and how they understood them.

A I.L the Tribute that was yearly payable to the *Inca*, was paffed to account, as also what every Family, according to their degrees, and qualities, were to pay. The people likewise which went to the War were numbred; and Bills of Mortality were kept of as many as dyed, and were born, or miscarried by any accident; which were all noted in the months wherein they happened. In thort, they noted every thing that could fall under Numeration, as how many Battels or Skirmishes were fought, how many Ambassadours had been sent to the Inca, and how many Answers the King had been pleafed to return thereunto. But what the fublilance of those Embaffies was, or what were the particulars of the King's Discourse, or what occurrences passed in way of History, were too various to be expressed by the barrenness of their Knots, which served onely for numbers, but not for words, wherefore to supply this defect they framed certain historical Hieroglyphicks, which served for Monuments, in an obscure manner, of what

had occurred in War and Peace; as also of Embassies from foreign Princes, and the feveral Negotiations with them; which Work was the Office of the Quinnmous, who made fome floor and concile Memoir, leaving the reft to the remembrance of the Age, who by tradition conferved the fame to fucceeding Generations: And herein every Province was particularly attent, and carefull to contions: And herein every Province was particularly attent, and careful to conferre the Hiftory of its own Countrey; for on that, and on the Actions of their Ancestours, they much esteemed and valued themselves. The Amantas, or Philosophers, for a farther help to History, did compose certain Novels, or Fa-1 bles, mixed with true passages, which they made so familiar, and easie to the capacity of Children, and common People, that they attentively hearkened to them, and were so pleased with them, that recounting them one to the other in common Discourse, and way of Conversation, they so inculcated them into the minds of the hearers, that the Tale becoming common, was transferred from one Generation to another. The Poets likewise, whom they call *Haravicin*, were great Conservators of History; for they in verse, and in thort and compendious Sentences couched the Actions of their King, fuch as the Embaffies he received. the Answers he gave, the Battels he won, and the Triumphs he celebrated; and the Antwers he gave, the batters he won, and the Triumphs he cerebrated; and that wherein the *Quipus*, and the *Amantus* came fhort, was all fupplied by the fancy of Poets, whole Verfes ferved for Sonnets, and Ballads, which they fang at their Festivals, and on the days of Triumph. All which notwithstanding were faint Representations and imperfect Conservatories of true History, in comparison of the Reports we deliver to faithfull Writings and Letters, which perpetuare of the Reports we deriver to faithful withing and Letters, which perpetuate the memory of Actions to all Ages. Howfoever we may here observe the ingenuity of that people, who assayed and offered at something like our Letters, though it were by Knots, and Novels, and Hieroglyphicks, and Verses; such is the desire of Mankind to perpetuate their Beings in the memory and minds of all Ages.

When any Curaca, or Noble Person, defired to know, and be informed of things passed, and matters occurring in their Provinces, they presently sent to the Quipucamayus to be fatisfied in their demands; and they, or their Under-Officers, who kept the Registers, making search into their Knots and Cyphers, made such

Answers as appeared in their Register.

By the fame Rule, they answered the Enquiries made of Laws, and Rites, and Ceremonies, which were expressed by the colour of their Knots; and of what punishment was inflicted for such and such Crimes.

By the same Rule also they were put in mind of the Sacrifices and Ceremonies which were to be performed at the feveral Festivals, celebrated in honour of the Sun; with what provision was made for Orphans, and Widows, and Poor, and Travellers, and of all other matters which were committed to the cultody of Tradition: For these several Knots ferved to put them in mind of all particulars, which they defired to have remembred; for as we by the number Ten remember the ten Commandments, and by other numbers call to mind the Sacraments, good Works, and Acts of Mercy, which we learn in our Catechism, so these Indians, by these Knots, and Strings, and Colours, remembred more perfectly what their Fathers had delivered to them by Tradition; which they regarded with respect and reverence due to the sacred Conservatories of that Law, and Idolatrous Religion, which they professed; for without this help, having no Writings, they would certainly have been as ignorant of their own History, as the *Spaniards* themselves are, or any other Strangers, or Aliens. The knowledge which I had of their *Quipus*, and Knots, I gained by the means of some Indians, who served my Father, and of certain Caracas, who came every Midsummer and Christmas to the City, to pay their Tribute; and these Curacus desired my Mother that she would prevail with me faithfully to examine their Accounts, and read the Acquittances which the Spaniards had given them, for they were jealous of their actings, and reposed much more confidence in me, than in them; which when I had perufed, and read to them, they compared them with their Knots, and finding them to agree, they remained fatisfied. 'And by this means I came to have some knowledge in their way of Accounts.

Book VI.

## CHAP. X.

The Inca Pachacutec visits several parts of his Empire. and conquers the Nation of Huanca.

THE Inca Viracocha being dead, Pachaentee, his legitimate Son and Heir, fucceeded in the Empire, and having folemnly performed the funeral Rites of his Father, he refided for three Years at his Court, attending to the due adminifiration of his Government. Afterwards he took a progress into all parts of his Dominions, passing orderly from one Province to another; and though the pre-Dominions, paffing orderly from one Province to another; and though the prefence of the *Inca* might feem of no moment, in regard the Lords, and Governous were fo diligent, and faithfull to their truft, that the *Inca*, in all the way he travelled, received no complaints from the people of Aggrievances and Opprefions, laid illegally on them by their Rulers; for the frequent appearance of the *Inca* at certain times, did fo overawe the Ministers, that they were fearfull to act any thing which was not permitted to them by Law or Equity. Moreover the appearance of the *Inca* personally before his Subjects, gave them the opportunity to prefer their Petitions, and offer their Complaints by way of immediate Address, which was much more beneficial to the Subjects, than to have their Aggrievance and because he a bird hand which have foreous or friendship right diffusions. made known by a third hand, which by favour or friendship might disguise the laments, and make Injustices appear less than they were, to the prejudice of the Plaintiffs; and herein fuch care was taken, that never any people, who lived by the mere Light of Nature, and Law of Reason, did ever surpass the equitable proceedings of the *Incas*; which indifferency, and unbiassed judgment, gained them that love of their people, that even to this day, and to many future Ages, will their Memory be sweet and pretious. At the end of three Years this Incareturned again to his City, and left he should seem to spend all his time in Peace and Repose, he judged it convenient to attend at length unto military Exercise, and gain the Reputation of a Souldier by War, as well as of a civil and just Governour in the time of Peace; to this end he raised an Army of thirty thousand Men, with which together with his Brother Capac Tupangni, a valiant Man, and worthy of that name, he marched through all the Division of Chinchasury, untill he came to Villea, which was the utmost extent on that side of their Con-

There he remained himself, whilst he sent his Brother with an Army well surnished with all provisions of War, into the Province called Sausa, which the Spamiards corruptly call Xanxa, which is a most pleasant Countrey, containing about thirty thousand inhabitants, all of the same Lineage and Name of *Huanca*. They boasted themselves to be descended from one Man, and one Woman, which they boalted themletves to be detected from one man, and one woman, which they fay had their Original from a Fountain; they were a fort of fierce and warlike Pople, fleaing those whom they took in the Wars, the Skins of which they filled with Ashes, and hanged them up in their Temples, for Trophies of their Victories; with the Skins of some they made Drums, being of opinion, that the sound of them would terrifie and affright their Enemies. These though they were a small people, yet had well strengthened and fortified themselves, for being all some being the property of the strength of the of one Nation, they united their Interests to encroach on the Lands and Territories of their Neighbours; and to make that good which they had acquired, they fortified themselves in such places of Defence, as were accustomary in those

In the times of their ancient Gentilism before they were reduced under the power of the Inca, they worthipped the Image of a Dog in their Temples, eating the Flesh of Dogs for the greatest rarity and delicacy in the World; so that it is believed their Appetite to Dogs-slesh was the original of their Devotion, which was so great to that Beast; that the most solemn Feasts and Entertainments were

ferved with many Diffies of Dogs-flefh; and to demonstrate their great refuects to Does, they made a fort of Trumpet with their Heads, which they founded for their most pleasant Musick, at times of their most solemn Festivals, and Danfor their more pleasant wanters, at times of their more following and Dancings; and in their Wars they used the same to terrifie and affright their Enemies, for, said they, our God causes these two different Effects by the same Infruments; in us it railes Joy and Delight, and in our Enemies Horrour and Confernation: But all these Superstitions and Errours were quitted, and rooted our by the better Instruction and Rudiments of the Inca; howsoever to indulge their humour fo far as was warrantable, they permitted them in place of Dogs-heads to make their Trumpets with the Heads of Deer, or Stags, or any other Wild-beaft, as they pleafed, which afterwards they used at their Festivals and Balls. and times as they pleated, which atterwards they uted at their Feltivals and Balls, and times of rejoicing; and because the Flesh of Dogs was so extremely pleasing and savoury to them, they gained the Sirname of Dog; that whensoever Fluanca was named, they added Sir-reverence the Dog. They had likewise another Idol, in figure and shape of a Man, which was an Oracle through which the Devil spake, and returned Answers to all Demands, which uttering nothing that was in contradiction or disparagement to the Religion which the Incas protessed, was still conserved, and left undemolished, though the Idol of the Dog was broken the analysis of the still represent the still rep down and confounded.

Royal Commentaries.

This confiderable Nation, and the most kindly affectionate to Dogs, the Incu Capac Tupanqui subdued by fair terms, and presents, rather than by force; for this was always the Masterpiece of the Incas, who made it their Profession to take the Bodies of Men, by captivating first and alluring their Souls and Minds. All things paffing in this manner smoothly with the Huancas, and every thing being settled in peace and quietness, the Inca divided their Nation into three Divisions. the better to divide and superfede the old Feuds and Disputes amongst them, arifing about the Boundaries and Limits of their Land: The first Division they called Sausa, the second Marca viller, and the third Liacsapallanca. The attire of their Heads was ordered not to be altered in the form and manner of it, but differenced onely for diffinction take, by variety of colours. This Province, which anciently was called *Huanca*, was by the *Spaniards*, I know not for what reason, named Huanga villea, without confidering that there is another Province, called Huanca villea, not far from Tumpiz, and three hundred Leagues distant one from the other: This latter is fituate on the Sea-coast, and the former far within the Land; the which we here intimate to the Reader, that so he may know in the perufal of this Hiftory to diffinguish one from the other, that when we shall come to relate many strange occurrences in the Countrey of *Huancavillea*, he may not be confounded by mistaking it for *Huanca*.

CHAP. D d

BOOK VI.

## CHAP. XI.

Of other Provinces which the Inca subdued; of their Manners and Customs, and the severity they used against those who were guilty of Sodomy.

BY the same good policy the Inca Capac Tupanqui allured and invited several other Provinces to submission and Obedience, which extend themselves on both hands of the common road; amongst which the Provinces of principal note and consideration were Turma and Pumpu, which the Spaniards call Bombon, being very fertile Soils, and abounding with all sorts of Fruit. These being allured by fair Words, and Promises, gently submitted to the affable and courteous treatment of Capac Tupanqui; howsoever these people being wastike, and firece by Nature, did not entirely yield to the persuasions of their Enemies, but withstood them in some Battels and Skirmishes, though the Desence they made was readed more faint than was expected, by the Wheedles, and fine Words, and Gist of the Inca.

The Inhabitants of these Provinces of *Turma* and *Pompu*, and the borderers upon them, did in signal of Matrimony, seal the Agreement with a kiss, the Bridegroom kissing the Bride on the Fore-head, or the Cheek. Widows could not marry within the Year, and shore the Hair of their Heads for a sign of Mouning. The Men on their falling days neither ate Flesh, nor Pepper, nor Salt, not accompanied with their Wives: Such as were Priests, or addicted themselves much to religious Worship, fasted the whole Year in this kind of Abstinence.

In this manner the Inca Capac Tupanqui reduced the Provinces of Turma and Pompu, with many others, lying Eastward, near Antis; the Natives of which lived like Salvages, without Order, or Government, or Religion; and as Brute, and Wild-beasts, were dispersed through the Woods and Mountains, killing one the other, as they casually mnet, or encourted, without knowing or affigning any cause or reason for their Slaughters; these Men lived in a state of common War, because they were ignorant of the usefulness of Peace; and having no Lord or Ruler, had consequently no Name, their Countrey being onely distinguished by the Climate or Position of the Place under such a degree, running thirty degrees North and South, and as many East and West. These were with great facility reduced to the Obedience of the Inca; for being a fort of poor simple Animals, which were easily allured by the good was offered them, were willing to embrace the Religion and Manners which were taught them, and to suffer themselves to be carried to any Place or Colony, where the Inca should think fit to transport them. Of these People nothing offers farther, nor of any other Province worthy to be related, until we come to the Countrey of Chucmpu, which was well peopled with a warlike Nation, barbarous and fierce in their Nature and manners; and as an evidence hereof, and in a conformity to this humour, they worshipped a Tyger for their God.

The Fierceness and natural Bravery of this Nation made them to form all proposals of Accommodation, and bid Defiance to their Enemies, so that Gapac Tuponqui being put by his Art of gentle Iufinuations, was forced to have recourse to his Arms, and engaging in several Skirmishes, wherein above four thousand butterns were stain, they at length yielded and submitted themselves to the invincible Prowess and force of the Inea, which yet had not fo great an influence over them, as had the gentle Temper and compassionate Bowels of the Inea; for they being sensible, that when it was in the hand of the Inea to have destroyed, and totally exterminated them, yet even then he used a tenderness towards them, offering them the conditions of an advantageous Peace; with a sense of which being in part overcome, they affented to an Accommodation, receiving the Inea Pachacu-

tee for their fupreme Lord and Mafter, embracing his Laws and Cuftoms, and forfaking their God the Tyger, they were ever after contented to adore the Sun, and live after the manner of his Followers and Worshippers.

This fierce and resolute people having received Conditions and Terms of Peace. and submitted themselves to the Obedience of the Inca, Capac Tupanqui, esteemed his fuccess herein to be a great piece of his Art, and an Effect of his good Conduct, as well as of his Fortune; for had they perfifted in that obstinate resolution off dying as one Man, the destruction and stay permeter in the advantage resolution have blasted that good opinion which the World conceived of the Gentleness and Mercy of the Inca; and on the other side for the Inca, on consideration of Compaffion and good Nature, to have defifted from his Conquelts, and left them free, pannon and good relature, to have defined from the Conquerts, and left them free, would have argued Cowardife, or want of power to fubdue them; fo that ufing force, and fair terms, equally between these two extremes all matters were reconciled, and the Province of *Chucurpu* received into friendship: And so constituting Teachers to instruct them in Religion, and Governours to rule them according to Law; Garrisons and Souldiers were set over them, to constrain and continue them in their Obedience. Thence taking the right-hand from the great Road, with the fame good Fortune and Conduct, he reduced two other Provinces, large and populous, the one was called Ancara, and the other Hunyllan, in which, as in the others, he left Teachers, and Governours, and Souldiers, to keep them in Awe and Obedience. In the Province of Huayllas fome accusations were brought against certain Persons, who secretly practised that abominable sin of Sodomy; which wickedness having not been as yet known amongst the Indians of the hilly Countries, though in the Plains it had some times been secretly practifed, gave fuch a general scandal to all that heard of it, that they detested the Society of the Huayllas, and in common Reproach and Derifton of that Nation would commonly fcoff at them, and fay, Afraya Huayllas, which is as much, as faugh, be gone Huayllas, thou stinkest, and art loathsome; such detestation had the Indians of this fin, though it were acted in fecret, and had already been feverely punished by the Inca Capac Tupanqui; who having performed what we have related, and made sufficient provision for security of his Conquests, which reached seventy Leagues in length North and South; and all the Plains in breadth to the foot of the snowy Mountain, he thought it convenient after three years, fince the time he had departed from Cozco, to return again to the City, where his Brother Pachacutee received him with favour and kindness, commanding the People to rejoyce for the space of a whole Moon, (for the *Indians* make the account of their Months by Moons) and to celebrate their sestival with triumphal sports for the victories obtained.

Dd 2 CHAP.

#### CHAP XII.

Of their Edifices, and Laws, and new Conquests obtained by the Inca Pachacutec.

HE Holy-days or Festivals being over, the Officers of the Army, Curacai and common Souldiers, were rewarded according to their respective degrees and qualities, and merit of their valour; for the Actions of particular Perfons were taken notice of, and as every one fignalized himfelf fo was his Reward. Then did the Inca resolve again after some few months to visit his Dominions which were always pleafed and enlivened with the Bleffing and Favour of his Prefence. In the more famous Provinces where he passed, he commanded rich and magnificent Temples to be erected, wherein the Indians might with the more awe and reverence adore the Sun; and likewise founded Houses for the select Virgins, for thefe two were always Neighbours, and where one was, the other was built by it. This great care which the Incar took to have their Subjects incited in their Devotion, was a farther endearment of them to their Kings; for it made them not onely religious, but gave them the privileges of Naturaliza-tion, and being Citizens of the City of Cozco. Belides these Temples he built Fortreffes and Caffles on the Frontiers, and Royal Palaces in the Vallies, and in the places of best Air and most delightfull situation, and in those parts which were in the common Road and way, at fuch distances as were most convenient for the Inc.s to take up their Lodgings and Refidence, when they travelled or marched with their Army: He also built Magazines, and Store-houses in every Province, for the provision and maintenance of the People in years of Dearth and

He ordained many Laws and Statutes, indulging to every People and Nation their own ancient Cuftoms, in fuch things as did not contradict or interfere with the Religion eftablifted, or oppose the rules of common honesty; by which gentleness the people lived without Tyranny or Compulsion, not being sensible of any unpleasant alteration, but such as tended to their good and benefit, leading them from a bestial to a rational and moral Life, which was the great design and intention of the Incas.

Having in this Vifit and Travails spent three Years, he returned again to Coxos, where having passed some Months in joy and selftivals, he consulted with his Brother, who was his chief Minister, and others of his Council, concerning the entire Conquest of the Provinces of Chinchassy, for there were no other Countries on that side remaining to be subjected to their Dominion; for on the other quarter, towards Antisym, bordering on the snowy Mountain, there was nothing discovered besides Rocks, and Precipices, and inaccessible places.

The Inca, Capac Yupanqui having so well acquitted himself with Prudence and Valour in his late Expedition, it was resolved, that he should again take upon himself the Command and Conduct of the Army, and that his Nephew, called Yupanqui, who was Prince, and Heir apparent, a Youth of about fixteen Years old, should accompany him in the War, it being the custome for young Men of that Age, to take up their Arms, and make their first Campaign; according to the Ceremony practised in Hauran, (as we shall hereaster more particularly Discourse) that so they being initiated, and exercised in military Discipline, and Arts, shight become experienced and valiant Capitains in their more mature years. To this intent fifty thousand Souldiers being levied, and put in a posture of War, the Uncle and Nephew marched with the Van, which was one third of the Army towards the Province called Chnempu, which was the ultimate extent of the Empire on that side.

Thence were the usual Summons dispatched to the Inhabitants of the Province called *Pincu*; who finding themselves in no condition to resist the power which marched against them; and being well informed of the happines of those people, who became Vassals to the *Incu*; they readily accepted the Propositions of Peace, with this Complement, That they rejoiced to receive the Blessings of the *Incu*; protection, and to be numbred with those Subjects who were under his Dominion and Empire. Thus the *Incu*; entred that Province, from whence they sent the like Summons to the Neighbouring Countries, of which *Huarras*, *Piscop.impa*, and *Cunchneu* were the chief. But these, instead of following the example of *Pincu*, unexpectedly took other counsels, and confederating one with the other, resolved to join in the common desence; agreeing to tend this Answer, That they would rather dye, than receive new Laws, new Customs, or a new Religion; for they were so well satisfied with those Gods, which they and their Ancestous had from all Ages served and adored; that they had no need to change them for that specious shew of Religion, by which the *Incu* had allured and decived the Neighbouring Nations, and usurped a Tyrannical Power and Dominion over them.

Royal Commentaries.

Having given this answer, and knowing themselves unable to resist the *Inca* in open Field, they retired to their strong holds and fast places, being resolved to defend the narrow and difficult Passes; and to that end, with all diligence and care, they Victualled their Camp, making the best provisions they were able against a long stees.

### CHAP. XIII.

The Inca fubdues the Rebellious Provinces by Famine, and Strategems of War.

THE General Capac Yupanqui received, without the leaft furprize, this rude and obfinate Answer from his salvage Enemies; for being a Person of great Prudence and Constancy, he had learned how to bear with the same equality, as well the good as unfortunate successes, and not to be moved into passion by the wild and surely Answers of an untaught and immoral people. But not to despise the weakness of an Enemy, which was retired into their strong Holds, he divided his Army into sour Battalions, each of which consisted of ten thousand Men, commanding them to march towards the Fortresses of the Enemy, but not to engage with them, but onely to besiege and straiten them in such manner, that at length being almost familhed, they might be compelled to a voluntary surrender; and that he, with the Prince, would post himself in that advantageous station, as to be ready on all occasions, and emergencies, to administer Succours where his affistence was required. And lest the destruction which the Enemy had made of all provisions, for sustenance of an Army, should occasion great Famine, and scarcity of all things necessary, he commanded that the Neighbouring Provinces should bring supplies, and administer a quantity of all provisions, double to that proportion which was ordinarily appointed.

In this manner Capac Tupanqui being well provided, a most cruel and desperate

In this manner Capac Yupsingui being well provided, a most cruel and desperate War began with great Mortality on both sides; for the Enemy desended themselves and their strong holds with much bravery and courage; and when they perceived the Incas cautious, and backward to attack them, they would then adventure to make their fallies, every Party and Province of them endeavouring to our

vye eath other, and demonstrate its Valour by some signal action.

The Incas all this while remained on the defensive part, resolving to straiten the Enemy by Famine, and sorce them to a surrender by other inconveniencies of War; and when they sound any of the Women, or Children, belonging to the Enemy wandring in the Fields and Countrey, which by reason of weaknets, or sicknets, were not able to keep company with their friends and relations; the Incas took care of them, nourished and carested them, fed them and cloathed them; giving them assurances, that their design was no other, than to better their condition by good and reasonable Laws and Customs, and not to tyrannize over their Persons or Liberties: And then afterwards they gave and permitted them free and safe passage into the quarters of the Enemy; and herein they acted with a kind of Militarry subtilty and policy, knowing that the numbers of useless people were cumbersome to an Army, and served to increase their troubles and necessities; and that the cries of Wives and Children for bread and sustenance would serve to affect the minds of the Husbands and Parents, and sooner move them out of renderness and compassion to them unto a surrender, than bow their fierce and stubborn spirits with sear, or dread of any misery, or death which the Enemy could inflict.

This kindness towards the Women and Children was well taken by the Enemy, but yet did not so far affect them, as to soften their spirits, but rather seemed to ensame and harden them with greater obstinacy and resolution. Untill persisting in this manner for the space of five or six Months, when Famine and Sickness began to rage amongst them; they then casting a compassionate eye on their Wives and Families, entertained those thoughts for their sakes of a surrender, to which otherwise neither fair promises could have allured them, nor Sword, nor Famine, nor Death it self could have affrighted them. But now being mollissed and worked into a more gentle temper, by common consent of the Captains and Souldiers of the respective Forts, they dispatched Ambassadours to the sweat with instructions to ask pardon for the rebellion and offences committed, and to offer themselves for the suture to become Vassals, and obedient to the Empire of

the Inca.

The *Ineas* received this submission with their accustomed elemency and gentleness, treating them with the kindest words they were able to express, exhorting them to return to their people and families; for that by being onely loyal and faithfull Subjects to the *Inea*, they would merit his favour, and cause him to forget their Rebellion, and pass an Act of Oblivion for all that was past.

The Ambaffadours highly fatisfied with this Gratious Answer returned to their people; who being over-joyed with this happy negotiation, received the good news with hearts now revived, having been lately dead, and benumbed with fear and despair: And in compliance with the Commands of the Incar, they immediately repaired to their homes and dwellings, where care was taken of them, and provisions made for the first year wherewith to feed and sustain them; and in regard, that during the time of War, there had neither been sowing nor planting, so that all provisions failed, there was occasion to make use of that double proportion of Victuals, which Capac Tupanqui had providently appointed at the beginning of the War: Bestides which, such Officers were ordained as were required for administration of. Justice amongst them, and to oversee the Revenue, and instruct them in matters of their Idolatrous Religion and Worthip.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the good Curaca Huamachucu; and in what manner he was reduced.

THE bug proceeding forward, after his Conquest arrived at the Confines of that Province, which was called Humanchieu, where lived a certain great Lord of the fame Name, efteemed for a Person of profound judgment and prudence; to him therefore he dispatched his usual Summons, offering terms of Peace and Friendfhip, provided that he would receive fuch Laws, Customs and Religion, as should advance and improve his Countrey to a more happy and bleffed condition: For the Nation which he governed was a barbarous and cruel people. abominable in their manners and facrifices Worthipping Stocks and Stones, efficcially fuch as had brightness and lustre with them: the Jaspar was esteemed a God, and all the pebles near banks of Rivers, which had any variety of colours, were efteemed to have fomething of Divinity in them, and therefore they carefully gathered them, laid them up in their Houses, and Worshipped them. Their Sacrifices were of Humane bloud, living in the Fields and Mountains, under theds. like brute beafts, without rule or order. All this falvage manner of living, the good *Huamachucu* endeavoured to reform; but the fear he conceived of this wild people suppressed the defires he had long entertained, until he was encouraged by the message sent him from t'.e. theat. And then being ready to put the conceptions he had formerly sigured to himself of a Moral and Rational life into practice, did with a deep fenfe of joy entertain the Meffengers of the *Luca*, telling them how pleafed he was, that the Dominion and Empire of their Mafter was extended to the Confines of his Province: For having heard fuch an admirable report. and description of their Laws and Religion, he had long defired the Government of the Inca, and to be enrolled in the number of his Vaffals; but in regard he lived amidit a barbarous people, and furrounded with Neighbours, who were Enemies to the *Inca* and his Empire, he durft not adventure to thew his affection thereunto, or own the honour and obedience he fecretly entertained towards the Person and Laws of the Inca: And that therefore since he had now means and opportunity to make his inclinations known, he befeeched the Inca gratiously to receive these late demonstrations of his duty, with the same favour and compassion fion as he had done to other *Indians*, who lived under the happy influence of his beneficence and direction.

The Prince Tipmqui, and the General his Uncle, being invited by these expessions of Humachueu, marched into his Countrey; at the entrance into which, the Ciraca met them, with such Presents as his Countrey afforded, offering them is People and Estate to serve them; and putting himself into an humble posture before them, worthipped them with such devotion, as was due to the Children and Offspring of the Sun. The General received him with his accustomary savour and elemency, returning him thanks for his affection and good-will; and the Prince bestowed several Garments on him and his relations, and his companions with him, of such fort and sincenses, as were worn by himself and his Father; affuring him of the great esteem which the Inca had for his Perion, in consideration of the service he had done him by that voluntary and free furrencer; the which was made good by the Inca Pachaentee, who conceiving a particular kinders and affection for this Humanehueur and his Family, enobled them af-

terwards with Titles of Honour and Dignity.

The Ceremonies and Rejoicings at this Reception being paft, the great Curaca Huamachucu defired the General, that he would be pleafed to modelize and reform with all expedition the corrupt and falvage manners of his State, and to befrow upon them other Cultoms and Religion in place of those bestial and ridiculous

CHAP.

practices which were observed amongst them; for they being now his Vassak he might exercise an absolute and despotical Power over them, they being ready to hear and receive all the Commands and Rules which the Sun and his Children should enjoin them. According to these desires the Inc. in the first place commanded that the people, who were differfed through the Countries under sheets and trees, should be gathered into a Political society, and live like Citizens in friendship and amity together, in a Town regularly built with Streets, and fitnate in fuch a Countrey as was both fruitfull and pleasant. Then he commanded that Proclamation should be made, that they should own and worship no other God but the Sun, and that the pebles and shining stones which they kept in their hou-fes for divine Worship should be thrown into the streets; and for better govern-ment and instruction of this people, Governours and Teachers were appointed and fet over them.

#### CHAP. XV.

The People of Cassamarca make some resistence, but are at length subdued.

ALL these things being performed and established according to the desire of Huamachucu, the Incas proceeded forward in their Conquests; and being arrived on the Confines of Cassanarca, (which was a place famous for the impriforment of Arabaalpa) being a rich and fruitfull Province, and the people flour and warlike; they dispatched their usual Summons by a Herald, requiring them to yield themselves on terms of peace and friendship.

The people of Cassanarca having long observed the progress of the Incas, and

the motion which their Arms had made towards them, had already provided for a War, having possessed the strong Holds and Passes of the Countrey, and furnished them with Victuals, and Ammunition of War; and in confidence of such fecurity, returned a proud answer of defiance to the Incas, giving them to understand, that they would neither accept of new Gods, nor new Laws; nor a Stranger, or Foreigner, for their King; but would adhere to those ancient Statutes and Religion, which were known to them and their Ancestours; and rather than relinquish them, to embrace Novelties, they were resolved to dye, and undergoall the miseries which a cruel and enraged Conquerour could inflict. With this Anfwer Tupanqui being provoked, entred boldly into the Confines of Cassamarca, where the Natives, like a brave and hardy people, manfully opposed themselves against him in all dangerous and difficult passes, being resolved to dye or overcome. The Inca, though unwilling to engage, out of a desire he had to spare the efficiency of the Inca, though unwilling to engage, out of a desire he had to spare the efficiency of the Inca, though unwilling to engage, out of a desire he had to spare the efficiency of the Inca, though unwilling to engage, out of a desire he had to spare the efficiency of the Inca, though unwilling to engage the incapation of the Inca, though unwilling to engage the incapation of the Inca, though unwilling the incapation of the Inca, though unwilling to engage the incapation of the Inca, though unwilling to engage the Incapation of the Incapat fion of bloud, was yet forced fometimes to fight, that he might gain possession of the most difficult passes; in defence of which, the Enemy combating with all their might, many were flain on one fide and the other; nor did they fometimes refuse Battel in the open Field; but in regard the Conduct and Numbers of the Inca was more excellent and great, than that of the Enemy, they were forced to retreat into the Mountains, and Rocks, and fast places; from whence making oftentimes their Sallies, great flaughters did ensue. Thus was the War continued for the space of four Months, because the Incas were unwilling to take advantages entirely to destroy them, but rather to suffer, and weary them out, untill their fury and mettle began to abate: During all which time, the Incas used their accustomary lenitives, endeavouring to win them with all fair and mild treatment; for as many as they took in War, they released; such as were wounded, they healed and cured, and then fent them away; affuring them, that so often as they took them, they would use them with the same compassion, being never wearied

with doing good; for that was the profession of the *Incas*, and was their method to overcome by Mildnels and Beneficence, rather than by Tyranny and Oppression; the Women and Children which they found in the Mountains and Caves, after they had fed them, and treated them with respect, and gentle terms, they fent away, that so they might relate the courteses they had received, and persuade their Fathers and Husbands not to perfift longer in their Opposition and Rebellion

Royal Commentaries.

against the invincible Family of the Sun-

These and such like Instances of kindness being frequently repeated during the whole course of the War, began to operate on the rude and fierce disposition of this People, whose hard and obdurate temper being a little softened, it was obvious and plain to them, that it could be no unhappy condition to fall into the hands of fuch, who being incited by a thousand provocations to destroy them, did not onely feek ways to preferve and keep them from utter ruine, but how also to bestow benefits, and even also against their own Will to shew them mercy. They considered also that the power of the Inca did daily increase, as theirs did diministration nilh, and that Famine and the Sword were evils inevitable. Wherefore confulting with their Curacas upon these difficulties, they concluded and agreed to receive the conditions offered them by the Inca, rather than perilli out of an obstinate and perverse humour. Upon this resolution they dispatched their Ambassadours to the Inca, confessing the Faults and Errours they were guilty of, in so long oppoing and trying the Patience of the *Incat*, whose Generosity could not be parallelled by any of humane Race; and therefore confessing them to be of the lucid family of the Sun, they with all humility begged to be received into the num ber of their Vassals; and that both the Prince, and the General his Uncle, would be pleased to intercede with the Majesty of the Imperial Inca in their behalf, that fo he would condescend and youchsafe to own and receive them for his Subjects.

Scarce were these Ambassadours come into the presence of the Inca, before the Curaca Cassamarca, and his Nobles resolved to go themselves, and personally demand Pardon for their Offences; and accordingly appearing before the General, they prostrated themselves after the most humble fashion of their Countrey, repeating in substance the same words which their Ambassadours had uttered. The Inca Capac Tupanqui gratiously accepted this Address, encouraging them with great affurances of the Inca's Pardon and Favour; and that he would be as kind and tender of them, as he was of his other Subjects; and for the opposition they had already made, and the acts of Hostility committed during the time of War, they should never more be called to remembrance, provided that they continued obedient, and by their Services and Duty performed and endeavoured to deferve those benefits which the Sun had encharged unto his Children to communicate unto fuch who willingly and without compulition yielded themselves and their people faithfull and loyal Subjects to the *Inca*, which being said, the *Curaca* and his followers bowed themselves, and worshipped, saying, that their Generosity and Heroick Actions deservedly entitled them to an universal Dominion over all others, and gave a clear evidence of their undoubted Descent from the Sun, and Extraction from fomething else than humane Race. After which they were difmissed, and returned to their own Habitations.

#### CHAP. XVI

Of the Conquest of Yauyu; and of the Triumph celebrated in honour of the Uncle and Nephew.

THE General was much pleased with this Conquest, and considering the fruitsulness of the Soil, and pleasant situation, he esteemed it the best Flower he could add to his Brother's Crown, and therefore most worthy to be improved; to which end, he directed that the scattered Cottages, should be reduced into a Town, in which the people might live in a more comfortable and man litical Society. That a Temple should be erected to the Sun, and a House for the felect Virgins, the which were afterwards fo well endowed, and adorned by the Magnificence of succeeding Princes, that they became the most renowned the Magnineence of increeding Princes, that they became the most renowing and famous Edifices of all *Peru*. Moreover Teachers were appointed to inftrud them in the Rules of their Idolatrous Worfhip, and Governours, and Magifirates fet over them to precide in civil matters; Officers were also ordained to gather the fruits belonging to the Sun, and to the Inca; befides Engineers, and Workmen for making Aqueducts, and draining Lands; and lattly, Guards were quartered in their Country, to secure the Peace, and conserve them in Ob-

All which being performed and established; they resolved to return to Coco. but by the way to foend a little time in reducing a corner of Land, which they had left behind, for which being out of the way, they had not touched at it in their march outward. This Province was called Tanyn, the Countrey was mountainous, and rocky, and the people warlike; howfoever it being concluded that twelve thousand Men were sufficient for this Atchievement, the rest of the Anny was difinified, that they might not be haraffed and wearied with unnecessary Marches. Being arrived on the Confines of this Province, the usual summons

were dispatched, offering them terms either of War or Peace.

The Tauytines entred into confultation upon the matter of these summons, and in debate thereupon divers opinions arose; some were stout and obstinate, and were ready to dye in desence of their Gods, and their ancient Customes; but o thers, of more cool and prudent temper, refuted the rafhness, and folly of such resolution, considering that they were already surrounded by a puissant Enemy, whom other greater Provinces than theirs were not able to relift, nor their Gods to defend them. That the Clemency and Wisedom of the Incas was amiable, and fuch as ought to move them to defire, and embrace rather than decline their Government: With which confideration they unanimously concluded on a surrender, the contrary course threatning nothing but entire ruine and desolation; so that this more moderate counsel prevailing, they unanimously received the mean with solemn Festivals and Rejoicings; and the Incae in return vested their Carrent, with Joienn Fettivais and Kejoicings; and the *Inc.u* in return velted their *Curacu*, and Nobles, with Garments of the finett fort, called *Compi*, and the Commonalty with *Avafca*, which was of a courfer thread, all concluding to the general fatisfaction of that people, who were overjoyed and proud to become the Subjects of fo gratious, and powerfull a King. Officers and Governous being here appointed and established, according to the usual Stile and Custome; the *Inc.u* returned to *Cozco*, whence the *Inc.a Pachacutec* went out to meet his Son and Brother, and conduct them to the Civil commonding that they found that the corridation in the commond of the corridation in the commond of the corridation in the conduct them to the Civil commond that the corridation is the conduct them. conduct them to the City; commanding that they should be carried in triumphal Chairs on the Shoulders of some People belonging to the late conquered Provinces, and received with all the joy, and festivity, which was due to the solem-

nity of that day.

The feveral Nations which lived in the City, and the Curaca which prefided the feveral orders, with different inftruments of Drums, and Trumpets, and Cornets, present themselves after the fashion of their

Countrey, chanting out the Songs which they had composed in honour and praise of the mighty and excellent Actions performed by the General Capac Yupanqui, and his Nephew the Prince, by whole happy beginnings his Pather conceived entire fatisfaction and hopes, that he would one day answer the desires and expectations of his Subjects. After the Citizens the Souldiers followed in their ranks and orders, according to their Companies and Divisions; finging also the Songs which they had composed in praise of the Heroick Actions of their Inc. 15. making their Valour, and Conduct, and Excellencies, the fubject of their Sonnets, adjoining thereunto Panegyricks in commendation of their Piety, Charity, Liberality and Magnificence towards their Captains and Souldiers, filling up the burthen of their Songs with the Names of the Uncle and Nephew, adding Titles unto them, and Dignities which their Vertues and brave Actions had acquired. After the Souldiers followed the *Incas* of the Bloud, all armed with the fame fort of Weapons, as well those who had remained at home, as those who had been at the War; all being equally to share in the Booty and Honour; the Merits of those who had presided over the Civil Government at home, being no less esteemed than the hazards and labours of those who adventured abroad.

Amide the best was the General and his Nephew furrounded, and after them came the Inca Pachacutec, mounted on his Chair of Gold, in which order they proceeded to the facred Limits and Verge of the Temple, where the Incas alighting, took off their Shoes, and all, excepting the *lnea*, who was Emperour, walked barefoot to the Gate of the Temple; at which place also the *lnea* himself with bare feet, attended onely by Incas, entred in and worthipped; and having given thanks for the Victories obtained, they all returned to the publick Marketplace, where they celebrated the Festival, with Songs and Dances, with Eating and Drinking, which was their best entertainment on those days of merriment. In their Dancings they observed this order to avoid consustion. That every Nation according to their Seniority and Place took their turns in Dancing after the mode and fathion of their Countrey, whilft their Servants beat the Drums, and other Instruments, joining in the Chorus at the end of every period. Those who had performed their Dances drank one to another, and then arose and danced again, in such manner, as this pastime interchangeably continued for the whole day. And in this manner was the Ceremony and folemnity of their Triumphs observed, for the space of a whole month; which we have here described more particularly on occasion of the Victories which Capac Tupangui had obtained; being then folemnized with the most order and magnificence.

CHAP E e 2

#### CHAP. XVII.

Two Vallies are subdued: with the proud and insolent Answer of Chinca.

A Fter the Festivals were finished, the Incas passed three years in peace and repose; dedicating their time to the administration of Justice and adornment of the Empire, improving the Provinces with Fountains and Aqueducts, and stately Edifices. After such time that the Souldiers had taken their repose, another War was agreed and concluded to be carried on towards the Plains, or Low-Countries, not having on that side extended the borders of the Empire, farther than to Nanasca; for this design thirty thousand Men were designed to be raised, and immediately to be dispeeded for this Conquest; and in regard these Vallis were very unhealthfull, and sickly for the camp; it was resolved at a Council of War, that another Army of thirty thousand Men should be raised, which every two months was to relieve the other, and so interchangeably take their turns and hazards in that unwholsome Air, which to the Natives themselves was almost pessed to the contraction of the contraction of the Politaria.

The Armies being raifed, the *Inca Pachaentee* commanded, that thirty thousand Men should quarter in the neighbouring parts, so as to be ready for the Invasion, and relief of the Guards at the times appointed; and with the first Army he with his Son the Prince, and Brother Tupunqui proceeded by short marches to the Provinces called Rucana, and Hatum-rucana, resolving there to fix his Court, as the most convenient place near the confines, whence at all times he might be in a readiness to give the Succours which the War required, and apply those arts which were agreeable to Peace. In the mean time the Incas, who were his Son and Brother, proceeded towards Nanasca, and being arrived there, they dispatched their usual Summons to the People, who live in the Valley of Yea, lying northward from Nanasca. The Natives desired time to communicate, and consider together concerning the Proposals offered them, who after they had held a consultation which admitted of some debate; they resolved to receive the Inca for their Lord and Master, being thereunto the rather moved from the report they had heard of the gentle Government of the Incas, and which they had already, by reason of the Neighbourhood with Nanasca, in part known and tried. By this Example the Natives likewise of the Valley of Pisco submitted, though their ill Neighbours of the Valley of Chicha endeavoured to corrupt and alienate their Minds from Obedience to the Incas, by promises to enter into a League and mutual Confederacy with them; but they being sensible that their united strength was not able to defend them from the prevailing power of the Incas, resolved to take the secure, and faving course of Submission, and accept the Laws, Customs, and Religion of the Incas, promissing to adore the Sun, and esteem all other Gods vain and Idolatrous, but such onely as the Incas should impose upon them.

This Vale of Tea, is a fertile and fruitfull foil, as are all those other low Lands and Vallies, and therefore esteemed worthy to be improved by the Power and Industry of their Kings, in order whereunto they erected a fair Aqueduct, whereby the waters were conveyed from the highest part of the Mountains by a plential stream; the which naturally running from the East, they with art turned to the West, by bringing the Current to fall into a Chanel which received the Rains in the Winter, which being dried up in the Summer, all those Plains became burnt, and scorched up for want of moisture, which was afterwards supplied by the great convenience and benefit of these new Waters; so that their Tilage and Lands were improved thereby, that ever after the People lived with great ease and abundance; which when the conquered hims, and those not as yet subdued, had seen and proved, they became Admirers of the \*Incar Finpire\*, and desirous to be numbred with the Subjects to it, that so they might lay claim to a share of

those bleffings, which the vigilance and ingenuity of the Inca bestowed on his

It is here to be noted, that the *Indians*, who inhabited along the Coast for the space of almost 500 Leagues, extending from *Tragillo* to *Tarapaca*, which is the atmost border North and South of *Pern*, generally adored and worshipped the Sea for God, (unless it were some petty Idol, or diminutive God, which was peculiar to the Province) by reason that the Sea fed and sustained them with Fish for their nourishment, and threw up vast quantities of Pilchards, with the Heads of which they dunged their Lands, (as we have said before) by reason of which benefits they gave it the Name of *Mamacocha*, or Mother-sea. They likewise adored the Whale for its vast bulk and bigness; and some Provinces adored this, and others that fort of Fish, as they were most plentifull, and yielded most benefit to the Natives. This was, in short, the Idolatrous Religion of the *Tamcas* before the times of the *Imeas*, or that they came to have Rule and Dominion over them.

The Vallies of 26a and Pisco being thus reduced, the Incas dispatched their Summons to the great and powerfull Valley of Chincha, (so called from Chinchassum, which is one of the four quarters into which the Incas divided their Empire) requiring them either to pay their Obedience to the *Inca Pachacutec*, who was a Child of the Sun, or otherwise to prepare themselves for War, and defend their Cause and Countrey with their Arms: But the people of Chincha confiding in their Numbers, and puffed up with an opinion of their bravery, and skill in War. returned an answer of Defiance; that they would neither receive the Sun for their God, nor the *Inca* for their King; that the Sea was the Deity, which they had most reason to Adore, in regard it supplied them with Fish for their nourishment. and was in other particulars and inftances the most usefull and beneficial; whenas the Sun on the other fide (corched their Countrey, and parched and tormented their Bodies; fo that they wished rather to live remote from him, than to be troubled with the inconveniences of his Neighbourhood; that perhaps he might be a more proper God for those who inhabit the cold Climates under the frozen Zones; but as to themselves, his Rays and Presence were offensive. That as to the King, they had a Natural Prince of their own, whom they loved, and would not part with for all the race and lineage of the Sun; and for their Arms, they were always ready to be employed against those who provoked their Passion, or instinged their Liberty, or invaded their Countrey or despised their Gods; the chief and principal of which was called Chincha Camac, who was the Maker and Confervator of Chinea, a God to powerfull, that the hear would doe well to confider how they provoked or injured the King of Chineha, who was supported by the Providence of that powerfull God. The Natives of this Countrey do likewife much avail themselves on a Tradition, that their Forefathers came from a far Countrey, (though they do not fay whence) under the Conduct of a valiant and religious General, by force of whose Arms they conquered that Countrey, by deftroying all the people, which were the natural Inhabitants of it not suffering one of them to survive, because they were a vile and brutish Race; befides many other brave Actions, which they recount of their Fore-fathers.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Obstinacy which the People of Chincha shewed; and how they were at lenoth reduced.

THE Incas, heated with the distain of this Answer, proceeded towards Chin-cha, and the Curaca, or Lord, called by the same Name, with a considera-ble band of Men as readily marched to encounter them, and skirmished with them in the Valley; but the Sand and Dust was so great, that the Armies could not remain long engaged; wherefore the Yuncas retreated to take possession of a País, at the entrance to which, though they opposed the Incas, yet so faint was the refiftence which they made, that they gave ground and admission to the Enemy to lodge, and take up their quarters within the place which they endeavoured to defend: All which was performed with fignal courage, and with bloud and wounds on both fides; the Yuneas labouring to defend their Countrey, and the

Incas to enlarge and advance their Dominion.

214

During these many days of Skirmishes and Defiance, the Incas did not omit their invitations and perfuafions to prefer terms of Peace, before the cruelties and extremities of War; but all to little purpole, for the *Timeas* continuing oblinate in their resolutions, and being of opinion that the heat of the Sun would at length constrain the Enemy, accustomed to a more moderate climate, to relinquish their defign; refused all propositions of Peace, rather shewing themselves every day more averse and rebellious on confidence of these hopes and expectations: Notwithflanding which, the *beast* ftill maintaining the ancient principles, and conflant practice of gentleness and moderation, did not take the advantage they might have done on many occasions, to the destruction of their Enemies; but rather endeavoured to weary them out, and by long patience work them into a more pliable temper; for continuation of which, at the end of two Months, the Army which was appointed to relieve the other, was commanded with all diligence to march, and take the place of those who had preceded them, before the heat of the Countrey had produced Calentures amongst them, or any other diseases incident to the bodies of Men unaccustomed to excess of heat.

The Officers halfning the March of the Army, with all expedition possible they arrived in a few days at Chincha, where the General Tupanqui stayed to receive them, and difinifs the former Army, which he ordered to be lodged and quartered in fuch Neighbouring places, as to be near and ready to relieve the Guards another time, if the obstinacy of the Enemy should protract and delay the accomplishment of their subjection. The Prince departed with the Army which was relieved, for better security and conservation of his health.

The War being renewed by exchange of Forces, the General befieged and fraitned them, as close as he was able, destroying their Harvest and Fruits, and hindering all Provisions from coming to their Camp: He also cut off their Chanels of Water, fo that they could not refresh their Fruits and Plantations; every thing being burnt, and footched up, but what they had already reaped, and gathered in 3 and this was the greatest misery that afflicted the Timeas, whose Countrey being exceeding hot, was not capable to produce any Fruit but what was watered every three or four Days.

The Tincas grew now more fensible of their lost condition, for finding their flreams of Water to be cut off, and themselves straitned in the narrowness of their quarters; and being disappointed of the hope and expectation they once conceived, that the Heat of the Countrey, and the ill Air, would conftrain the Incas to quit and abandon it; and, on the contrary, perceiving the policy of their Government, that by relieving and exchanging their Guards, they were enabled to continue the War, they began to abate fomething of their pride and confidence; but were not as yet so humbled, as readily to submit without trying the utmost

extremity: For in this posture of War they persisted for the space of two Months longer, refusing all proposals of Peace, though tendred to them every eight Days bings, friam an appoining them with Arms in their hands, in deliping to Famine, and Sword, and all the inconveniences of War; imploring in the mean time with earnest devotion, and vows, the affistence of their God Chincha Camaca to whom the Women especially directed their prayers, and with tears and facri-

fices begged his protection and deliverance of them.

It is observable that the *Indians* of this famous Valley of Chincha adored an Idol. which they called Chincha Camac, fashioned after the form of Pachacamac, or the unknown God, whom (as we have faid before) the *Incas* spiritually, or mentally, adored: for they taking notice, that the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Valley had erected an Idol, named Pachacamac, which fignifies the Sustainer of the Universe, and dedicated a Temple to it; did after their example mould another Idol after fimilitude of the former, giving it the Name of *Chinchacamac*, or the Sustainer, or Protector of Chincha; for the other denomination being Universal, seemed in their fancy, of fuch a valt extent, that the God, who had so great an employment, as the care and conservation of the Universe, could not be at leisure to defend them, or think fo narrow a corner, as Chincha, worthy his trouble or concernment; wherefore that they might gain a more peculiar Deity, and fuch as they might appropriate to themselves, they figured a *Chincha cannae*, or a Domestick God, by whose favour and power they promised to themselves succour and

deliverance from their Enemies.

The Incas all this while patiently endured the teadiousness of this War, and the obstinacy of their Enemies, who could not as yet provoke them to destroy them utterly, though policy of War and necessity compelled them to straigen, and diffrest them as far as they were able. At length Capac Tupanqui having observed the observed that refolution of the Enemy, and that he lost both time and reputation by a terrapus attendance on their pertinacious humour; and considering that this gentleness and mercy towards the Enemy, might be converted into a cruelty towards his own Subjects, in cafe that long delays, and protraction of time, should produce a fickness in the Camp, as was much to be feared from the violent Heats, and unwholfome Air: Wherefore to avoid, and prevent this danger, he difpatched a Messenger to them; acquainting them in express terms, that having already complied with the compassionate and tender Instructions of his Brother the Inca, by his long forbearance of them; he fent now to let them know, that he gave them eight days to yield, and furrender themselves; in which space of time. in case they submitted, they should then be pardoned, and received to mercy; and if they refused, that they should no longer expect compassion, or quarter, for that he was refolved to put them all to the Sword, and people their Countrey again with a new Colony and Nation more wife and obedient to the Inca: which message being delivered, he ordered the Heralds to return without attending for an answer.

The Yuncas being terrified with this positive message, apprehended that the just rage of the Incas might reasonably transport them to an execution thereof; for that the Incas having received fuch bad returns for all the pity and gentleness they had shewn towards them, no other forbearance could be now expected; and confulting their present state of famine, and want, and other incommodities of War, they took a resolution to send their Ambassadours to the Inca to implore his pardon, and that he would vouchfafe to receive them for his Subjects, promifing to exchange the rebellion and obstinacy they had used, into a faithfull and loyal Obedience to the Inca; the day following the Curaca, accompanied with his Kindred and Nobles, went to kis the hands of the Inca, and personally make tender of

their Duty and Obedience.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XIX.

Of the Ancient Conquests, and vain Rodomontadoes, of the Chinchas.

THE Inca much fatisfied with this fubmiffion, congratulated with the Chinala Chincha the happines of the enfuing Peace, whereby an end was put to the miseries of a bloudy War, which was destructive to his people: And speaking kindly to this great Commander of the Tancas, affured him of pardon from his Brother the Emperour; and because he perceived him to be much dejected and afflicted for his fault, he encouraged him with many kind and obliging expressions, telling him, that the King his Brother was a gratious and mercifull Prince, who never recalled to memory the enmity shewn him at first, provided that having once submitted, and acknowledged him for their Lord, they did never as terwards return to their rebellion: And as an evidence of savour and acceptance, he commanded, that Vestments should be given them of the finest fort; and so all concluded in a mutual satisfaction.

These Indians of Chincha boast much of this resistence they had made against the Incas, pretending that they repelled them twice, because they reckoned the exchange of the first Army with the second to be a kind of retreat. The report also, that the Incas were many years before they could conquer them take they submitted upon conditions and promises; and that they were won rather by gifts and presents, than subdued by force of Arms. Thus was the mild usage and treatment which the Incas shewed to them, interpreted for a sign of their own Valour and Courage; whenas, in reality, the power of the Incas was fogreat in those days, that they could with facility have subdued them, had they in earnest applied their Strength, and Military Art, in that Conquest: but Men have liberty to talk of the Mighty Actions of former times, and of their Ance.

flours, without offence to any in the prefent Age.

They report farther of themselves, that before they were Subjects to the Inca, they were of that power, and Martial disposition, that they made frequent such floors into the Neighbouring Countries, from whence they carried Spoils and Trophies of Victory; that they were so dreadfull to those who inhabited the Mountains, that those people, for sear of them, deserted their Countrey, and that they often came as far as the Province of Collis. All which appears to be falls, because these Tuncas are naturally a fluggish and dull Nation, and not given to labour, or travel, and therefore it is not probable, that they would undertake a March of almost 200 Leagues, through greater Provinces, and more populous than their own. And that which makes this report still more improbable is. That the Tuncas, being (as we have said) born in a very hot Countrey, where it never Rains, and where consequently the noise of Thunder is never heard; are so affrighted with the sound, and claps of it, so often as they enter into the Hilly-Countries, that with consternation and terrour they return into their own Climate; and therefore it is not credible they should adventure into Mountains where the voice of Thunder is often heard, and which their ignorance made so horrible and affrighting to them.

Whilst Trapagui employed himself in Establishing the Government of Chineha, and putting all things into the best order and posture he was able; he gave intelligence to his Brother of the success of his proceedings, desiring him to relieve the Army, which remained then on Duty; by exchange for another, that so he might proceed in the entire conquest of the Timeas. And whilst he was thus setting the Government in Chineha, and imposing new Laws and Customs on them; Informations were brought him against certain persons gullty of Sodomy, to which sin that Courtey was much addicted: All which he took, and condemned, and burned alive; commanding their Houses to be thrown down, their Inheritances to be destroyed,

their Trees rooted up, that so no steps or marks might appear of any thing which had been built, or planted by the hands of Sodomites, and that their memory, as well as their actions, might be abolished; with them they destroyed both their Wives as their actions, might be about the market may seem unjust, was yet an evidence of

and Children, which feverity, though it may feem unjust, was yet an evidence of that abhorrence which the *Incas* conceived against this unnatural Crime.

Some time after this Conquest the *Incan*-Kings honoured, and enobled this valley of *Chincha*, with a famous Temple dedicated to the Sun, with a House also for the Select Virgins; it contained about thirty thousand souls, being one of the most pleasant and delightfull Vallies of *Pern*. The Actions and Exploits of the *Inca Pachacute* were many and various, though his Conquests for the most part were performed in the same manner; wherefore to divert the Reader with some varieties, we shall now intermix our Discourse with two principal Festivals which the *Incu* celebrated with the greatest solemnities, and then we shall return again to the Life and Atchievements of this King.

## CHAP. XX.

Of the principal Festival of the Sun; and in what manner they prepared themselves for the Celebration of it.

THE principal Festival was called Raymi, which sounds, or at leasts signifies as much with them as Pascha, (which with us in English is Easter) amongst the four Festivals, celebrated by the Incas in the City of Cozco, which was the Metropolis of their Religion, (as Rame is to us) none was observed with that solemnity, as this which they called Ynip Raymi, held in the month of June, in honour of the Sun, soon after the Summer Solstice; and if they attributed this name of Raymi to any other Feast, it was in reserence, or as it depended on this chief Festival.

This Solemnity was performed to the Sun, under Notion of the Supreme, Sole and Universal God, by virtue of whose Heat and Light all living Creatures were generated and sustained. At which also they commemorated their first Father Inca Mineo Capac, and Coya Mama Occlo, his Wife and Sister, owning and acknowledging them to be descended from the Sun, and sent by him into the World for the common benefit of Mankind. For which important Reasons this Festival being esteemed the most solenn, all the principal Captains and Commanders of the Army, and Curacas or Lords of Provinces, assembled themselves at Cozco to celebrate this Feast; not that it was of Precept or Injunction, but out of mere Devotion to the Sun, and respect to the Inca. In case any Curaca or Officer were hindred by Age, or Instrinty, or by any distant Employment in service of the Inca, he then sent his Son, or his Brother, or some other Relation, to affist at this Function in his Name and Place; nor did the Inca esteem himself excused from this personal attendance, unless the War, or remote Visits of his Kingdoms obliged him to be absent.

At the first Ceremonies the King, as High-Priest, did always administer; for though there was another High-Priest, of the same legitimate Bloud, being a Brother or Uncle of the *Inca*, to whom it properly belonged at other times to officiate; yet this being the chief of all the Festivals, was ever graced and honoured by the administration of the *Inca*, who was the first and eldest Child of the Sun.

The Curacas were habited and dreffed at this time in the finest Cloths and gayeties that they could bring; some wore Garments plated with Gold and Silver, adoming themselves with Garlands, or Crowns of Gold, platted over their Wreaths; some of them appeared in Lions Skins, having their Heads and Bodies covered with them, and these were such, who boasted themselves to be descended from that generous Creature.

217

Such as had a great efteem and veneration for that Fowl which they call Cuntur, fo as to fanfie the Original of their first Parents to be descended from it, appeared in fashion of Angels, with the Wings of that Bird, which they say are so large, that some of them being killed by the Spaniards, have measured sourteen or fifteen Foot from the point of one pinion to the other.

Others appeared in antick Shapes, with horrid Vizards, and these were *Timeat*; who, to make themselves the more ridiculous, entred with Grimaces, making mouths, and turning themselves into a thousand fantastical gestures, like Fools, or Madmen; carrying instruments in their hands, agreeable to their postures, such as Flutes, and ill-tuned Cymbols, without Musick or Harmony, which served to

make up their wild Masonerade.

The Curacas, according to their qualities, carried the Enfigns of their refpective Countries; fome bore the Weapons which they used in War, such as Bows and Arrows, others Launces, and Darts, and Slings, and Pole-axes to be managed with one hand, and Halberts which they weilded with both; in their Colours and Enfigns the Actions and Stories of their Valour, which they had acted in the Service of the Sun, and Inca were painted and designed: in short, every Curaca came behabited in the best manner that he was able, and attended with his best Equipage, every one endeavouring to outdoe his Neighbour, or Companion, in something that was fine and extraordinary.

Fasting was the general preparation and introduction to the Raymi, or Festival of the Sun, which was fo rigorous, that it continued for the space of three days, during which time they are nothing, but a little white Mayz unbaked, with a sew herbs called Chucam, and drank nothing but water; no fire was kindled in the whole City, during this solemn fast, nor was it lawfull for any Man to accompany with his Wife. The Fast being ended, upon the Eve or Vigil thereof the seas, who were Priests, and appointed to offer the Sacrifice, were employed in preparing the Sheep, and Lambs, and Drinks, which the day sollowing were to be offered to the Sun; all which were provided according to the number of the propie which came to the Festival, in regard, that not onely the Curacas, and their Deputies, but the common People, and their Servants, were to partake of the Benefit and Blessings of these Sacrifices.

The Virgins, or Wives of the Sun, were employed on the Eve in kneading great quantities of Dough, made of Mayz, which they call Canco, which they falhioned into round Cakes about the bigness of our Apples. For it is observable, that the Indians never eat their Mayz kneaded into Bread, but at this Feast, and at the other which they call Citina; nor do they eat this Bread at their Meals, but onely two or three mouthfulls at the beginning; for that which they ordinarily use for Bread is Cara, which they cither parch, or boil before they eat it.

The Flower of this fort of Bread which the brea and those of the Royal Family did eat, was grinded, and kneaded by the select Virgins, who were Wives of the Sun, and who likewise dressed all the other Dishes which were provided for his Festival; so that the Sun rather seemed to entertain his Family, than his Children to bestow a Treat or Banquet upon him: But as to the common fort, great numbers of other Women were set at work to make Bread, and dress Victuals for them; in making this common Bread great care was taken to have it of the best Flower, and such as was pure, and without mixture, being esteemed facred, and such as was not to be eaten, but onely at this Festival, which was the principal of all their Feats.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXI.

How having adored the Sun, they went in Procession to his Temple, and sacrificed a Lamb to him.

A LL things being well prepared, and disposed on the Eve, the Feast being come, the Inca, accompanied with his Brethren, and every one ranked in his place and order, according to his Quality and Age, went in procession by break of day into the Market-place of the City, which they call Haucappata, where remaining bare-foot, they looked attentively toward the East in expectation of the Sun's Rising; when so soon as they saw him appear, they all immediately, casting themselves down on their breeches, (which is as much as with us on our knees) adored and worshipped him, and with open Armes and Hands lifted up, putting them before their Mouths, threw empty Kisses into the Air, and so worshipped with prosound reverence, acknowledging the Sun for their God, and their natural Father.

The Curacat, which were not of the Bloud Royal, affembled in a feparate Company in another place called Cuffipata, where they performed the fame Ceremonies with the Incas. Then the King raifing himfelf on his Feet, whilft the others remained fitting, he took two great Cups of Gold, which they call Aquilla, into his Hands, filled with that Drink which is their chief Beverage; and then in the name and stead of his Father the Sun, (being esteemed the first-born) he lifted up the Bowl, which he held in his Right-hand, and invited the Inca, being himself, and all his Relations, to the Festival, to pledge him in that Liquour; for this Ceremony of drinking one to another, is the most familiar instance can be gi-

ven of Friendship and Good-will.

Having performed this Ceremony of Invitation, he poured the Drink which was in his Right-hand Bowl into a golden, Jarr, dedicated to the Sun; from which the Liquour ran into a fimooth Chanel, made of Stone, which reached from the Market-place to the Temple, as if the Sun himfelf had drank it. Then the Inca drank of the Bowl which he held in his Left-hand, pledging the Sun, giving to every Inca some part thereos, in a small Cup of Gold, or Silver, which every one had ready to receive it; so that by little and little they had drained the great Bowl; the Liquour of which being sanctified by the hand of the Sun, or the Inca, was esteemed of Virtue and Blessings to all those who communicated of it; and of which all those of the Royal Family received. The Cupacas drank of another Cup, though of the same sort of Liquour, prepared by the Wives of the Sun; which was not esteemed so holy and sacred as that which was consecrated by the Inca himself.

This Ceremony being performed, which was but an Antepast to what they had afterwards to drink, they proceeded all in their order to the Temple of the Sun; and being about two hundred paces from the door, they all (except the King) pulled off their Shoes, and walked to the Gate of the Temple. Then the Inca, and all his Kindred, entred in, and performed, as legitimate Children, their Obeisance and Adoration to the Image of the Sun; whilst the Curaca, as unworthy of so great a Privilege, attended without in the great Court, which was before the Gate of the Temple.

Then the *Inca* offered with his own hand those Vessels of Gold with which he had performed this Ceremony; and the other *Incas* delivered theirs into the hands of the Priests, who were *Incas* and particularly nominated and dedicated to the Sun; for it was not lawfull for any *Incas* to officiate at this holy Service, who was a Secular, or not ordained to this facred Function. When the Priests had thus received the Chalices from the *Incas*, they went afterwards to the Gate, to

220

take others from the hands of the Curacas, every one of which proceeded in their order, according to feniority, or priority of time, in which they had become Subjects of the Empire, and so configned into the hands of the Priests their Ver fels of Gold and Silver, with all forts of Animals, fuch as Sheep, Lambs, Li. res of Gold and Silver, with an lots of Animas, fuch as Sneep, Lambs, Li-zards, Toads, Serpents, Foxes, Lions and Tygers, &c. all rarely well caft, and moulded in Gold and Silver, which they prefented for their Offerings to the Sun, every one in some small quantity according to their Abilities.

The Offertory being made, every one returned to his place, and then the Incar who were Priests came with great droves of Lambs, Ewes and Rams of diverge colours: for the Flocks of those Countries have as much variety in their colours as the Horses have in Spain; all which Cattle were the proper Goods and Estate of the Sun; out of which they chose a black Lamb, for that colour was preferred before all others, as most proper for Sacrifice, and most pleasing to Divinity; for they faid, that brown Cattel were of the like colour, as well within as with out, and that the white, though white over all their Bodies, had yet fome black foots on the tip of their Snouts, or Nofes, which was esteemed a defect, and there fore less fit for unspotted Sacrifices; for which reason the Kings most commonly were clothed in black, their mourning being a kind of yellowill, and footted on

From the first Sacrifice of the black Lamb, they made their Prognostications and Divinations of matters relating to the Feaft; likewise in all matters of im. portance, relating to Peace or War, they took their Omens and Signs from the Sacrifices of Lambs, fearching into their Heart and Lungs; and thence divined from the colour and clearness of them, whether their Offerings were acceptable to the Sun. or not; whether the day of battel were to be successfull and victorious: and whether the Year were to be fruitfull: Howfoever they did not always confulr the entrails of Lambs; but in some matters they opened the Bowels of a Ram, in others of a barren Ewe; for it is observable, that they never killed a breeding Ewe, but fuch onely as were barren, or by age unfit for Procreation. When they killed a Lamb, or Sheep, they turned his Head towards the Fall, and without tying his Legs, either before or behind, three or four *Indian* held him falt; and laying him down, the Priest opened his left side, into which thrusing his Hand, he tore from thence his Heart, and Lungs, and all his vitals, not cutting them, but tearing them out whole with his hand, from the very upper parts of the Throat and Palate, to the lowermost Entrails, great care being taken that all the Vessels should be kept entite, and united with the same connexion that they had in the Body.

CHAP

#### XXII. CHAP.

Of the Divinations made from these Sacrifices, and the Fire with which they were confumed.

THE most happy Omen of all they held to be the throbs and palpitations of the Lungs, which if they ftill moved, and continued living when they the Lungs, which it they ftill moved, and continued living when they were first drawn from the Body, they then esteemed the Omen certainly good, and could dispence with other less promising Symptoms, for that this had a superiour and an over-ruling power over all other unlucky appearances. Then they drew out the Guts, and blowing them up with Wind, they tied the neck very hard and close, and they pressed them on each side with their Hands, observing by which way the Wind sound its easiest passage into the Veins and Lungs, which the more they swelled, and became replete with Wind, the better was the Omen accounted. There were many other particulars observed by them, which I have forgotten. but these which I have before mentioned I am well assured of, having noted them in my Journals, and remember, that when I was a Youth, I faw them twice performed by certain old *Indians*, not as yet baptifed; I do not mean the Sacrifice of Raymi, for that was abolished long before I was born; onely the superstitious inspection into the Entrails of Lambs, and Sheep, in order to Divination; and the Sacrifices of them after fuch inspection was still continued in my time, the which Sacrifices were offered after the manner of those at the principal Feafts. It was held for a very bad Omen if the Lamb, or Sheep, after they had opened his fide, proved to ftrong as to be able by ftrugling to get the Maftery of them which held him, and to ftand upon his Feet. It was also efteemed for a bad Omen, if in drawing out the Entrails the mouth of the Small-guts broke off from the Ligatures of the Stomach, fo as not to come out whole and entire. It was also a bad Omen for the Lungs to come forth bruifed, or broken, or the Heart wounded; befides other things, as I have faid, which I neither noted, nor made enquiry of, onely these I remember, being told me by certain Indians, whom I found offering these Sacrifices; and indeed they were willing to be free with me. and resolve me in any thing I asked them concerning their good or bad Omens; for I being then but a Youth, they entertained no jealoufie or fufficion of me. But to return to the Solemnity of the Festival of Raymi, we farther tay, If the Salcrifice of the Lamb declared not that fortunate Omen which was defired, then they made trial of another with a Ram, and if that neither promifed fair or happy Tidings, then they confulted the Bowels of a barren Ewe, and if that also did not foretell fomething more hopefull, they then proceeded in their Sacrifices and Solemnities of the Feaft, with Sorrow and Mourning, faying, that the Sun their Father was for some Crime, or Omission in his Service, angry and displeased with them, and therefore in vengeance thereof, expected the punishment of War or Famine, or some other Judgment; but then when the Omens were happy and fmiling, they rejoiced with high contentment, being full of hopes and expectations of fortunate successes.

This Sacrifice of the first Lamb, from whence they made their Divinations, being offered; great droves of Lambs and Sheep were brought afterwards for the common Sacrifice; but then they did not open their fides, being alive, as they did the first, but after the usual manner they fairly cut their Throats, and slead them; the Bloud they faved, and with it offered the Heart unto the Sun, burning the Body altogether, untill the whole Lamb was confumed, and converted into Ashes.

The Fire for that Sacrifice was to be new, and then kindled (as they called it) from the hand of the Sun; to allight this Fire they made use of a great Bracelet, worn by the High Prieft, which they called Chipana, being after the fathion of those which the Incas commonly put on the Wrist of their Lest hand; this being

greater

greater than ordinary, was held over a Cylinder of the bigness of a half Orange, bright and well polished, which uniting the Rays of the Sun in one point, cast such a restexion into the Cylinder, as easily set fire to the Cotton, which being sinely combined, was put into it, and readily received the same: With this sine alighted from the Sun, they burnt their Sacrifices, and dressed all their Meat for that days provision; of this fire they carried some into the Temple of the Sun, and some to the Convent of the Select Virgins, to be there conserved for the space of the following Year; being esteemed a most unhappy Omen, in case it should by any accident have been extinguished. If on the Vigil or Day before the Festival, which is the time when they prepared all things in a readiness for the Sacrifice, the weather should have proved cloudy, so that the Sun did not appear, then for kindling this Fire they made use of two round pieces of a hard so of Wood, being about the bigness of the middle singer, and about half a yard long, called V yaca, which being rubbed hard together, produced a Flame, and with these the Indians struck sire, as we do with a Steel and Flint, when they travelled, and passed through desart and unpeopled Countries, and I have frequently seen the Shepherds make use of the same.

Howfoever it was accounted a bad Omen to be enforced on that day to have recourse unto that instrument; for in regard the Sun did then hide his face from them, it argued his displeasure and anger for some offence committed. All the step which was prepared for that Sacrifice, was dressed in the publick Market place, and there divided amongst the Guests which came to the Feast, and distributed first to the Incas, then to the Curacas, and afterwards to the Commonalty, according to the several Orders and Degrees. The first Dish, or Course, served in a this folemn Banquet, was that fort of Bread which they called Cancas; then they brought in several varieties of Meats, without Drink, it being the custome over

all Peru, not to drink at the time of their Meals.

From what we have faid concerning the *Indians* fipping from the Bowl or Cap, offered them by the hand of the Prieft, the *Spaniards* raifed a report, that the *Indians* communicated in the fame manner as do the Christians; but having plainly do livered the matter of Fact, we shall leave the similitude, or comparison, to every

Man's fancy.

The Dinner, or Banquet of Meats being over, great quantities of Drink were brought in, in which the *Indians* were notoriously addicted to exceed, thoughby the Mercies of God, they are so well reformed from that Vice, by example of that Temperance and Sobriety which they observed in the *Spaniards*, that it is now a strange thing to see an *Indian* drunk, the Vice being generally become detestable, and esteemed infamous; so that had the like good example been shewn in other things to this People, as hath been in this, it might have produced the same good effect, and signalized the *Spaniards* for true Apostolical Preachers of the Gospel.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Order in which they drank one to the other.

THE Inca being feated on his Chair of Massie Gold, raised on a Pedestal of the same metal, he sent a Message to his Kindred called Hanan Cozco, and Harin Cozco, that they should in his name drink a Health to those Indians, who were the most samous and renowned in their respective Nations. I First they no minated the Captains, who had signalized their valour in the War, being for their Martial Exploits, preferred before the Curacus; and in case a Curacus, who was a Lord over some Vassals, had merited also the honour of a Captain, they called and mentioned him with both Titles. In the next place the Inca sent to Cozco, being such as had been reduced by the first Inca Manco Capac, and for that reason having the privilege of being called Incas, they were preferred in the next place to the Incas of the Royal Bloud, and before all other Nations; for it was a Maxime amongst those Kings never to alter or diminish those Titles of Honour or Privileges which their Ancestours had bestowed as savours on their Subjects, but were rather willing to confirm and enlarge them.

Now their form and manner of Drinking one to another, was this; all the Lidians generally (according to their condition and quality) had and do ftill keep a couple of Cups to drink in, equally matched, being of the fame fixe and fhape, and of the fame Metal, either of Gold, Silver, or Wood, that fo every Man might drink allke, and have his equal proportion one with the other. He that invited to the Drink, held up his two Cups in each hand, and then gave to him whom he invited the Cup which was in his Right-hand, in cafe he were of greater Quality, and if he were of inferiour Degree, then that in his Left, and then both drank at the fame time; and afterwards receiving his Cup again, he returned to his place; though commonly at these Feasts the Person inviting was greater than the Person invited, so that the Invitation was an evidence of grace and savour of the Superiour to his Inferiour; though from this Custome afterwards it came, that when the Inferiour invited the Superiour, it was by way of acknowledgment of his Service and Vasfalage.

In observance of this common Custome of Invitation, the Ineas, who carried the Drink from the King, said to the Person invited, The Capa Inca hash fent me to invite you to drinking, and I am come to drink with you in his name. Whereupon the Captain, or Curaca, took the Cup into his Hands, and lifting up his Eyes unto the Sun, as if he would return him thanks for the great Favour he received from his Offspring; and then having taken the Draught with silence, returned back the Cup, making signs of prosound Reverence and Adoration with his Flands,

and kiffing the Air with his Lips.

But it is to be noted, that the *Inca* did never fend Invitations of drinking to all the *Curacus* in general, but to fome particular perfons of them, who were famous, and had a great intereft with their People, and well beloved by the Commonalty, and were Men zealous of the publick good; for this matter of publick good was the great concernment to which the *Inca*, the *Curacus*, and all the Ministers of War and Peace bended their chief aim and fludies. To other *Curacus* the *Inca* 

who carried the Cups drank in their own, and not in the name of the Luca, In which the Cursus were abundantly fatisfied, acknowledging it an Honour stricient for them to drink with one who was of the Family, and allied to the Sun, as well as the King himfelf.

The first Ceremony of Drinking being sinished, then immediately the Captains and Curacas of the several Nations made their Invitations in the same manner and order as they had been themselves invited; some making their immediate Ad-

dreis

dress to the King, and others to the *Ineas*, in return to their late Complement. When they approached the *Inea*, it was with deep filence, and humble profiration; and the *Inea* received them with great Courtesie, and grations Countenance; and in regard he was to pledge them all, he took the Cup from every Man's hand, touching it with his Lips; though he drank more plentifully out of the Bowl of those to whose Dignity and Quality he bore some particular respect; what remained at the bottom of the Cup, the *Inea* commanded his Servants, who were also *Ineas* by privilege, to drink of the remainder, which being done, the Cups were again returned to the Owners.

These Cups having touched the Hands and Lips of the Capa Inca, were ever afterwards conserved as sacred Reliques, and held in great Veneration, never afterwards being applied to common uses, but separated, as were their Idols, for Worship and Adoration; for in reality such was the interiour Devotion which they conceived towards their Kings, that we cannot express the Love and Veneration which these poor Indians entertained of every thing which had relation to

them. In this manner the Health's being gone about, and every one pledged, they all returned orderly to their places; and then the Dances and Songs began; all Nations prefenting themselves respectively in their Masquerades, and Colours, and antick Postures, according to the fashion of their Countrey; during all which the drinking still went on, the Incas inviting each other, as also the Captains and Captains and Relations in their feveral Countries.

Thus were nine days spent in the solemn celebration of this Feast of Romi, where was plenty of Meat and Drink (as we have said) accompanied with alkinds of Mirth and Jollity; though the first day onely was appointed for Sacifices, and for inspection into the Entrails of Beasts, from whence they made their Divinations of suture Events. After the nine days were over, the Chracas taking their leave of the King, returned to their respective Countries, having received entire satisfaction in the solemn performance of the principal Feast, which they dedicated to their God the Sun. When the King was employed in the War, or was far remote in visitations of foreign Countries, he always observed the solemn Celebration of this Festival, in that place, where his occasions had drawn him, though not with the pomp and magnificence, as it was performed at Cozco; where in the absence of the King, the Governour and High-Priest, who were always Ducas of the Bloud, took care to celebrate the Festival, at which the Chracas, or their Deputies did appear for them, with a great concourse of people from the adjacent Provinces.

CHAH

### CHAP. XXIV.

In what manner the Incas took their Degrees of Chivalry, and what Examination they passed.

THis word Huaracu is of the true Peruvian Language, and fignifies as much as to arm a Cavalier; meaning no other thing than those Badges of Honour and Banners which they gave to the young Men of the Royal Bloud, whereby they received their first admission into the War, and were capacitated to take their Degrees and places of Dignity; without these attestations given to these young Men. they could pretend to no Place, or Degree, in Civil or Martial Affairs; and farther to capacitate them thereunto they were to be Batchelours, or fingle Men, according to the Books and Rules of Chivalry. Now to qualifie them farther to receive these Honours, they were (as we shall more amply discourse hereafter) to pass a most severe and rigorous Novitiate, which was an examination of all the Toils, Labours and Hardships incident to War, and which became a Souldier to undergo in prosperous or adverse Fortune. For the better understanding of which, it will be necessary to recite all the particulars performed at this Festival; which, confidering the barbarity of this People, is extraordinary, and admirable, and which might be owned by fuch as are expert, and far advanced in the Art of Military Discipline. At this Festival the Common People demonstrated great Joy. litary Discipline. At this retrival the Columbin People denominated great by and the Incas both old and young received the Honours due to their Merit and Conditions, the old Men were pleased to have their valiant and noble acts recited, and young Men to be thought worthy of being admitted and enrolled in the Lists of Chivalry; and because the Honour or Dishonour of this Test, which the Novices underwent in their Examination, was derived to all their Parentage, and Kindred; the clear and handsome approbation which every one received, became the concernment of the whole Family of the Incus, though they were more particularly interested in the Reputation of such who were of the limpid and lawfull Bloud.

Every Year, or two, more or lefs, according as it was judged convenient, the young Incas, of fixteen Years and upwards, were admitted to this military probation; and no others, though Sons of the greateft Lords, and Curacas: Their Custome was to educate them in a certain House properly constituted for these military Exercises, built within the precincts of Colleanpasa, which I remember once to have seen, when they celebrated some part of these Ceremonies in it, but sell so show or representations, than real performances of them. The Masters or Instructures of the Novices in this House were ancient Incas, who were well experienced in the Arts of War and Peace; and these were those who made trial of them in these following particulars; and in others which I have now for gotten. One of the trials they made of them, was, how they were able to endure a fast of fix days, onely with some sew handfulls of unbaked Cara, which is a fort of their Wheat, and with no other Drink than a small Jarr of Water, and without any thing else, either Salt or Vehn, which is the red Spanish Pepper, yielding such a pleasing fort of taste to them, that it made every thing to reliss, and for that reason it was forbidden to the Novices in their fastings.

This fevere Fast was never enjoined to any above three days, but onely to the Novitiates, who were to be proved to the utmost extremity, whether they were able to suffer Hunger, and Thirst, in the Wars, in case any accident should necessfatte them thereunto; but then another Fast, less rigorous than this, the Fathers, Brothers, and near Relations to the Novitiates imposed on themselves, which they folemnly observed, supplicating their Father the Sun, that he would vouchaste to bestow on his Children, who were now Probationers, force and strength to undergo their task, and acquit themselves with honour; for such as were not able to

fustain such hardships as these, they rejected, as not worthy to be admitted into the number of Novitiates. The Fast being performed, and that they were re-freshed and strengthened again with their usual nourishment; then trial was made of their natural nimbleness, and activity of Body in running, from the Mountain called Huanacauri, which was efteemed facred by them, to the Caftle of the City. being about a League and a half; at the end of which race a fignal was fet up, where he that first arrived, was elected Captain over all the rest. Nor did all the others lofe their Honour hereby, for the fecond, third, unto the tenth, acquired reputation: but those who fainted in the course, and were not able to hold our Parents and Relations, would intercept them in the way as they ran, encuraging them to firain and force themselves all they were able, telling them, that they had better dve, and break their hearts in the Race, than come off with Infamy and Diffronour.

Another day these Novitiates were to be divided into two equal parts: one half was to garrifon and maintain the Fortress, and the other half was to affault and form it and having thus fought and contended a whole day, then the day following they changed their flations, and those who had before defended the Fortress, were now to affault it; so that trials were made in every respect of their Strength and Agility of Body, and of their Art and Conduct in War. In the Skirmishes, though they fought with blunted Arms, yet so much was the hear with which both fides contended for their Reputation, that many were wounded

and oftentimes some killed in earnest.

## CHAP. XXV.

That these Novitiates were to know how to make their own Arms and Shoes.

Having performed these Exercises, they were in the next place to wrestle one with the other, being matched according to their age, and proportion of Body; then they were to leap, and throw the Stone, the Launce, and Dart, and other Weapons, which were thrown by hand; then they shot at Butts with Bow and Arrows, to try their dexterity in Archery; then they tried who could throw farthest against the Walls of the Fortress, for proof of the strength and exthrow farthert against the waits of the Fortress, for proof of the strength and exercise of their Armes; in like manner they threw at marks with their Slings, and managed all forts of Arms which they used in War; then they tried their vigilance and watchfulnes, how well they were able to endure the want of Sleep, setting them on the Centinel for ten or twelve nights together; and in case any one was sound fleeping on the Guard, he was feverely reproached, as unworthy to take any Degree of military Order. They tried also how hardy they were in their Flesh, and how able to endure and fuffer Wounds, which they made with the sharp points of Rods in their Arms and Legs, and other parts, which according to the Habit and Fashion of Pern, were commonly naked; they observed when those Wounds were made, with what courage they received them, whether they changed their countenance, or fhrunk up their Legs or Arms; for unless they seemed insensible of the smart, they were rejected as nice, and esseminate, and their Flesh not har-

of the imart, they were rejected as ince, and eneminate, and their Frent not had dy, nor enduring the Blows and wounds of an Enemy.

Sometimes they placed them in a narrow Trench, where a Fencing-mafter with a club wielded with both hands, or a Quarter-staff, which the *Indiani* call *Micana*, came to them, or with a half Pike, which they call *Chaqui*, which they brandified and flourished before their Eyes and Faces, making offers at their Legs and Heads, at which if they unluckily feemed to wink, or shrink away, as if they feared the

blow, they were rejected, and not fuffered to pass the Muster, saving, that such as were fearfull of receiving blows, which were practifed in Exercise onely, withas were fearful of receiving blows, which were practice in Exercise onery, without delign of hurt, would be much more timorous when they appeared before the face of an Enemy, from whom they could expect nothing but Death, or Wounds without favour or mercy; fo that none were approved, but fuch as were unfhaken, and were Bullies as immovable as the Rock it felf.

Royal Commentaries.

Moreover and befides all this, they were to have learned the Trade of making with their own hands all forts of offensive Arms, which were used in the War, at least, such as were most common, and which were made without the help of a forge, or art of a Smith; fuch as Bows and Arrows, and Launces, which were sharpened and pointed without Iron; and Slings which were made of Hemp or Flax; of all which Arms they were to make use, as occasion required: As to defenitive Arms they made use of none, unless they were shields, or Targets, which they called *Hualcanea*. These Targets they were obliged to make with their own hands. at least to know how to make them; as also their Shoes, which they call Usura, which is a Sole of Leather tied about the Foot with packthread,

fich as some wear in *Spain*, and are like the Sandals of the Franciscan Friars.

The strings which they used for these Shoes were made of Wool twisted with a Spindle, which they held in one Hand, and the Thread in the other, the string was made as thick as the middle finger, and broad, that it might not hurt or gard the Foot, half a yard whereof for each Foot was fufficient, which may ferve to confute the Words of a *Spanilly* Historian, who, writing of the *Indians*, says that they wove they knew not how, nor for whom; but we may pardon this false Relation, so much to the Disreputation of the Indians, which also is not altogether without fome reflexion on the Spaniards themselves; for such Men as these being Strangers, and not verfed in the Cuftons of that Countrey, take up at hazard any Report which Men out of Ignorance or Interest deliver to them. Onely this Opinion I would have the World to entertain of these Indians, that of all the Gentiles in the World, there never was any Nation more manly, and which valued themselves more on the account of Hardiness and Bravery, in detestation of all forts of efferminacy, than did the *Incas*; for they being generally puffed up, and exalted with the lofty thoughts of Alliance to the Sun, were Heroick to an high Degree, and aspiring to greater matters than those which fall within the sphere and compass of their management.

This manner of spinning Wool they called Millny, which signifies as much as to spin Wool for making strings to tie Shoes, or Ropes for carriages or Burthens; the which work was the proper business of Men, the Women had another fort of Spinning, which they called *Bubca*, which fignifies as much as to fpin with a Diftaff, and is that Word which is onely applied to the Work of Women; which different Expreffions and Proprieties of Speech I have denoted, for fatisfaction of flich as are curious in this Language, for want of which knowledge in the propriety of Words belonging to that Speech, many Spaniards who have writ Hittories of Peru, and dispersed them in Spain, have been guilty of groß mistakes, having charged the Inc.s with many Customs and Practices never known, or in use amongh them. But to return again to our purpole: We fay, that the Novitiates were obliged to learn the Trade of making their own Arms and Shoes, so as to be able to provide themselves with such necessaries at any time, when the urgency of War, or any other emergent accident constrained them to have recourse

to their own Art and Industry.

228

That the Prince himself underwent the rigour of Approbation, and that they dealt more severely with him than with others.

Uring the time of Probation one of the Captains, or Mafters of these Ceremonies, did every day make a Speech to the Novitates, putting them in mind of their lofty Lineage, and descendency from the Sun, repeating the noble and heroick Actions performed and atchieved by their Kings, and other famous Princes of the Royal Bloud; and that according to their Examples they ought to fignalize their Vertue and Valour, towards the enlargement of their Dominions and with generous Constancy and Patience exert all the faculties of Heroick Souls. Moreover they recommended to them Clemency, Piety, and Gentlenes towards the poor, Impartiality in their Justice, and to see that none did Wrong without due punishment, to be liberal and magnificent, as became the bright Son of fo glorious a Father: and in fum, they instructed them in all those Lectures of Morality unto which their Philosophy had as yet attained, ever inculcating the remembrance of their more than Humane Race, and of their Descent from the Ce membrance of their more than Flumane Nace, and of their Delcent from the Celeftial Region. They made them also sleep on the ground, walk bare-foot, excising them in all other points of hardship which was incident to a Souldier's Life. Nor was the Prince, who was the Eldest Son, and Heir to the Inca, exempted from these Exercises of Probation, or treated with less rigour or severity than the others, unless perhaps the greatness of his Birth might excuse him from the labour orners, unless terraps the greatest and some the stage which became the prize and reward of the most swift, was by him laid at the Feet of the Prince, a his undoubted right, to whom also the Inheritance of the Kingdom appertained but as to all other Exercises, such as Fastings, military Discipline, making his own Arms, and Shoes, sleeping on the ground, eating and faring hardly, and marching bare-foot, they were required of him, as the most necessary qualities belonging to a Prince, who being exalted above all others in the sublime Station of his Power and Sovereignty, was also to excell others in his Vertues and Abilities, both of Body and Mind: For in cale at any time their Princes should be reduced to an equality of Fortune, it would not become the Royalty of their Persons to be less worth than other Men, or less able to contend with the cross accidents of an adverse condition; for as they had the advantage of others, both in Prosperity and Adversity, so ought they to be endued with predominant Verus (especially such as are warlike) above the ordinary capacity and scantling of the

By virtue of fuch Excellencies as these, they were of Opinion, that the Prince deserved the Inheritance, and claimed it on a better Title, than of being born Heir to his Father. They were of opinion also, that it was necessary for Kings and Princes to have tried and experienced in their own Persons the Labours and Difficulties of War, that so they might be more sensible, and better able to judge of the merits, and gratise the hazards of their Souldiers. During all this time of Approbation, which continued for the space of one New Moon to another, the Prince went habited in the most poor and mean Clothing that can be imagined, being all made up with rags and patches; with which he was not athanned to appear in publick, so often as his occasions required. And this was done with this farther intent, that when he should behold himself on the Throne of his Majesty, he should look down from thence with a compassionate Eye on the poor, in remembrance that he himself was once one of that number, and on that score endearing his Person to them with Friendship and Charity he might duly claim the Title of Huachaenyae, which signifies a Lover of the Poor. These Exercises of Probation

BOOK VI. Royal Commentaries.

Probation being paft, they were declared worthy of being dignified by the Inc.t, and to be entitled true and legitimate Children of the Sun. Then came the Mothers and Sifters of these young Men, bringing them Usutas, or Sandals of Packthread, which they put on their Feet, in testimony that they had passed and overcome all the severe methods of military Exercises.

## CHAP. XXVII.

That the Inca conferred onely the chief and principal Mark of Dignity; and that one of his Kindred conferred the rest.

These Ceremonies being performed, notice was given thereof unto the Inca, who being attended with the grave Seniours of his Royal Family, came to the Novitiates, and in a short Oration, acquainted them, that they were not to rest in the bare Formalities of Chivalry, and Marks of the Royal Bloud, onely to satisfie their light humour with the vanity of empty Honour; but to emulate the Vertues of their Ancestours in their Justice to all, and Mercy to the poor; and that being the true and undoubted Progeny of the Sun, they ought to imitate their Father, shining with the splendour of good Works, which tended to the common benefit of all his Vassak, which was the fole Design and Errant for which they were made, and sent from Heaven to inhabit the Earth. Then the Novitiates came one by one to the King, and presenting themselves before him on their Knees, they received from his hand the sirst Mark and Signal of Royal Dignity, which was to have their Ears bored, and pierced by him in the soft part of the Ear, with a large Nail of Gold, leaving it in the holes both for cure of the Wound, as also to widen the Orifice, and stretch the Ear, being often extended to an incredible bigness.

The Novitiates, in recompence for this favour, kissed the Hand of the Inca, and every one in his turn having received the order, atose from his Knees from before the other Inca; who was Brother, or Uncle, to the Inca; and the Person next in Authority to him; who having loosed their Vsias of unspun hemp, shod them with Sandals of Woollen Manusactory, of the most gentile and fashionable forr, after the manner of the King, and the Incas, that in token of Approbation, and having passed examination, were found and esteemed worthy. This Ceremony of putting on the Shoes, did something resemble the practice of buckling the spuns on the heels of Knights of the military Order in Spain, which being done they kissed them on the right Shoulder, saying, That Child of the Sun, who hath given these evidences of his Merits, deserves to be kissed. For the same Word which with them signifies Kisses, signifies also Adoration, Honour and Courtesse. This Ceremony being pass, where the ancient Incas vested him with the Habit agreeable to his Order, which, until that time, it was not lawfull to put on. This Vestment was made with three corners, two of which hung down at length, to cover the Privy parts, being girt about the Wast with a Twist of the Thickness of a singer; the other part behind was girt or laced about the Thighs, so that though all the other Garments were stripped off, yet this habit would remain a sufficient and decent covering for the Body.

But the chief and principal Mark of this Order was the boring of the Ears, which, as it was a Badge of Royalty, fo this of the Vestment was of Chivalry: the Ceremony of the Woollen Shoes was a Novelty introduced, fignifying the Wearines of the Novitiate after his Labours, and were bestowed by way of re-

freihment

Book VI.

freshment rather than as any effential Ceremony belonging to the Order, From this word *Huaracu*, which fully expresses all the Solemnity of this Festival, the word *Huaracu*, which fignifies a Cloth or Vestment, and implicitly denotes, that that Person who deserves such Habit, hath a lawfull Title of presence to all those Dignities, Honours, and Royalties, which may be acquired, either by War or Peace. Moreover they placed on the Head of these Novitiates Garlands War or Peace. Moreover they placed on the Head of these Novitiates Garlands of two several forts of Flowers; one was of that which they call Cantut, being of a very beautifull form, and of various Colours, such as yellow, murry, red, and others, all being very lively and chearfull. The other fort of Flower was called Chibuayhua, being of a deep incarnation, not unlike the Gillishowers of Spain. These two forts of Flowers were appropriated onely to those of the Royal Family; it not being lawfull for the Commonalty, nor for any Curraca, how great soever he were to wear that fort of Flower. Moreover they wore upon their Heads the Leaf of an Herb called *Vinay Huayna*, which fignifies youthfull, being very verdant and green, and bearing a Leaf like that of the Lilly; it conferves it felf fresh for a long

green, and bearing a Leaf like that of the Lilly; it conferves it felf fresh for a long time, and though it be withered, yet it continues its colour.

All the Badges of Chivalry and Honour, such as the Flowers and Leaves be fore mentioned, and other things, were conferred alike on all Novitiates, as well as on the Heir apparent; who was differenced from them onely in the Wreath which bound his Temples, which was four singers broad, not round, as the Spaniard imagine it, but like a Fringe, made of Wool; for the Indiana had no Silk in their Countrey; the colour was of a pale yellow, like a Lemon-colour. This diffinction was not worn by the Prince, untill he had passed his time of Approbation, and then it was his single and peculiar Badge of Honour, not being allowed to any other, no not to his own Brother.

The last Royal distinction they gave unto the Prince, was a kind of Poleax, with a Handle of about a yard long, which they called Champi. This Iron had an edge like a sword on one side, and the point of a Diamond on the other, being like a Partesan, onely that it wanted a point. When this Weapon was put into

like a Partefan, onely that it wanted a point. When this Weapon was put into his Hand, they faid Ancacunapac, which is a Noun of the Dative Cafe, and figni fies for Tyrants, for Traytors, for cruel Persons, for false Breakers of their Faith, for this and much more this word Anca signifies; these Arms which were put into his Hands, served for an Embleme of Justice, with which he was to punish Offenders: the other particulars of Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs, fignified Cle mency, Piety, Gentleness, and other Vertues and Royal Endowments of a Prince, which he ought to make use of towards his faithfull and loyal Subjects. For as his Father the Sun had caused those Flowers to grow in the Fields for the contentment and pleasure of Mankind; so likewise ought a Prince to cultivate the Flowers of Vertue in his Mind, that so he might justly claim the Title of Lover of the Poor, and that under that character and notion his Name might smell fweet, and be pretious in the World.

The Officers of Chivalry having in the prefence of the *Inca* made and conclu-

ded this Difcourfe unto the Prince; then immediately the Uncles and Brothers of the Prince prefenting themselves on their Knees before him, adored and reverenced him for the true and undoubted Child of the Sun, and Heir of the Inca. The which Ceremony feems a kind of Inftalment of the Prince, and Admiffion to the here-ditary Succeffion of the Empire; which being done, they bound his Temples with the yellowith Wreath. And thus the Feaft of the Novitiates, admitted into the Order of Chivalry, concluded.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XXVIII.

The Distinctions which the Kings, and the other Incas, and the Masters of Novitiates wore.

THE King wore the fame fort of Wreath about his Temples, but of a dif-THE King wore the value to the victor about its reinpies, but of a different colour, being red, befides which the Inca carried another more peculiar diffinction, proper to himfelf, which was the two pinion Feathers of the Bird called Corequenque; the which are streaked white and black, and as large as the Wings of a Falcon, or long-winged Hawk; they were to be fellows of the fame. Bird, as I once remember to have feen them planted on the Head of Inca Sayri Tupac. The Birds which have these Feathers are found onely in the Defart of Villanuta, being about thirty Leagues distant from the City of Cozco, situate near a little Lake, lying at the foot of the inaccessible snowy Mountain. Those that are acquainted with that fort of Fowl fay, that never above two of them, namely a Male and Female, are feen together; but whence they come, or where they are bred, is not known: befides which place, the *Indians* fay, that none are feen in any other part of *Peru*, though there are other Lakes, and fnowy Mountains, and Defarts, befides that of Vilkannia: perhaps this Bird may be like the Phenix, which none having feen, we may fanfie it after the form and colour of this Bird.

Now in regard that these Birds were fingular in the World, and that none be-

fides them were ever feen before, nor fince, the Incas efteemed them fuch a rarity, as did not become any befides the Royal Head; for the Birds, for the fin-gularity of them, refembling (as they faid) their two original Parents, Man and Woman, which descended from Heaven, served to continue the memory of them, and therefore as their Feathers were facred, fo they were the peculiar note and mark of the Imperial Dignity: For my part, I am of opinion that there are many other Birds of the fame species with these; and that though I will not deny but that there may be a Phenix in the World, yet that this Bird is not of that kind is most probable; howsoever the Indians may maintain what opinion they please, and in devotion to their Fore-fathers, may fansie them like these Creatures which are rare, and esteemed facred. It is certain that the Feathers of these Birds were highly efteemed of in those days, though they are more common now. being worn by many, who fallly pretend to a defcent from the Royal Bloud of the *Incas*, though in reality the Race of those Princes is almost totally extinct, for in regard the example of foreign fathions hath confounded the true distinctions on the Head, by which the quality of every Person was known, so it gave a confidence to many to usurp this Royal Mark, and pretend to Princely Descent, eve-

ry one almost affurning the Title of an *Inca*, or a *Pallus*.

These Feathers were planted over the coloured Wreath which bound their There reathers were planted over the coloured vyreath which bound their Temples, the pique Feathers pointing upwards, removed at a little diffance one from the other, as they were naturally fpread. Having these Feathers on their Heads, they carried great respect for all forts of Birds and Fowl, so that they took care how they affrighted or chased them away. Every new Inca that succeeded to the Empire, procured new Feathers; for that the former belonged to the King deceased, who being embalaned, conserved all his Ensigns of Regality, of which these Feathers was an essential work. Such was the Mainthy of this Bird Core. thele Feathers were an especial mark. Such was the Majesty of this Bird Corequenque, and such was the Reverence and Respect which the Inc. we expressed towards it; which though the matter it felf be of little importance to the People of opain, yet the knowledge thereof may be pertinent to fuch, as have the curiofity to be acquainted with the Cuftoms and practices of the *Incan-Kings*. But to return again to our Novitiates: So foon as they had received these Marks of Chivalry, they were conducted to the principal place of the City, where a general lefting markital to the conducted to the principal place of the City, where a general Festival was publickly solemnized for many days with Songs and Dances, in honour and triumph for their Victories; the like also was more privately celebrated

222

in the Families of their Parents and near Relations; who boafted and rejoiced much in the proficiency of their Sons, challenging to themselves a share in their much in the pronciency of their sons, chauenging to themselves a share in their commendations; for they having instructed them in martial Exercises, how to manage their Arms, and make their Shoes, and educated them with hardship temote from effeminacy and softness, did justly triumph and glory, that having peformed their duty towards their Sons, in their Childhood, had now accomplished them with Abilities to serve their Countrey either in War or Peace.

### CHAP. XXIX.

How Chuquimancu, a Lord of four Vallies, vielded himfelf.

BUT to return again now to the Reign and Conquelts of the Inca Pachachie, we are to understand, that the General Cabas Tunawaii basing fished and we are to understand, that the General Capac Tupanqui having subdued and we are to understand, that the Golden of the life of the great Curaca Chincha, fent to the King his Brother for a new Army, whereby he might be enabled to overcome those Vallies, or Plain Countries which presented themselves before him. The Inca with all readiness supplied him with new Forces, commanded by good Officers, providing them with all forts of Victuals and Ammunition, agreeable to the greatness of the Enterprise. The new Army being come, with which also the Prince Tupanqui returned, being very defirous to exercise and signalize himself in the War; the General of Chincha boldy proceeded out of his Quarters, and posted himself in the pleasant Valley of Rundbuanac; which is as much as the People's Terrour, because in the River which runs through that Valley many people had been drowned, who supposing the Water to be as shallow in the Winter as in the Summer, rather than go a League a bout by way of the Bridge, have foolifhly adventured to wade over it; but the Chanel being deep, and the Current rapid, have most miserably perished in the Waters. But the Spanish Historians give this Valley, and the River, the name of Lungquana, by corruption of three Letters of this Word; one Writer says, that the Word Guano fignifies mudd, or dung, because it affords good Sullage, and great improvement for their arable Lands, but this Letter G. ought to be H. 60 that the true word is Huano, for the Peruvian Tongue doth not admit of the Letter G. which word Huano fignifies dreadfull; by this particular, and many other in flances that we could give, it is very apparent how little the Spaniards underflood that Language; and what groß miltakes also the Mongrels, or those that are mixed of Spanish and Indian Bloud, did likewise make; for they taking the accent in part from their Fathers, both in speaking and writing are often guilty of strange corruptions; which when I have observed, I have endeavoured to correct a mongs them, but to little purpose, considering how prevalent conversation is, and the communication of a people to whom they are subdued, and become Val

In those days this Plain of Runahuanac was greatly peopled, as also another Low-Countrey lying to the Northward of it called Huaren, which contained thirty thousand Inhabitants; in like manner also Chincha was inhabited, and other Country and Country Country are the Country of the Country o tries fituated North and South of it; but now there are not two thousand Inhabi tants reputed to be there in all, and fome lie wholly defolate, unless they be fome few Spaniards who have taken up their dwellings in those parts.

Having already related the Conquest of Timeas, we are now to take notice, that the Plain of Runahuanac with three others to the Northward of it called Huarts. Malla, Chillea, were all in Subjection to a great Lord called Chaquimanca, who has ving several of these Provinces under his Jurisdiction presumed to give himself the Title of King, and by reason of his Power claimed an Authority and Dominion

over others, who were not really, and duly his Subjects. This King (for fo we may term him) hearing that the *Incas* marched against him, joined what forces he was able to make, and boldly attempted to meet, and give a flop to the Enehe was able to make, and boddy attempted to meet, and give a riop to the Energy at the pass of the River; where after several Skirmithes, wherein many were flain on each side, the *Inca* at length passed the River by help of some flat botomed Boats, and Floats, which he had made for that purpose. Nor did the Tuncas make all the relistence they were able, in regard their King Chuquimancu declared his Design of retreating to the Valley of Huaren, which, as he falsly supposed was the most advantageous Post; but being unskilfull in the Art of War, he was deceived in his measures, as will hereafter appear; for the *Incas* having well encamped their Army, made their benefit of this ill Counsel, and in less than a

months time gained all the delightfull and pleasant Valley of Huarcu:

The Inca, for fecurity of his Arrear, and for Convoy to his Provisions. having left a fufficient force in Runahuanac, marched forward into Huarcu, where a cruel and bloudy War began, for Chuquimancu having gathered all his Forces into a and bloudy Wall began, to:
Body, to the number of twenty thouland Men, pretended with good Conduct
and Strategems of War to defend his people, and gain the reputation of a renowned Captain. On the other fide the Incas used all their Arts to subdue them with the least effusion of Bloud that was possible; though in this War eight months time passed, with many bloudy Skirmishes, not to be avoided, during which time the Incas relieved their Armies with three, fome fay four exchanges of their forces. and that the Enemy might despair of wearying them out, and constrain them at length to remove their Camp; they gave them fure evidences of their resolution to continue in that station until their surrender; for as a token that they lived at to continue in that tratton until their infection, 100 as a token that they lived at eale, with all the conveniences of the City, they called the Quarter of the Inca Cocco; and to the parts about it, where the Army was lodged they gave the name of the principal streets. Pedro de Cieça says, that this War continued above four years, and that the Inca in that time founded a new City, which he called by the name of Cozco; but this Relation he pretends to have received from the Tuncas themselves, who out of vain glory might be apt to magnifie the greatness of their Actions: But the truth is, the four years were no other than a relieving of the Army four times, and the Foundation of a City was no other than the denomination of Cozco given to the Camp.

By this time the Tuncas began to be fensible of Hunger and Famine, which is the most cruel Enemy, and that which abates and brings low the heat and resolution of the most proud and haughty Spirits; but some time before that extreme Famine diffressed them, the Natives of Runahmanac had instantly petitioned their King Chaquimancu to submit to the Incar, before it was too late, and before their oblinacy had exasperated the mind of the heast to give away their Houses, Lands and Inheritances to their Neighbours of Chincha, who were their mortal Enemies: The people being apprehensive of these matters, and finding their King obstinate in his resistence, privately with drew, and sled from the Camp, giving private intelligence to the Inca of the condition and want in the Enemies Army.

Chaquimanca growing now fensible of his Weakness and Distress, and fearing to be wholly abandoned by his people, and at length to fall without any conditions into the hands of the Incas, began to shew himself inclinable to hearken to proposals of Peace; whereupon calling a Council, they resolved to go in Person, and without Mediation of Ambassadours, to humble themselves before the Incas; and accordingly they proceeded to the Royal Quarters, where cafting themselves on their knees, they begged Mercy and Pardon for their Offences, declaring their readinest to acknowledge themselves Vassals to the *Inca*, fince it was the pleasure and determination of the Sun his Father to make him supreme Lord and Sovereign

The Incas, both Uncle and Nephew, courteoufly received them, according to their usual Grace and Favour, affuring them of pardon, and having vested them with fuch Garments as were accustomary, dispatched them with contentment, and licence to return unto their own homes.

The Natives of these four Provinces, like those of Chincha, make great boastings of the wonderfull Prowefs and Valour of their Ancestours, whom the Incar when not able to fubdue in less than four years War; besides many other Stories of their mighty Deeds, which we omit, because they are not pertinent to our History.

234 F

Howfoever this is certain, that the *Incas* effected it so great a work to have conquered the King *Chuquimancu*, that as a Trophy of their Victory, and in perpetual remembrance of the valiant Actions performed in this War, both by their own people, and by the *Timeas* in their own defence, they built a Fortress in the Valley of *Huarcu*, which, though it were of little compass, yet it was a wonderfull and rare Work for that people, being made with due Symmetry, and according to the Rules of Fortification; and for that Readon, and for the struction of the place, being built on the Sea shore, it ought to be permitted to remain for an ancient plece of antiquity; and indeed the work was so strong and durable, as may last for many ages without any repair; for when I passed by it in the Year 1560, it still shewed what it had been, and which neither I nor any other could behold, without some resenting thoughts of this unconstant and transitory World.

#### CHAP. XXX.

Of the Vallies of Pachacamac and Rimac; and of their

THE King Chaquimanca being thus subdued, and the Government established in his Countrey, according to the Laws, Rites and Customs practised and observed by the Subjects of the Inca. They passed forwards in farther pursuance of their Conquests, over the Vallies of Pachacamac, Rimac, Chancay and Hamnon, (which the Spaniards call the Baranca, or Breach of Earth between two Hills,) all which four were under the Command and Dominion of a powerfull Ruler, called Cuyssmanca, who also had the vanity to take upon himself the Title of King; and though amongst the Indians they have not a word properly to express the name of King, yet the term of Hatun Apn, which is as much as a great Lord, hath some affinity with that signification: And as to these Vallies of Pachacamac and Rimac, which I shall say once for all, that the Spaniards, by corruption of the last Word, give it the name of Lima, by which it is known to this day.

Now as we have faid before, so we must fay again, and as all the Spanish Historians write, That the Kings of Peru did by the mere light of natural Reason attain to the knowledge of one God, the Maker of all things, whom they called Pachacamac, and Sustainer of the Universe; the which Doctrine was more ancient than the time of the Incas, and which was dispersed through all their Kingdoms, both before and after their Conquests. They sarther affirmed, that he was invisible, and because he would not suffer himself to be seen, for that reason they did not build Temples to him, nor offer him Sacrifices, as they did to the Sun, but onely adored him interiourly with profound Veneration in their Hearts, as may appear by their outward gestures, of bowing their Heads, lifting up their eyes, and opening their Arms whensever his sacred Name came to be mentioned. This Doctrine (as we have said) was everywhere dilated; for so soon as any people was subjected to the Incas, this Principle was instilled, in case it had not taken place and root before: But those who had chiefly admitted and received this

Doctrine before the times of the *Incas*, were the Ancestours of this King *Constantaes*, who having built a Temple to *Pachacamae*, did afterwards give the same Name to the Valley where it was erected; which in those days was of the greatest Fame and Renown of any in that Coast. In this Temple the *Tuncas* placed their Idols, which were the Figures of divers forts of Fish; and amongst them they had also introduced the Image of a Shee-sox.

This Temple of *Pachacamae*, which was the onely place to dedicated in all *Peru*, was very magnificent both for the flructure, and for the tervices performed there; for the *Timeas* offered many Sacrifices of Beafts, and other things; not exempting the Bloud of Men, Women and Children, which they killed at their principal Feflivals, being practifed allo in many other Provinces, untill reformed by the Government of the *Incas*; and this shall serve at present to have spoken of *Pachacamae*, intending to touch farther thereupon, as we shall have occasion in the occurrences of this History.

Royal Commentaries.

The Valley of Rimae lies four Leagues to the Northward from Pachacamae; Rimae fignifies something which speaks, having its name from a certain Idol, of the Figure of a Man, which spake, and answered questions, like the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos, and several others in the World, by which the Devil deluded the people in times of the ancient Gentilism. This Idol was seated in a most sumption of the great Lords of Pern either went in Person, or enquired by their Ambassadours, of all important Affairs relating to their Provinces. The Tuncas held this pleasant Veneration, as likewise did the Ineas, after they had subdued that pleasant Valley where the Spaniards sounded that City which they call the King's City, or King's Town, having had its first Foundation begun on that day which we celebrate in remembrance of our Saviour's first manifesting himself to the Gentiles; to that Rimae and Lima, or the King's Town, is all one, bearing Three Crowns, with a Star, for its Arms.

The Spanish Hiltorians consound the Temple of Rimae with Puchaeamae, saying that the Idol of Pachaeamae was the speaking Oracle; but this is but one of those many mistakes of which, for want of knowledge in the propriety of that Tongue, they have been guilty; and indeed the neighboured of those Vallies, and vicinity of one of them to the other, being not above sour Leagues distant, may make their Errour the more tolerable. And thus much shall serve to shew that the speaking Idol was Rimae, and not Pachaeamae; with which let us return to our for-

Before the General Cupac Ynpanqui arrived with his Army at the Valley of Pa-chacamae, he dispatched after his usual Custome, his Summons to the King Cnysmauer, requiring him to yield Obedience to the Inca Pachacance, and that he should prepare to acknowledge and receive him for his supreme Lord and Sovereign, and to observe his Laws and Customs, and that renouncing all other Gods and Idols, they should adore the Sun for the chief and principal God: These were the conditions which he offered to him, which if he refused to accept, he was resolved to make War upon him, and constrain him thereunto, either by sair means or foul, by eentle persuaffons, or ruder arguments of the Sword.

226

#### XXXI CHAP.

Of the Answer demanded of Cuysmancu to these Summons. and of what Capitulations were made with him.

THE late successes of the *Inca* in the neighbouring Countries, had sufficient ly allarmed this great Prince Cussimancu, and warned him to provide for a War, and for his own defence; wherefore having gathered his Army, in presence of the Captains and Souldiers he received the Summons of the Inca; for answer whereunto he replied, That neither he nor his people ftood in need of other Prince or Ruler besides himself, that the Laws and Customs which they observed were descended and derived to them from their Fore-fathers, which they found so good and laudable, that they could not refolve to forfake them to embrace Manners and a Religion wholly frange and foreign to them; that amongst other Gods they adored the Pachacamac, who was the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe. and for that reason must be greater than the Sun; that they had built a Temple and for that reaton mult be greater than the Sun; that they had built a Temple wherein they facrificed unto him of the best of their Substance, and offered he Bloud of their Men, Women and Children to him, esteeming nothing too dear whereby they might testifie the great Reverence and Veneration they had for him, which was so prosound and dreadfull, that they durst not behold his Image in the Face, but approached to him at his hinder parts, as also did the Priests, who dust not so much as lift up their Eyes to behold him; that they had another God called Rimac, whom also they adored, who was more familiar with them, and difcourfed and talked with them, and gave them Counfel in their most difficult Affairs; that they worshipped also a Fox for his Crast and Subtilty, and the Mamacocha, or Mother-Sea, because it provided them with Fish for their nourishment, all which were a sufficient number of Gods for their protection and use, but as to the Sun, they never had heard any great report of him for a God, or that any had heard him fpeak like *Rimae*; nor had they need of much more heat than what was natural to the Climate of their Countrey, and therefore they defired the Inca to grant them Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom in their way of Worship, for that they did not find any great need they had either of the Inca's Government, or his Religion.

The Incas were so well satisfied to understand that the Yuncas conceived much Devotion for the Pachacamac, whom they inwardly and mentally adored in their Hearts, that they proposed to reduce them without War, and overcome them with perfuafions, reasonings and gentle promises and allurements, reserving the

force of Arms and compulfion for the last and ultimate Remedy. With this Intention the Incas proceeded into the Valley of Pachacamac, where they were encountred by the King Cuysmancu with a strong Band of Men, resolved to defend their Countrey: Whereupon the General Yupangui dispatched a Mesfenger to them, advising them not to engage in Battel, untill such time as they had paffed a Conference together, touching the Honour and Worthip of their Gods: For that befides the Sun, whom they adored, they thought fit to acquaint them, that they conceived a great Devotion for the *Pachacamac*, to whom though they had erected no Temples, nor offered Sacrifices, because he was invisible, and incomprehenfible, and above their Conceptions, yet they inwardly worthipped him in their Hearts, and conceived so great an Awe and Reverence for him, that they durst not take his Name in vain, or pronounce it with their Mouths, without profound and humble Adoration; wherefore fince they worshipped the fame God, and were of the fame Religion, there was no ground or foundation of Quarrel; but Reason rather perfuaded, that they should live in Friendship and Amity together. Moreover the Incas, befides this Devotion which they paid to Pachacamae, whom they held to be the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe;

they had a farther Honour to the facred Oracle of Rimac, which the Timeas also adored; and therefore fince the Ingas condescended to far to them, as to worthin their Idol of Rimae, they ought also to correspond with the like Brotherly kindtheir 1001 of Almac, they ought also to correspond with the like Blotherly kindness, and comply with them in the religious Worthip of the Sun, who was a visible God, and whose Beauty and Splendour deserved Veneration, and whose Benefits bestowed on Mankind, did merit the gratefull acknowledgment of all Creatures, being much more to be preferred before the Deity of a Fox, or other low and infignificant Animals of Sea and Land, to which they paid Divine Honours. Wherefore now by way of friendly Accommodation they proposed to them to acknowledge the Inca his Brother for their Lord and Sovereign, and to obey him as a true born Child of the Sun, being efteemed for fuch, and a God upon Earth, the which he evidenced and proved by his impartial Justice dispensed to all by his Clemency and Piety, by his Gentleness, and by the Excellencies of his Laws and Government, which were so easie and beneficial, as rendred him amiable, and desired by many Nations, who upon the Report of his Vertues, and rare qualifications of his Maiestv. have voluntarily defired to be admitted, and came from remote Countries to lift themselves in the Roll of his Subjects; wherefore since the In hath been pleased to spare them these pains, and come and offer them in their own Countrey fo much felicity, there was no reason they should neglect or refuse fo pretious a Bleffing, because it was free: Wherefore they entreated them again to confider, without prejudice or passion, of these Offers, and not constrain the ha to impose that on them by rude and forcible terms, which he desired gently winfill into them with the most fost persuasions imaginable, and not be forced to have recourse unto his Arms, against which no humane power was capable to make refiftence.

Royal Commentaries.

The King Cuysmancu and his Subjects lent a favourable Ear to all these Discourses, and having obtained a Truce for some days, at length by the Industry and Prudence of the Incas, a Peace was concluded on these following Conditions:

That the Yuncas should adore the Sun and the Incas; that they should build a Temple apart to Pachacamac, where they might facrifice, and make him any Offerings they pleased, provided they were not of the Bloud of Mankind; it being against the Law, and light of Nature, for one Man to murther another, or kill him for a Sacrifice to his God: Wherefore that Custome was wholly to be abolished. That all the Idols in the Temple of Pachacamae should be ejected thence, it being neither reasonable, nor decent to entertain mean and petty Deities in the Temple of that Great God, who is the Maker and Sustainer of the Universe; and who being invisible, ought invisibly to be worshipped; and for that reason, that no Image or Representation of him should be erected in his Temple, where it had not pleased himself to discover his Shape and Form, or to evidence his Beauty in that manner as the Sun daily appears unto us. That for the better Ornament and Fame of this Valley of Pachacamac, a Monastery of Select Virgins should be founded there, with a Temple dedicated to the Sun, both which gave a great Reputation to this Valley, because it resembled the City of Cozco in that matter which made the City it felf illustrious and sacred. That the King Cuysmancu hould fill remain Prince in his own Dominions, and the Curacus continue with their Authority, onely that they should acknowledge Obedience to the Inca, as their Supreme, and observe his Laws and Customs. And finally, That the Incas should bear all Reverence and Respect to the Oracle of Rimae, and should commend all the Delicate that the Incas should be the Delicate State of the Oracle of Rimae, and should commend all the Delicate State of the Oracle of Rimae. mand all their People and Subjects to doe the like.

Upon these Terms and Conditions a Peace was concluded between the General Capac Yupangui and the King Curstmancu, to whom he gave a Memorial of all the Laws and Customs which the Inca commanded him to observe; together with these Constitutions, which relate to the Tribute payable to the Sun, and Inca; all which feeming to be just and honest, the King received them with much alacrity. All which matters and things being orderly ordained, and established, and Officers, with a sufficient Guard, being placed for better security of the Country, the General with his Nephew returned to Cozco, to render the beau an Accuse of the second of the sec count of their Successes, and Subjection of the Yuncas. And that the Inca might have the Acquaintance of the Cussmancu, and own him for his Confederate and Allie, rather than his Vaffal, he was invited to accompany the General to Cozco;

238

with which Cussimancu was greatly pleased, having not onely the opportunity here by to satisfie his curiosity in the fight of that famous City, but to receive the honour of kissing the hands of the Inca.

The Inca Pachacutee, who at the beginning of this War, had feated himself in the Province of Rucana, was now upon the news of his Brother's good Success returned back to Corco, from whence he went to meet his Brother, and Son, welcoming them home with all the Joy and Triumph he was able; and having received Cnysmancu with obliging Terms, and encouraging expressions, he commanded that he should take his place in this solemnity amongst the Incus of the Royal Bloud, of which Cnysmancu was not more proud, than envied by his Cnracas

This Triumph being folemnized, the Inca gratified Chyfmancu with many Honours, and diffrached him to his own Countrey laden with his Favours; as he like wifedid to the other Curacas, who accompanied him, and all returned greatly faic fied, proclaiming the *Inca* for the true Child of the Sun, and to be adored, and ferved in all parts of the Universe. It is very observable: That so soon as the De vil faw, that the Inca was become Master of the Valley of Pachacamac, and that the Temple there was despoiled of all the little Images and Idols, which possessed it, he presently contrived to make it a Habitation for himself, and to be there worshipped for the unknown God; that he might vent his Lies and Deceirs in all Shapes and forms, and fer them to fale with best advantage. To which end he whispered into the Ears of the most eminent Priests from all the corners of the Temple, telling them, that fince the Temple was now freed of the falle Idok which polluted it, he was ready to give answer to all the Questions and Demands which should be enquired of him; not that he would attend to the frivolous and impertinent Oueries of the common People, but onely to fuch as should be put to him by their Incas, and Princes, who were defirous to be refolved in matters of great importance, relating to the Government, and alterations of State and Religion. And that the common People also might not want a Director, he was pleafed to commit the care of those Resolves to his Servant the Oracle Rimae. whom he had infoired with Wifedom to answer all their Enquiries. From which time it became a Custome to consult all matters of State with the Oracle Patharamac, and to make common and vulgar Enquiries at Rimac; which because they were many, and that this Oracle was ever folicited with a multitude of Demands. he was called the prating Oracle; for being obliged to answer all, it was necessary for him to talk much; the which paffage Blas Valera touches briefly in his Hiffory.

And now at length the Inca Pachacutec thought it convenient to defift for some years from farther progress in his Conquests over the new Provinces, by which time of Peace his Armies would be able to recover and refresh themselves, and he having leifure thereby to attend his Civil Government, might also have means to enoble his Kingdoms with magnificent Edifices, Laws, and Rites, and Ceremonies, agreeable to the new Reformation he was making in Religion, that so his Actions might correspond with the fignification of his Name, and his Fame eternized for a great and wife King in Government, for a fanctified High-Priest in Religion, and for a great Captain in War; and indeed the truth is, he gained more Provinces than any of his Fore-fathers, and enriched the Temple more than any particular Inca before him; for he plated all the Walls with Leaves of Gold, both of the Temple, and Chambers and Cloifters about it. In that place where formerly was the Image of the Sun, is now the Altar of the Bleffed Sacrament; and those Cloifters serve now for Processions at the times of Festivals; that Fabrick being now the Convent of St. Dominick: For which happy Alteration may the bleffed Name of the Eternal Majefty be for ever praifed and exalted.

Book VI. Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Conquest over the King Chimu, and the cruel War against him.

AT the end of fix years the Inca Pachaeutee finding his Kingdoms rich and happy by the advantages of so long a Peace, commanded an Army of thirty thousand Men to be raised to subdue those Vallies which lie along the Coast of Casamarca, and which were the confines of his Empire, on the side, or at the foot of the high Mountain.

The Army being raifed, was commanded by four Major Generals under his Son, the Prince Themagui, for he having been exercifed for fome years under the Instructions and Example of that famous Commander his Uncle, was now become so good a Proficient in War, that he was capable to conduct and lead an Army on the most difficult and hazardous Design. And for Themagui, Brother to the Inca, and whom he justily called his Right hand, he desired to stay, and keep company with him, that so he might rest, and take repose after his many and geat labours; in reward of which, and for his Royal Vertues, he bestowed upon him the Name and Title of his Lieutenant General, and second Person in all matters and causes relating to War and Peace, with absolute Power and Com-

mand in all parts of his Empire.

The Army being in a readiness, the Prince marched with a Detachment of about ten thousand Men by way of the Mountain, untill he came to the Province of Yauyu, which lies overagainst the City of the Kings, or Kings-town, where he made some flay, untill the rest of his Army was come up to him; with which being joined. he marched to Rimac, where the prating Oracle had its Temple. To this Prince Tupanqui the Indians attribute the honour of being the first who made Discovery of the South-Sea, and fubdued many Provinces in those parts, as will appear more at large in the Hiftory of his Life. The Prince being in those parts, was met by the Curraca of Pachacamae, called Cunfmancu, and of Runahuanae, named Chaquimancu, who with their Souldiers received him with much Honour, and with intention to ferve him in the War, and the Prince on the other fide gratified them with demonstrations of his usual Favours and Bounty. From the Valley of Rimac they went to visit the Temple of Pachacamac, where they entred with a profound silence, without vocal Prayer or Sacrifice, onely with figns of mental Devotion, as we have before expressed. Thence he made his Visit to the Temple of the Sun, where he offered many Sacrifices, and other gifts both of Gold and Silver. And to please the Yuncas he visited the Idol Rimac, and in compliance with the late Capitulations between the Inca and them, he commanded many Sacrifices to be offered, and enquiry to be made of that Oracle concerning the fuccess of that expedition; to which having received answer that the design should be prosperous, he marched forward to that Valley which the Indians called Huaman, and named now by the Spaniards the Barranca; from whence he fent his usual Summons to a certain Lord called Chimn, who commanded all the Vallies reaching from the Barranca to the City Truxillo, and are many in number; but the chief and most principal of them are five, namely Parmunca, Hualbri, Santa, Huanapu and Chimu, which is the Countrey in which Truxillo is fituated, and are all five most pleafant and fruitfull Vallies, and well peopled; the Prince giving himself the Title of the powerfull Chimu from the name of that Province where he kept his Court. He also took on himself the Title of King, being seared and honoured by all his Neighbours, who bordered on his Countrey, that is to the East, North and South; for to the West he was confined by the Sea.

This great and powerfull *Chimu* having received these Summons, gave a quick Answer, That he was ready with his Weapons in his Hands to defend his Countrey, Laws and Liberties; that he would not know, nor receive new Gods; and

24I

that the Inca (hould take this for a positive Answer, without seeking farther Refolution or Query in the case. Upon this Answer the Prince *Tupanqui* marched as far as the Valley *Parmunca*, where he expected to meet and engage with his Fig. my, and had not long attended before they appeared with a Itrong band of Soul diers, who readily made trial of the Force and Valour of the Incas; the Fight was that and long, in defence of a Pass, which, notwithstanding the resistence made by them, the *Incas* possessed, and lodged themselves in it, many being slain and wounded on both fides.

At length the Prince observing the resolution with which these Tuncas desen. ded themselves, and that this confidence proceeded from a contempt of his small numbers, fent unto his Father an account of all his proceedings, desiring him to fupply him with a recruit of twenty thousand Men, not that he would relieve his Army, as he had formerly done, and thereby give time and breath to the Erienty. but that he might be enabled to fall upon them with a double force.

These Advices being dispatched to the Inca, the Prince closely attended total the advantages of War, in which he found himself much assisted by the two Cha racas of Pachacamae, and Runahuanae, who having formerly been mortal Ehemiss to Chimu on the old Quarrels about their Confines, and Palturage, making one the other Slaves and Vaffals, did with great animofity and malice take this on portunity in conjunction with the Inca, to vent their malice, and fatisfie their revenge, which the Chimu did more fenfibly feel than any other circumstance. and therefore heated with anger and indignation prepared the more oblinger ly to defend themselves.

Thus did the War become most cruel and bloudy being encreased by the ancient animolities between the Tincas, which they exercised one against the other in service of the Inca, and which was so sharp, that in few days the Inca gained the Valley of Parmuna, driving the Natives out, and forcing them to retire into the Valley of Hualimi, where also happened many Skirmishes, and engagements, and being also driven from thence, they fled into the Valley of South. efteemed the most pleasant and delightfull place in those days of any upon the Sea-Coast, though now it remains almost desolate, because the Natives have destroy-

ed both this, and all the other Vallies.

The Inhabitants of Santta appeared more warlike than those of Hualimi and Parmunca, fo that Skirmishes and Battels frequently happened; and sometimes with that equality of Fortune, that they gained the Honour and Reputation of good Souldiers in the esteem of the Incas, and raised the hopes of the great Chinn; for he flattering himself with the valour and courage of his own Souldiers; and entertaining fancies and imaginations to himself, that this Prince, who had been educated in the foftness of his Father's Court, would quickly be tired with the long continued rudeness of War, and so be desirous to enjoy the pleasures of peace and quietness at home; that the natural desire also of his Souldiers to see their Wives and Families, would cool their ardour and heat towards the War; and that the heat of the Countrey would abate their Mettle, and incline them to a lazy Humour, or else cause Diseases and Indispositions amongst them; with which vain imagination the resolute Chimu entertaining his thoughts, refused to hearken to any Propositions which the Inca from time to time offered to them; but rather reinforcing his Army with all the recruits those Vallies could contribute, he renewed the War with fresh vigour and courage, so that many being killed and wounded daily on both sides, twas accounted the most difficult and bloudy War that was ever waged at any time by the *lncas*. Howfoever the Captains and *Curacus* of *Chimu*, who with due confideration weighed the true flate and condition of Affairs, knew well that this opposition could not continue long, but that eight ther fooner or later they must yield unto the Enemy; and therefore inwardly were enclinable to hearken unto Propositions of Peace and Friendship, though in respect to the Will and Pleasure of their Lord, they patiently endured all the labours and dangers of War, not daring to express their opinions to the contrary, untill such time as they faw their Wives and Children seized and carried into slavery.

CHAP

#### XXXIII CHAP.

Of the Miseries and Sufferings of the Great Chimu: and of his Obstinacy therein; and how at length he was forced to vield.

WHilft the War was thus carried on with great resolution, the twenty thoufand Souldiers which the Prince had demanded for a recruit to his Army arrived, which much abated the haughty and confident humour of Chimu, finding, to his great forrow, all his hopes and expectations disappointed; for on one side he perceived the force and strength of the Inca to be doubled, when he suppofed, or imagined it to be decreased; and on the other, he found the spirit and courage of his own people to be dejected and terrified with the appearance of a new Army; being of opinion, that they were now rather to fight in compliance with the humour of their Prince, than in hopes of making defence against the power of the Enemy: Wherefore being much dismayed and terrified, the chief and principal Lords addressed themselves to Chimu, advising him not to contend, or hold out untill the last extremity, but rather accept the offers and propositions made to them by the Inca; there being no reason to persist longer in this obstinaev, which would give opportunity to their inveterate Enemies to enrich themselves with their spoils, carrying away their Wives and Children into slavery: To prevent which, no farther delays ought to be made, left their lafting obstinacy should provoke the Inca beyond all sufferance, and bowels of humane compassion; and that casting away the terms of Mercy, he should entirely extirpate their race with fire and fword.

With this discourse and admonition of his Friends, (which seemed rather like Menaces, than wholfome counsel) the brave Chimu lost his wonted courage, not knowing what to doe, or unto whom to fly for fuccour; all his Neighbours and Allies fainting under the fame dread and fear of the Inca: So that at length not knowing where to turn, he resolved to accept the first offers and propositions which should be made to him by the Inca; for his great Soul could not bear a submission in Person, or that the first proffers should come from him, lest it should betray a meanness of his Spirit, but rather that the Proposals and Articles of Peace should come to him from the *Inca*. And in the mean time covering this his intention to his own people, he encouraged them to continue the War; telling them, that he had ftill hopes, and did not fear with the help and valour of his people, but to conclude this War with great honour and advantage. And therefore he encouraged them to fland up in the defence of their Countrey, for whose fake and safety they were obliged to dye with Weapons in their hands, and not for every small disaster to faint and yield; it being the manner of War to be doubtfull, and to lose that one day, which they might re-gain the next: If they were troubled to have seen some of their Wives and Children carried into slavery, that they should comfort themselves with the thoughts, that they had the advantage of their Enemy in that particular, having made greater Depredations on their Wives, than they ever did upon theirs. And therefore that they should not shew any Despondency of mind, but rather trust to his judgment and persuasions, who had more care of their fafety than he had of his own.

With these faint encouragements and counsels, rather than with folid hope, the Great Chimu difiniffed his people, amongst whom he was much troubled to find such dejected and disconsolate countenances; howfoever, putting the best face he could on the business, he maintained the War, untill such time as the usual Propositions came from the *Inca*, offering pardon, peace and friendship according to the accustomed style often and often repeated. Having heard the Proposals pronounced again to him, he seemed to entertain them with the same indistrerency

242

as formerly; howfoever, as if he were become a little more pliable than he had been, he answered, that for his part, he continued in the same resolution never to condescend, unless for the good and quiet of his Subjects, whom he would there fore confult, and act according to their Directions and Resolves; and so having affembled his Relations and Captains, he acquainted them with the Propositions of the Inca, and that they should confider of them, and of their own welfare: for if it were their opinion to submit, and obey, he would prefer their will and fafety, before his own Honour, or Sovereignty.

The Captains were over-joyed to find their Curaca thus to meet their defires and to recede from that principle, which would have been their destruction; and thereupon took the liberty to tell him, that it was reasonable and just to yield unto such a mercifull Prince, as was the Inca, considering that when it was in his to such a mercifull Prince, as was the *Inca*, considering that when it was in his power to have subdued them by stores, he would rather invite them by the terms of Mercy. This being the general sense of all the people, it was pronounced with a considerate of Free-men, and not with the awe and reverence of Vastals, and therewith the Great Chima being also convinced, and affenting, dispatched his Ambassadours to the Prince Tapangai, supplicating, that he would be pleased to dispense one Ray of that mercy and compassion to him and his Subjects, which like the bright Children of the Sun, they had cast upon all the four quarters of the World, which were subject to them requires the relative to the prince of the Sun, they had cast upon all the four quarters of the World, which were subject to them requires the relative to the prince of the sun, they had cast upon all the four quarters of the World. World, which were subjected to their power: the which he with the more confi World, which were ubjected to their power: the winderne with the more commence implored, having had fuch frequent examples and precedents of Clemency and Juftice, which both his Father the *Inca*, and others of his Anceftors, had daily and freely imparted to Mankind; and therefore he was no less affured of his indulgence towards his Subjects, who had less fault than himself, having rather continued in their rebellion by his infligation and encouragement, than by any inclination or perversenels in themselves.

The Prince being well fatisfied with this Embaffy, that he might spare the effusion of that blond which he had so long feared, received the Ambassadours according to his accustomed grace and favour, encouraging them to lay aside all apprehensions of distrust; and for better assurance thereof, he advised them to bring their Curaca with them, that he might perfonally hear his Pardon and Absolution pronounced by the mouth of the Inca himself, and receive favours and presents from his own hand.

The brave Chimu having abated the haughtiness of his spirit, with much humility and fubmiffion prefented himself before the Inca, and proftrating with his face in the Duft, often repeated the fame supplications, which he had made by his Ambaffadours: And in this pofture continued, until the Prince, being greatly affected with the fenfe of his afflictions, commanded two of his Captains to raife him from the Earth; and then told him, that he did not onely pardon him whatfoever was past; but affured him, that he could have done much more, in case he had committed greater offences. That he was not come into his Countrey to deprive him of his State, but to improve, and make it better; instructing them in such Laws both of Religion and Civil government, as would greatly advantage their condition and happiness of living: And in evidence hereof, that Chimu might be fensible that he was not to lose his Estate and Government; he did here freely refign it again into his hands, promiting unto him all fecurity in the enjoyment thereof; conditionally, that rejecting and deftroying all their Idob which represented Fish, and other Animals, they should Worship and Adore no other than the Sun.

Chimn being thus cheared up, and comforted with the pleasant countenance, and obliging expressions of the *Inca*; again bowed himself, and adored him; and told him, that he was forry for nothing to much, as that he had not yielded to his first Summons; and though his Highness was so Gratious as to pardon this fault, yet he could not forgive himself, being resolved to punish himself for this crime by a perpetual penance, and grief, and lamentation for it in his heart; and that as to Religion, or Customs, or Laws, he should impose what he pleased, and they should be readily received.

With these Conditions the Peace was concluded, and the Chimu yielded to Subjection and Vaffalage; and thereupon both he and his Nobles were velted and honoured. After which for the improvement and adormment of their Countries. trey, Orders were given to erect Royal Edifices, and make Aqueducts and Chanels for carrying Water into their Arable Lands; and for enlarging the Grounds

for planting and fowing, and all manner of Agriculture. Store-houses also were erected wherein to lay the proportion of those Fruits which belonged to the Sun. and to the Inca; and for receiving such Provisions as were made against the times of famine, or years of fcarcity; all which was agreeable to the ancient and laudable customs and care practifed by the Incas: More particularly in the Valley of Parmunea, the Prince commanded, that a Fortress should be built, and there to remain for a perpetual remembrance and fignal Trophy of their Victory obtained against the King of Chimu, having been the place and seat of a bloudy War. The For was ftrengthened with great Art, and adorned with Paintings, and other curiofities: Howfoever, these rarities could not administer consideration to unconcerned Strangers and Foreigners sufficient to spare them, and free them from being demolified; howfoever, they are not fo totally destroyed, but that still some ruines remain to show the compass and circumference of that Work.

Things being quieted and fetled in Chimu, Garrifons established, and Ministers appointed both for Civil Government and Matters of Religious Worship; the Prince took his farewell of Chimu, who was greatly satisfied to see himself continued in his Power and Rule; and then the Prince returned to Cozco. where he was received with the usual folemnity, and the Festivals of Triumph celebrated for the

frace of a Month.

BOOK VI.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

How the Inca improved his Empire, and of his other Actions till the time of his Death.

 $\mathbf{T}^{ ext{HE}}$  Inca Pachacutes being by this time grown aged, began to fludy his quiet and repose, resolving not to engage himself farther in War for the enlargement of his Empire, having already extended the fame 130 Leagues North and South, and in breadth as far as it is from the fnowy Mountain unto the Sea, which is 70 Leagues East and West; and all in order to the propagation of those received principles from their Ancestors, which were to doe benefit to Mankind, reducing them to rules of Morality and good manners.

He planted many Colonies in dry and barren Countries, having by his Chanels

of Water made them fruitfull.

He erected many Temples to the Sun, and Monasteries for the Select Virgins, after the form and model of that at Cozco. He also made many Store-houses for Corn and Victuals, and for Arms, wherewith to supply his Army in their march, and maintain his people in the time of scarcity, and also built several Palaces on the great Roads for better accommodation of the Incas in their Travels. In short, he reformed every thing that was amiss in the whole Empire, and added to his Religion many new Rites and Ceremonies, and introduced many laudable Cuftoms,

and new Laws, tending to the better regulation of Moral life: He ejected many of the Idols formerly Worthipped by his Subjects out of the Temples, and forbad many barbarous and abominable cuftoms in use amongst them.

And that he might shew himself as great a Captain and Souldier, as he was a king and Priest, he reformed the Militia, instructing them in the Discipline of War; and for encouragement of his Souldiery, he established new favours and honours for those that should deserve them. He also enlarged and beautified the great size of the subject of th great City of Coxco with sumptuous Buildings, and supplied it with new Citizens and Inhabitants; and particularly he erected a Palace for himself near those Schools, which his Great Grandfather Roca had founded: For which Magnificent actions, and for his fweet and gentle disposition, he was beloved and adored like another Jupiter. He reigned fifty years, and, as some say, seventy; during all

which time, he lived in great peace and prosperity; at the end of which he dyed, being universally lamented by his Subjects, having his place allotted to him amongst the Kings his Predecessors, and enrolled in the List and Number of their Gods. He was embalmed according to the custome of their Countrey; and his Obsequies performed with cries, and sighs, and sacrifices, and other ceremonies of Funeral, which continued for the space of a whole year.

He left the Universal inheritance of his Empire to his Eldest Son Yupanqui, and his Wife and Sister Coya Anahnarque, besides which he left above three hundred Sons and Daughters; and that in all, with legitimate and natural Children, he made up the number of more than four hundred; and yet the Indians esteem these but few, considering they were the issue of organ, and so good a Father.

but few, confidering they were the ifflie of so great, and so good a Father. The Spanish Historians consound the Names of this Father and Son in one denomination, calling the Father Impanyai, and the Son Inca, whereas Inca was the Royal Title, as Angustus was to the Emperours. The cause of this mistake amongs the Spanisards arises from the Indians themselves, who having occasion to mention these two Kings, say Pachacutec Inca, Impansus; which the Spanisards missunderstanding, take to be one person, and so consound the Father with the Son; though, in reality, the Indians make great difference, distinguishing this Impansus from his Father and others by the sirrame of Tupac, which is as much as to say (resplendent) in like manner they distinguish another Inca Tupanqui, by the Father of Huasna Capac, and another Tupanqui by the Grandsather of Huascar; and so give some distinction to them all, which I denote for better clearing the History to observing and intelligent Readers.

#### CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Schools which he founded and enlarged, and of the Laws he made for good Government.

"being dead, and placed by the Indians, amongst the number of their Gods, the Grand Tim his Son succeeded in his Throne by the Name of Manca Capas, untill such time as his Father gave him the Name of Pachacutec, which signifies as much, as if they should call him the Reformer of the World: the which Name was verified by the many faunous Actions he performed, and the many wise Sentences and Proverbs which he uttered; the which were so excellent and renowned, that having deserved that August Title, the former Name began to be forgotten. This Inca governed his Empire with that vigilance, prudence and courage both in War and Peace, that he not onely enlarged it rowards all the four quarters of the World, which they called Tavantinson, but strengthened and corroborated it by such excellent Laws and Statutes, as were judged worthy to be consirmed by the Wisedom of our Catholick Kings; those onely excepted, which had respect to the Idolatrous Rites of their Religion, and to the permissions of their Incestuous Marriages. This Inca, above all things, amplified and endowed with Honours and Revenues those Schools which the Inca Recaption of the strength of the capable of the strength of the

" of Officets, 'tis almost lost and forgotten, to the great damage and obstruction of the Gospel. Such *Indians* as to these days retain that Language, are much better civilized, and more intelligent than those others, who are as gross and corrupt in their Manners, as they are in their Language.

It was this Pachacetee who prohibited all persons, unless they were Princes, " and of the Bloud-Royal, to wear Gold or Silver, or pretious Stones, or Feathers of divers colours, or the fine fort of Goats Wool, which they had learned to Weave with admirable Art. He commanded, that upon the first days of the new Moon, and other days of Festival, they should go decently, but not gaily dreffed; by which means he made moderate cloathing to become a falhion, which to this day is observed by the Indians, who are Tributaries; and hath that good effect upon them, that thereby they are freed from the danger of bad Arts, which oftentimes necessitate Men to exercise unlawfull contrivances for the fake of fine cloathing, and gay apparel. Though indeed at prefent those Indians who are Servants to Spaniards, or live amongst them, are become greatly corrupt in that particular, not valuing their honour or confciences in comparison with the gallantry and finery of their Apparel. This Inca likewise enjoyned great with the gainatry and intery of their Apparer. This mea intervite enjoying greating in Eating, though he gave more liberty to the Commonalty, as well as the Princes, in the excels of Drink. He ordained particular Officers to overfee, and take notice of idle Perfons, and Vagabonds, not fuffering any perfon to want bufinefs, or employment, but to ferve his Father, or his Mafter, to that Children of five or fix years of Age were not excused from some employment and work agreeable to their years. Even the lame, and blind, and dumb had fome fort of work put into their hands; the Old Men and Women were fet to affright away the Crows and Birds from the Corn, and thereby gained their Bread and Cloathing. And left Men, by reason of continual labour and toil, flould become weary, and their lives burthensome, he provided that for their better ease, they should have three Days of repose and divertisement in every Moon, by which they accounted their Month: He appointed three Fairs in every Month, to be held at the end of every nine Days; so that such as lived in the Villages might at the end of the Week find a Market, at which to vend the Commodities they had made and worked: With occasion of which meeting and concourfe of people, they heard and learned those Rules and Ordinances which the Inca and his Counsel published and proclaimed, though afterwards this King, for the better convenience of his people, appointed Markets to be held every day in the City, which they call Catu, and so remain unto this time': onely the Fairs he appointed to be kept on Festival-days for the greater folemnity and divertisement of the people. He made a Law, that every Province and City should affign Limits and Boundaries to their Mountains, Pastures, Woods, Rivers, Lakes, and Arable Lands, which they claimed and challenged, and to to remain for perpetual figuals of their Rights and Inheritance, that fo no Governour, or Curuca, might dare to encroach thereupon, or extend his authority, or jurisdiction, beyond them; but that the Inhabitants might enloy freely their own possessions without any disturbance from Aliens, or people of the Neighbouring Provinces: In like manner the Royal Rents belonging to the Sun, and the Inca, were assigned, which the Indians were to plow and fow, and gather the fruits of them according to those rules and measures which are before prescribed by their Agrarian Law. Hence appears the errour of those who affirm, that the Indians allowed no right or propriety in their Inheritances: For though the proportion of Lands was not fer out by any exact measures of possession, yet every Man's labour gave him a title to that Land which he was able to Manure; for it was an Ancient custome of the Indians to meet together, and Manure not onely the Lands belonging to the publick, but fuch also as were the possessions of particular persons, which every one appropriated to himself by the right of that labour which he had bestowed upon it: For the manner was for the people to meet together, and then in the first place to plow and fow the Lands belonging to particular men, affifting each other with common labour: Then they employed themselves in Manuring the Lands belonging to the Sun and Inca, with common labour, observing the like rule in reaping and gathering in the Fruits in times of Harvest, and lodging them in the Royal Repositories, or Store-houses. By the same help, and almost by the same common consent they built their Houses, the Neighbourhood being appointed and

246

BOOK VI.

"obliged thereunto by Orders of the Common Council within the respective Precincts; to which the people so readily concurred, and willingly contributed to supply the necessities of each other, that in a very short time they range and the supply the necessities of each other, that in a very short time they range and the supply sup

## CHAP. XXXVI.

Of many other Laws introduced by the Inca Pachacutec, and of his Sentences and Wife Sayings.

IN fine, this King, with the affiltence and wifedom of his Counfel, having reviewed and weighed the feveral Laws, Statutes and Customs in use and practice amongst the many Nations and Provinces which he had reduced, confirmed those of them which were good and profitable, and abrogated those which interfered with the common peace, and were repugnant to the Majelly " and Sovereign Dignity of the Inca; to which he added many other Laws against Blasphemers, Paricides, Homicides and Traytors to the Inca, also against Adulbrainferners, Particles, Hollicutes and Haylors of the away Daughters out of the Houfes of their Parents, or by violence committed Rapes on the Bodies of Women, or attempted the Chaftity of the Select Virgins, or robbed, or purloi ned, or burned Houses, or were guilty of Incest in the right line. Besides which, he added many Rites and Ceremonies to be observed in their Sacrifices, and confirmed those ancient Institutions of his Ancestors, relating unto their Temples and Religion. He also confirmed these ancient Laws following: Namely, That Children should obey and serve their Parents untill the Age of twenty five years; and that all contracts of Marriage before that time, without the confent of Parents on both fides, were void and null; and that Children born in that condition were Bastards, and Illegitimate; but if in case, in the " Estate of such Matrimony, the consent and approbation of Parents should after wards be obtained, then were the Children esteemed Legitimate, and restord to the privileges of lawfull Inheritance. He moreover approved and confirmed the Estates which were appropriated to the maintenance of Lordships and Seigniories according to the ancient customs of Kingdoms and Provinces, in which cases the Judges were not to receive Fees or Rewards for Judgment. Many of ther Laws were made by this *Inca* of less consideration, the particulars of which for brevity fake, we omit; and shall hereafter discourse more fully of those Laws which he made for Regulation of Judges, of Matrimonial Contracts, and of the Testaments of persons deceased, and of what he instituted about Military Discipline, and the account to be observed in the course and circle of the fury Discipline, and the account to be observed in the course and chee of the year. In this Age of ours Don Francisco de Toledo, changed and altered many of those Laws and Statutes which were made by this Duca, in which the Indians of Serving and admiring his absolute and uncontrollable power, gave him the Name of Pachacutee, the Second, which is as much as to say, the Resonre of the Reformers; and so great was that reverence which they bore to that Inch. "that even to this day his Memory is dear and pretious to them. Thus far are the words of Bluv Valera, which I found amongst his loose Papers; all other matters which he wrote concerning Judges and Marriages, with the account of their Militia, and the course of their year were all lost, which was a general damage to the whole World. Howsoever, in a scattered leaf, I found some Sententions Savings of this *Inca Pachacutec*, which are these which follow.

When the Subjetts, Captains and Curacas heartily and willingly obey their Prince, then date the Nation entry perfect peace and quietnefs.

Envy is a Cancer which eats and gnaws into the bowels of the Envious.

He that is envious, and is envied, bath a double torment.

Better is it that thou shoulds be caviled by others for being good, than that thou shoulds enty others, because thou art bad. He that envies others, burts himself.

He that envies good Men, contracts evil unto himfelf, as the Spider draws and fucks poi-

Drunkenness, anger and folly are equally mischievous; dissering onely in this, that the two sirst are transfent and mutable, but the third permanent and continuing.

He that kills another without the authority of Justice, passes sentence upon himself. He that sanother like himself, must necessarily due for it, and pay the punishment with his own life: for which reason the Kings, Our Royal Progenitors, did ordain, that whosever killed another, should pay the price of bloud with his own life.

Thieves are not upon any terms to be tolerated, because they are a generation who would rather live upon prey and robbery, than gain riches by honest labour, or enjoy their possessions had lawful vitted.

Adulterers, who take away the good reputation and honefly of another Family, are diffurbus of the common peace and quiet, and are as bad as Thieves and Robbers, and therefore to be condemned to the Gallows without mercy.

A truly noble and courageous spirit is hest tried by that patience which he shews in the

Impatience is the character of a poor and degenerate spirit, and of one that is ill taught and educated.

When Subjects are obedient, their Kings and Governours ought to treat them with gentleness and elemency; but the perverse and obstinate are to be ruled with a severity and rigour moderated by prudence.

Judges, who are corrupted by Gifts clandestinely received from Plaintist or Defendant, are to be esteemed for Thieves, and to be punished for such with capital punishment.

Governous ought to have a special eye unto two things; first, that they themselves observe and execute the Laws of their Prince, and not suffer others to transgress them: And next, that they seriously consider, and contrive all matters which may tend to the good and benefit of their respective Provinces. That Indian who knows not how to govern his own Family, will be much less capable to rule a Kingdom.

A Physician, or Herbalist, who knows the Names, but is ignorant of the Virtues and Qualities of Herbs; or he who knows few, but is ignorant of most, is a mere Quack and Mountebank in Physick; and deserves not the name and repute of a Physician, until he is skilfull, as well in the Noxious, as the Salutiserous qualities of Herbs.

He that would pretend to count the number of the Stars is a Fool, and worthy to be derided.

These are the Sayings and Sentences of the *Inca Pachacutes*, which were conserved in memory by their Knots, they having not attained to the more ready way of letters or cyphers.

# Royal Commentaries.

# BOOK VII.

#### CHAP. I.

Of the Colonies planted by the Incas, and of the two different Languages in Pcru.

T was a custome amongst the Incas to transplant the people from one Province to another, that is, from barren Lands and Countries, to more fruitfull and pleasant foils, whereby both the government was secured from rebellion, and the condition of the people advantaged by a happy and profitable exchange: In performance of which delign, the *Incui* had always a respect to the condition and quality of the people, and the temperature of the climate; transplanting those who had been born and bred in hot or cold Regions, into Countries of the same degree, and equal temper of heat and cold. Likewife in Provinces where the people multiplied greatly, and were become too numerous to be contained within the limits and compass of it; then did they subtract from thence such a number as might ease the Province, and supply the wants of other places. The like was practifed in Collao, which is a Province of 120 Leagues in length, containing feveral other Nations under its juridiction: This Countrey being very cold, produced neither Mayz, which is Indian Wheat, nor Ochu, which is Red Pepper, and yet it abounds with Pulse, and all forts of leffer Grane, fuch as that they call Papa and Quirna, which do not grow in hot Countries; and is also rich in Flocks and Herds of Cattel. From all those old Provinces they transplanted great numbers of Indians to the Eastward by the Mountains of Amis, and to the Westward along the Sea-coast, where lyes a vast Countrey, containing many large and fruitfull Vallies, which produced Mayz and Red Pepper in great abundance, and which before the times of the Incis, for want of the Art and Knowledge of making Aqueducts and Channels for watring the Furrows of their Land, lay wholly dispeopled and deserted. The Incan Kings baying well considered the benefit of these improvements, did frequently transplant their people from the barren, to more commodious and happy foils; and for their refreshment in those Plantations, furnished them with a quantity of Water sufficient for their Lands; making it a Law, that they should succour and help one the other, and by bartering their commodities one for the other, what one wanted was supplied by the other. By these means also the Incas secured their own Revenue, which was paid them in Mayz or Indian Wheat, for (as we have faid before) one third of their Fruits which their Lands produced, did belong to the Sun, and another third to the Inca. Moreover

250

BOOK VII.

Moreover by this course the *Inc.ss* were supplied with great quantities of Mayz, for maintenance of their Armies in that cold and barren Country; so that the Collar were able to carry great quantities of Quinna and Ching, and great flice of that which they called *Charqui*, to their Kindred in other Plantations, and in exchange and barter for them, returned home laden with Mayz, and red Pepper and other Fruits which those Countries yielded; which commodious way of trade was of great benefit and confolation to the Indians.

Pedro Cieça de Leon, in the 99th Chapter of his Book, discoursing of this manner of mutual Commerce, saith, "That in fruitfull Years the Inhabitants of Collins lao live with contentment and plenty, but in dry years they suffer great want, and scarcity of all Provisions. The truth is, had not the Incan-King prescribed "excellent Laws for the government of this People, and ordered every thing with a provident and industrious regard, certainly these Countries would have laboured under great penury and wants, and perhaps have relapfed into the fame bestial condition, in which they once were before the times of the Incas. And thus much I affirm, because I know that the Climate under which the Collas in. " habited, is cold, and therefore not so fruitfull as the warmer Regions of more "happy Countries. And in regard the mountains of dudes did border on all fides of those Colonies; it was ordered, that all parts should iffue forth a cetain number of *Indians*, with their Wives and Children, who being planted as tain number of *Indians*, with their vives and Children, who being planted according to the direction of their *Caciques* in fuch places, as were convenient, might improve their Lands, and by Industry and Art supply that which was wanting by nature; which People were called *Minimaes*, and were so obedient, and observant to their Lords and Captains, that to this day they are Drudge to them, their principal care and business being to manure and cultivate the Cr ca Plantations, which are fo pretious and profitable, that though in all College they neither fow nor reap Mayz, yet neither the Lords, who are Native, nor the Common People, who are industrious, do want fufficient quantities of " Mayz, Honey, and all other Fruits, in exchange for their Coca. Thus far are the Words of Pedro de Cieça, extracted verbatim from his Original Writings.

Moreover they transplanted the people formetimes on other occasions, when he ving subdued some warlike and stubborn Nation, which being remote from Creen might be apt to rebell, then in fuch case of suspicion or jealousie, to prevental danger of Mutinies, their practice was, to transplant the people from their own foil to some other Countrey, nearer, and within the reach of the their own foil to some other Countrey, nearer, and within the reach of the their own foil to some fellows encompassed with loyal Subjects, and friends to the Government, more easily submitted their Necks to the Yoke, and so became faithfull against their own Inclinations. When any of these Exchanges were made of Colonies, they were always accompanied with some of those whom the first line Manco Capac had honoured with the Title of being Incas by privilege; and these were fuch as were appointed to govern and inftruct the others. The title of these Inc. was an honour to all those whom they accompanied, so that they were much more honoured and respected by the neighbouring and adjacent People. The Colonies which were thus transplanted were called by the common Name of

Another piece of their policy much conducing to the regular Government of their Empire, was a Command and an Injunction laid upon all their Vaffals, obliging them to learn the Language of the Court, which to this day is called the common or universal Tongue; for the teaching of which, certain Masters, who were Incas by privilege, were appointed and ordained to instruct the People in its befides which the Incas had a Court-language appropriated to themselves, which being esteemed the holy and divine Speech, was not to be prophaned by vulgar Tongues. This, as they write me from Pern, is entirely loft; for the Empire of the Incas being ruined, their Language ran the common fate of their other Regali-The Reasons why the Incan-Kings did command that one common Language flould be used, was for two respects, first to avoid the multitude of Interpreters, which would be necessary for understanding the variety of Language spoken within the Jurisdiction of that great Empire. And in the next place the heas entertained a particular fatisfaction when they could speak their own words

unto their Subjects, and not be beholding to the Tongue of another; believing also that their Subjects with much more chearfulness received the gratious Speeches of their Prince from his own mouth, than when they were conveyed to them by the breath of their Officers: but the chief Reason and Ground of this policy was in reference to foreign Nations, who for want of common Speech and Dialect, were subject to misunderstandings, whence Enmitties and cruel Wars and Dialect, were moject to infinite transfer which, and reconciling their Affections, nothing feemed more probably conducing than a communication in speech, whereby all Misunderstandings might be obviated, and the People be induced to love each other, as if they were of the fame Family and Parentage. With this artifice the *Incus* reconciled different Nations in a strict alliance, who had before been divided in their Idolatry, Customs and Manners of Living, and so effectual bath this Expedient been, that Nations who have hated each other, have thereby been allured into amity and friendship, by it. The which good effect being observed by many Countries, who had not as yet attained the happinels of being Subjects to this Empire, was a means to invite them to the Study of this general Language of Cozco; the which they having learned, and thereby Nations of different Tongues understanding each other, their Affections were reconciled by it, being from mortal Enemies become Confederates and Allies. Howfoever by this new Government of the Spaniards, many of the Nations who affected the Coz-cos Tongue; have now forgotten it, the which Blas Valera confirms in these

It was the Command, fays he, of the Incas, that all Nations should speak "the fame Language, though now in these days, by whose fault I know not, "the same hath been lost and forgotten in many Provinces; the which hath " proved a great interruption to the spreading of the Gospel, which hath much increased in the adjacent parts of Cozco, where that Tongue is used, and where that people are much more civil, and docible than in other parts. These are the words of Blas-Valera, to which he adds in another Chapter, " That the general Language of Peru ought not to be lost, but rather taught and kept up by practice amongst the people, so that the Preachers of the Gospel may have but one Tongue to learn, and not be forced for every Province to study a different Speech, which would be a task and labour not to be overcome.

Kk 2

#### CHAP. II.

That the Great Lords of Provinces lent their Eldest Sons to be educated in the Court of the Incas, and their Reasons for it.

THE Incan-Kings enjoined all the Lords of their Vaffals to fend their elder Sons to be educated at their Court, that so they might imbibe certain good Principles of Learning and Religion in their tender years, and being accusto med to a conversation and familiarity with the Incas might contract a friendship and an affection for their Persons and Government; and these were called Minne. which is as much as Domesticks, or of the Family. Moreover it shewed the Grandeur of the Court to be frequented by the Presence and Service of all the young Heirs to those Kingdoms, States and Provinces which depended on that Empire; by which means the Language of the Court became more general and common, being learned with ease and pleasure; for it being the custome for the Sons of all Great Men to take their turns of waiting at Court, they could not fail of attaining fome words and finanches of the Court Language; the which when they returned to their respective Countries, they made use of in all companis, being proud to show what Courtiers they were, and how much refined in their Manners and Words, having learned the Tongue of the Divine Family; the which created an Emulation in others to attain that Tongue also for which their Neighbours and Acquaintance were fo much admired: And having also by the help of this Tongue an introduction to the Conversation and Familiarity of the Chief Officers of Justice, and Managers of the Revenue of the Sun and of the Inca; every one did so labour to obtain the advantage of this Tongue, that with out the infruction of Mafters they with great eafe, and almost infensibly attained unto it; by which means it came to be so generally spread in all parts, that for the compass of almost one thousand three hundred Leagues it became the onely Tongue in use and esteem.

Besides the Honour and Grandeur that this Court received by the presence and attendance of fo many noble Heirs, another benefit did thence accrue, by being a means to secure the Empire from Mutinies and Rebellion; for so long as the young Heirs were at the Court, they were like fo many Pledges and Hostages for the good behaviour of their Parents and Countrey-men, divers of whose Provinces being four, five and fix hundred Leagues from the Court, and many of them inhabited by fierce and warlike Nations, were ready and inclined upon every small habited by fierce and warlike Nations, were ready and inclined upon every imail overture to cast off the Yoke of their Servitude; and though these Nations of themselves singly were not able to contend with the Power of the Incan-Empire, yet being united in a League and Confederacy, might put it into some danger and difficulty; all which was prevented by the residence which these Heirs made at the Court, who were there treated with plentiall Entertainment, and honoured according to their several Degrees and qualities; of all which the Sons rendring to their Parents a true Relation, and confirming the same with such presents as the Inca fent to them, being Garments of the same quality which the Inca himself wore; they esteemed themselves so much obliged thereby, that their Servitude feemed a Freedom, and Loyalty to be their dury, and in case any were so sturdy and stupid, as not to be won by such gentle applications and allurements; yet then the thoughts of having Children within the power of the Inca, were considerated the considerations and allurements. tions sufficient to take them off from courses ruinous to their own Bloud.

With these and the like arts of Providence and Industry, accompanied with rectitude of Justice, the Incan-Empire was supported, and secured in such peace, that in all the ages which the Incas reigned, there was scarce heard the least noise or rumour of Rebellion or Mutiny. Joseph de Acosta speaking in the 12th Chap of his 6th Book concerning this Government, faith, "That fuch was the Fide-"lity and loyal Affection which these people bore towards their Princes, that " there never was mention of any Plot or Treason contrived against their Per-" fores for though with rigour and feverity they required Obedience to their fons, for though with rigour and reverty the required obetterle to their Laws, yet fuch was the Rectitude of their Justice, and Impartiality in the Execution, that none could complain of the least violence or oppression: And such order was observed in the subordinate Magistrates, who so exactly regarded the most minute Irregularities in their Lives, that none could be drunk, or steal a bunch of Mayz from his Neighbour without punishment. Thus far are the Words of Acofta.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. III.

Of the Language used at the Court.

**B** Law Valera, in the 9th Chapter of his 2d Book, treating of the general Lauguage of Pern, speaks of the usefulness and facility of that Tongue, as is to be found amongst his loose Papers.

" Now as to the common Language fooken by the Natives of Peru, the truth " is every Province used a peculiar Tongue proper to itself, but during the Reign of the Incon-Kings the Language of Oocco was of greatest extent, reaching from Quity to the Kingdoms of Chili and Tunnac, and which is now in use amongst the Caciques, and great Men, and such Officers as the Spaniards employ in their " Service and Affairs. When the Incas Subdued any Countrey, their first business was to enjoin the Inhabitants to learn the Tongue and Custome of Cozco. and to teach them to their Children; for better effecting of which they gave them Masters and Teachers to instruct them; and for encouragement of such Masters, they gave them Lands and Inheritances amongst the Natives, that so they and their Children living and growing up with that people might continue a perpetual fuccession of Masters and Teachers of that people; and for their better encouragement the Governours of Provinces did always prefer fuch Teachers unto Offices before any others, for they were happy infiruments of Quietness to the Incas, and of Peace and mutual Affection to the people. The Race and Off-spring of those Teachers who anciently came from Cozco, live still dispersed in those Countries, which were assigned for Habitations to their Parents, who having now loft that Authority which their Ancestours enjoyed, are not able to teach the Indians, nor compell them to receive their Language. Whence it is that many Provinces which were skilfull in the Cozcan-Tongue, when the first Spaniards entred into Cassamarca, have now wholly lost and forgotten it; for the Empire of the Incas being overthrown, all their Statutes, Laws and Orders perished with them; and indeed the Civil Wars which arose between the Spaniards themselves together with the malice of the Devil, might all contribute to this confusion, and to interrupt the propagation of the Gospel, which might have been much advanced; had the Apostolical Preachers of it had onely one fingle Tongue to have learned: Whereas now all the Confines and Dependencies about the City of Trugillo, and other Provinces belon-"ging to the Juridicities about the City of 1711,110, and to the Provinces belofting of the Common Language of the Collas and Puquinas, relapfing again into their Mothers Gibberish, know no occasion or need for the Coccan Dialect, which allois at present so corrupted, that it seems quite another Speech to what it formerly was; and more divertity of Tongues are of late sprung up, than were known in the time of Huayna Capac, the last Emperour. Hence it is, that that Con-

" cord and reconcilement of Affections, which one common Speech had produced in the World, was loft, so that Men were become perfidious and hatefull to " each other, having no common tie of Words or Customs to unite and cement them in the bonds of Amity. The which inconvenience not being well obleved by the Vice-Kings, who promiscuously reduced greater and lesser National to their Obedience, not regarding the use of a common Language, whereby the Gospel might have had entrance to them, did thereby greatly obstruct the progress of the Christian Faith, unless the Preachers had been endued with an univerfal gift of Tongues, and learned all the different Dialects of those People which was impossible without the Miracle of Divine Inspiration. Some are of opinion, that the *Indians* ought to have been obliged to learn the *Spanish* Tongue, fo as to have taken off that difficult Task from the Priefts, and imposed it on the Indians; but this project would not easily take; for if the Indians were so "dull, and ftupid, that the Cozcan Language, which admits little difference from their own, was learned with much difficulty by them; how can we expect that they should ever attain to the Castillian Tongue, which in every word is strange, and withour any affinity with their own. Were it not rather more feafible for the Spaniards, who are Men of quick Wits, and refined Understandings, to learn the general Speech of Cozco, than to put such poor sottish Wretches, who have no help of Letters, to the difficult labour of learning the Castillian "Tongue; and who shall put their Masters to more labour in teaching them one Speech, than a quick witted Priest shall have in learning ten? Whetesore "it were a more expedite way to oblige them to the knowledge of the Cocco
"Tongue, which differs little from their own; and in this Speech preach the Catholick Faith to them: In order unto which if the Vice-kings and Governours would be pleafed to renew the Commands and Rules given in this case nours would be pleased to renew the Commands and these given it this deby the ancient Incas, obliging the Sons descended from the Line of the old Ma"flers, to reassing the Authority formerly given them for teaching and propagating this general Tongue, they would easily reduce them to a knowledge
"thereof. I remember a Priest and Doctor of the Canon-law, a person very pi-"ous, and truly defirous to doe good to the Souls of the *Indians*, did with great Diligence and Industry learn himself the *Coccan* Tongue, which having attain ned, he became very importunate with the Indians to learn it also; in compli-" ance with whose defires many of them applying themselves thereunto, did in " little more time than a year become perfect Masters of it, and to speak it as " readily as their Mother-Tongue; whereby this Priest found so facile an in-"troduction into the Ears of this people, that he eafily inftilled the Fundamentals and Principles of the Christian Faith into their Minds and Hearts; and if one fingle person was able by his sole diligence and endeavours to incline the minds of this people to a compliance with his descriptions which may be minds of the Bishops and Vice-Kings be prevalent and successfull amongs them; and how easily might these Indians, by the help of this general Tongue. "be taught and governed with much gentleness and lenity, from the utmost pars of Quity, to the Countrey of the Chiches? to evince which more clearly, its observable, that the Inca dispatched all their judicial Acts by the help of a few Judges, whereas now in the very fame Countries three hundred Spaniards, who are Corregidores, are not able to pass and perform the Causes relating to private Justice; all which difficulty is caused by the loss of the common Language, the which is much to be lamented, confidering it is a Tongue eafily obtained, as may appear by the many Priests, who in a short time have made themselves Masters of it. In Chuquiapu, as I have been informed, there was a certain Prieft, Doc-" tor in Divinity, who had so great a detestation of this Tongue, that he had no patience to hear it spoken, being of opinion, that it was so difficult, as not to be attained by the greatest Industry. It happened that before the time that a College artained by the greatest industry. It happened that before the time that a College of Jesuits was erected in that Countrey, a certain Priest came thither with intention to reside there for some days, to preach unto the Indians publickly in the general Language. The Priest, who so much nauseated that Tongue, resolved notwith standing for curiosity sake to be present at the Sermon, and having observed that he quoted many places of Scripture, and that the Indians heard him, with great attention, took some kind of liking to the Tongue; so that presently after the Sermon, he asked the Priest how it was possible for such divine and mythere is the groups source of the group source of " fterious fayings to be expressed in words so barbarous as those; to which the

" Drieft answered, that the thing was very possible, for that the Language was " fo copious and easie to be learned, that if he would apply his Mind to it; he " might in the space of four or five months attain to a perfect knowledge of it; " by which being encouraged and moved with a defire of doing good to the Souls of the poor *Indians*, he promifed all diligence and application of Mind in the thudy of that Tongue; in which, after the labour of fix months, he became so great a proficient, that he was able to hear the Consessions of the Indians, and " to preach to them to his own great comfort, and their advantage.

#### CHAP. IV.

Of the great Vlefulnels of this Language.

Aving thus made appear the facility of this Language, and how eafily our Spaniards, who go from hence, attain unto it, with how much more readiness must the native Indians of Peru arrive at the knowledge of it; for though the peo-" ple be of different Nations, yet their Language hath some affinity and similitude " together, differing onely in some Words, Dialects and Accents; so that we see how the common Indians, who frequent the City de los Reyes, and of Cozco, the City de la Plata, and the Mines of Potocchi, being forced to gain their Bread and Clothing with the fiveat of their Brows, onely by Conversation and Commerce with the other Indians, without any rules or precepts given to them, " have in a few months been perfect Masters of the Cozean-Language; to which they have added this farther advantage, that when they have returned to their own Countries again, they have feemed more polithed, refined and accomplished beyond the rank of the other Indians; and for that reason were greatly esteemed and admired by Neighbours; which when the Jesuits had observed, who lived amongst the People of Sulli, (whose Inhabitants are all Aymaraes, or Philosophers,) they concluded that the learning of this Language was of a particular advantage to the Indians, and an improvement equal with that which the learning of Latin is to us; the which also is confirmed by the opinion of Priefts, Judges and Officers, who have had or entertained any Converse or Communication with this people; for they have found them more just and honest in their dealings, more docible in spiritual matters, more acute and intelligent in their understandings; and in short, more civil and less barbarous, and more like Men and Citizens than the others; witness the Indians of Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other Nations, who with the change of their Language, have put off all their turpitude of Manners, and elevated their Souls to more fublime thoughts, which before were immerfed in fense, and reached no farther than the mere fagacity of Brutes: But the aptitude and disposition which the Indians gain thereby, towards the receiving the Doctrine of the Catholick Faith, is a confideration above all others; for it is certain that this Speech of Corco is so copious, and full of words fit to express the Mysteries of divine things, that the Preachers are pleafed to exspatiate in their Discourses with excellent Flowers of Rhetorick and Elegancies, which are made intelligible to the Indians by the knowledge of this Tongue, which hath opened a door for entrance of the Gospel with great benefit and efficacy. And though the Miracles of Divine Grace have evidenced themselves by other means amongst the rude Indians of Vriquillus, and the fierce and barbarous Chiribuanas; yet God, who is most commonly pleased to work by ordinary means; hath generally made use of this Tongue to convey the knowledge and instructions of the Go-" spel; for as the Incan-Kings, by the help of this common Language, which

" they with great care and diligence inftilled into the Minds of their people, did " propagate the Law, which the light of Nature taught them; fo also onehis we with the same care and diligence endeavour to continue this excellent me. thod, as the most expedite means to inculcate the mysteries of the Gospel; and therefore it is great pity, and much to be lamented, that our Christian Gover. nours, who omit no ways or contrivances to subjugate that people to the bon-"dage of their fecular power, should be more remiss in those Courses, which tend to the advancement of the Catholick Faith, than the Gentiles were of their Idolatrous Worship. Thus far are the Words of Blu Valera, which because they tend to the advancement of Christianity, I have thought fit to insert bere; and then afterwards, like a learned man, and one skilfull in Tongues, he proceeds to compare the Language of *Peru* with the Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew; and then proceeds to confute the Opinion of those who fansie, that these Indians of the new World were defeended from the Jews, and for proof thereof they produce some Hebrew words which have a similar with the general Language of Peru, though they are not alike in fignification, but onely in the found or accent. And on this occasion, amongst many other Curiofities and Idioms belonging to this general Tongue, he observes that sous, b, d, f, g, i, and x, are all wanting in the *Peruvian* Speech, and for that reason, had they been Jews, who are so affectionate to their Father *Abraham*, that his Name is never out of their mouths, they could never have wanted that letter (b) which is necessary to express a true found of that beloved Name: To which we may farther add, that in all their Language they have no word with two Consonants together, such as bra. but allo the fyllable bra, which are necessary for Jews to express the Name of their beloved Patriarch; and though it may be objected, that this Language of Peru hath many fyllables with two Confonants coming together, such as Papil Hugera, Rocro, Poera, Chaera, Llaella, Choello, and the like, yet it is to be underflood, that these Consonants are disjoined in their pronunciation; as for example, Pap-ri, Huac ra, Roc-ro, Llac-lla, and the like, besides which, for want of a true observation, the Spaniards have many corruptions amongst them; as for Pampa, they fay bamba, for Inca Inga, for Roc-ro Loc-ro, and the like; as we shall hereafter make appear, as these words do occasionally occur; and so we shall recur again unto our History.

#### CHAP. V.

Of the Third Festival, dedicated to the Sun.

THE Incas celebrated four Festivals every Year in their Court; the principal and most solemn was the Feast of the Sun, called Raymi, of which we have formerly given a relation at large. The fecond was the Institution of the Order of Cavaliers, of which also we have already discoursed. We come now to the two last, with which we shall end, and conclude all the particulars relating to their Festivals; for as to their other more ordinary Feasts, which were performed every Moon; and such Feasts as were kept in honour of Victories and Triumphs. we shall not farther enlarge upon, lest they should seem tedious to the Reader, onely we shall say in general. That these Feasts were held in the Temple of the one) we man ay in general, a that there reads were near in the Temple of the Sun, without Proceffions into the open and publick places. And so we proceed to the third Festival, which they call Cusquieraymi, which they celebrated about the time that their Seed and Mayz was sprung up, and first appeared out of the gound; then they sacrificed to the Sun many Lambs, barren Ewes, and male Sheep, praying to him that he would be pleased not to suffer the Frost to destroy their Wheat; by reason that the Vallies of Cozco, and Sacsahuana, and the Counties thereabout, are subject to mighty Frosts, as are likewise all other parts under the same Climate, which is so very cold, that it freezes there almost the whole year, and more particularly at our Midfummer, which is the depth of their Winter, at which time the Nights are commonly clear, but very tharp and freezing; which fo foon as the Indians observe, they put fire to their Dunghills, to make a smoke and a fmother, being of opinion that the ground under that thick covert gains fome warmth; and thereby the sharp keenness of the Frost is much abated. I remember to have feen this in Cozco; but did not much examine, whether it did any good or not; for being then a Youth, I was not so inquisitive into the causes and effects of things, as I was into the matter which was done.

And now confidering that the Mayz was a fort of grane, which was the chief nutriment of the *Indians*, and which was most damaged by the Frosts, they therefore, to divert that Judgment offered to the Sun many Sacrifices, with Dances and Drink-offerings, supplicating him that he would be pleased to shroud their Plantations from the damage of the Frosts. The Flesh of the Beasts slain at these Sacrifices was distributed amongst those people who came to the Festival; for besides the Lamb which was offered, and entirely burnt to the Sun, together with the Blond and Entrails of all the other Beasts; the Flesh was distributed amongst

the people, after the manner used at the Feast of Raymi.

#### CHAP. VI.

Of the Fourth Festival, and their preparations to it by Fa stings, and cleansing themselves.

THE fourth and ultimate Feast celebrated in the Court of the Incas was called Citu, which was performed with great joy, in regard it was by way of Thankfgiving, when fickness and diseases, or any other Judgments were removed from the City, and refembled the ancient Luftrations, or Purifications, after the foulness and contagion of distempers was removed. The preparation to this Feat was made by Fastings, and forbearing the company of their Wives; being held on the first day of the Moon, after the Equinoctial in the Month of September. they observed two forts of Fasts, one more rigorous than the other; the most severe was kept by eating a fmall quantity of raw Mayz, and drinking Water, which was not to continue above three days; those that observed the other, were permitted to eat their Mayz parched together with raw Herbs and Roots, such as Lettice, and Radishes, &c. as also Red Pepper, which they call Vehn, and Salt, and to drink their usual liquour, but Flesh, and Fish, and boiled Herbs were so bidden; during which Fast called Caci, they might eat but once a day, and their most severe Fast was called Hatun-caci.

Men and Women in general having made this preparation, and their Children also obliged to one day after the severe manner, they kneaded their Bread called Cancu, which on the Evening of the Vigil they made up in Balls, and put them into a dry pot without liquour to bake, for as yet they knew not the use of 0vens; and being half baked, they took them out. They made two forts of Bread, one fort they moistned with the bloud of Children, from five to ten years of Age, which they drew from the veins of their Armes, or between their Eye brows or Nofes; in fuch manner as when they let bloud on occasion of diffempers. I have feen them make both forts of Bread; when they made that which was mixed with bloud, they first assembled together according to their respective Lineages, at a certain place, from whence they went to the Houle of the Elder Brother, there to perform this ceremony; and in case they had no Brother, then it was

done at the House of the nearest relation, who was Head of the family. In the night, when this Bread was made, some hours before day, all those who had thus prepared themselves by falling, arose from their beds, and washed their bodies; and then taking a lump of this ill-baked Bread mixed with bloud, they applied it to their head, mouth, breaft, fhoulders, armes and legs, as if they had purified themselves with it, and cleanfed their bodies of all infirmities. This be ing done, the Mafter of the family, who was chief of the Lineage, affixed fome of this pafte on the lintels of the door next the ftreet; in token, that those of that House had performed the ceremony of Purification. The like ceremony the High Priest solemnized in the House and Temple of the Sun, enjoying the o ther Priests to perform the like in the House of the Wives dedicated to the Sun, and in Huanacauri, which was a Temple about a League distant from the City, being a place highly efteemed, and held in great devotion by them, because that Almos Capac made a fhort abode there, when he first came to the City of Coco, as we have formerly related. On the like errant they sent other Priests to all places, which were accounted hallowed and facred, such as those, where the Devil ipoke to them, and made himfelf to be adored as God. In the King's Court the ceremony was performed by the Eldeft Uncle of the King, who was to be an Inca of legitimate descent.

So foon as the Sun arofe, having performed their Acts of Adoration towards him, they prayed unto him, that he would youchfafe to deliver their City from outward calamities, and inward difeases; and then they broke their fast by eating of that Bread which was made without bloud. Having thus eaten their Bread,

and adored the Sun, which was performed at a certain hour, that fo the Adoraand adored the out, which was performed at a certain four, that to the Adora-tion might be general at the fame inflant of time; a certain Inca of the Blord-Royal fallied out of the Fortress, richly attired like a Messenger of the Sun. bawing his Garments girt about his wafte, bearing a Lance in his hand, garnithed with a plume of Feathers of divers colours, which hanged dangling down from the point to the end of the Staff; the length of which was of about three quarters of a Yard, fludded with golden Nails, and which in War ferved for an Enters of a Tard, reduced with golden Paans, and which in your level for an En-fien: With this Lance he iffued from the Fort rather than from the Temple, being efteemed a Messenger of War, and not of Peace; for the Fort, as well as the Temple, was Dedicated to the Sun, being the place where matters of War were treated, as the other was, where peace and friendship were entertained. This Officer came running in this manner downwards from the Hill called Suefahuamam, flourishing his Lance until he came to the Market-place of the City, where four other heu of the Bloud, each carrying a Dart in his hand, met him; having likewife their Garments close girt, after the manner of the Indians, when they put themselves in a posture of exercise, or labour. This Messenger meeting the sour memeives in a portate of exercise, of moon 2 in recing the roll mean, touched the head of their Lances with his, and then told them, that the Sun commanded them as his Officers, that they should purifie and cleanse the City of all infirmities and diseases; and that he gave them full power to perform it.

With this commission the four *Ineas* departed, running through the four great

Streets of the City, which led towards the four quarters of the World, called by them Taventinfum; in their way as they ran, Men and Women, young and old, all came to the Doors of their Houses, with great cries and acclamations, baking their cloths, and the garments on their bodies, as if they would beat out the Dust from them; and then stroking their hands over their heads and mouths. ames and legs, and other parts of their bodies, in manner, as if they were washing of them; and as if they would throw out all the fickness and illness of their Houses, to be expelled the City by the power and virtue of those Messengers of the Sun. Nor was this onely done in the Streets, through which these four Meffengers paffed, but likewife in all the other Streets; thefe four Incas having run about a quarter of a League without the City, were met by four other Incas of the privilege, who taking their Lances, ran with them a quarter of a League farther, and at the like diffance were met by others, until they came five or fix Leagues remote from the City; where having fixed their Lances, and driven them into the Earth, they made that the place of banishment to all their Evils; that so being bounded by those Confines, they should not be able to approach nearer to the City.

Book VII.

CHAP. · L 1 2

#### CHAP. VII.

Of their Nocturnal Feast celebrated at Night for purifying their City from ficknelles, and other calamities.

THE Night following they lighted great Torches of Straw, fo close and hard twifted together, that they were long in burning, and were not unlike our Wisps of oiled Straw; onely they were made round, and about the bigness of a Foot-ball, called by them *Pancancu*; to each end of these, they tied a cord of 2. bout a Yard in length, with which they ran through the Streets, casting them round untill they came without the City, supposing that by help of the fires, they expelled the nocturnal evils from their City: For as the evils of the day were droven out by the Lances, fo the evils of the night were carried out by the Torches; which being quenched without the City in a brook or current of water into which they were thrown, were believed to carry with them down their streams all the ficknesses and evils of their City; so that if at any time an Indian, of what Age soever, should happen to see one of these wisps of Straw, lodged by any accident or stoppage on the banks of the River, he presently fled from it, searing to be feized by fome of those evils, which were newly expelled and banished the

The Wars being ended, and the City cleanfed and purified of all its evils and difeafes, great joy and mirth was heard in all their dwellings, not onely in publick, but in every private family, which continued for the first quarter of the Moons during which time, they returned thanks to the Sun for cleanfing and freeing them from all their evils; and in demonstration of such thankfulness, they sacrificed Lambs and Sheep to him; the bloud and entrails of which they burnt in the fire; but the flesh they roasted in the common Market-place, and shared it amount

those who were present at the Festival.

I remember, when I was young, that I faw fome part of these ceremonies performed; and that a certain Inca fallied out with his Lance, not from the Calle, for that was then destroyed, but from a House belonging to one of the Incas, which was fituated on the fide of that Hill, where the Cattle was formerly built, called Colleanpata: I saw also the four Indians run with their Lances, and the common people shake their Cloaths, with all the other vile and foolish practices, as eating their Bread called Cancu, and burning the Torches called Pancuncu: For my part, I had not the curiofity to fit up so late at night, as to be present at their nocturnal Festival: Howsoever, I remember, that I saw one of their Pancincus lodged in the fream which runs through the Market-place, and near to the House of my Schoolfellow John de Cellorico, I remember to have seen many Indian Boys to have run from it; but I being a Child of fix or feven years old, and not Catechifed in their Religion, nor knowing the cause, remained unconcerned at the bundle of Straw, not thinking it so terrible as did the Indians.

This Torch we now speak of, was thrown into the stream which runs through the City, and carried abroad according to the ancient inflitution; for the Fealt was not now observed with that strictness and veneration, as it was in the times of their Kings; for beginning now to become obfolete, it was rather performed in remembrance of their ancient cuftoms, than out of an opinion of any effect or virtue of fuch a practice; for there remained still some old superstitious sellows, who refused Baptism, and obstinately adhered to their ancient Gentilism. In times of the Incas the Torches were carried out of the City, and there cast into the River: the water with which they washed their bodies, though it were brought from other streams, was yet to be poured into the River which runs from the City, that so the evils which it washed, might be carried far distant, and by sorce of the

current be lodged in the Sea. As we have before mentioned.

There was another Feaft, not publickly celebrated, but kept in every private family and that began about the time after they had ended their Harvest and lodged their Fruits in their Store-houses, called Pirva. Their custome was to burn a small quantity of Tallow, or Fat, near the places where they had lodged their Stores, as a facrifice to the Sun: the Nobles, and rich people, offered tame Conies, which they call Coii, giving thanks for the provisions of bread with which they were supplied for the sustenance of the whole year, and praying, that he would be pleafed to belfow this bleffing on those conservatories of their bread. that they might keep them well and fafe for the fupport and maintenance of humane life.

There were other Feasts which the Priests celebrated within the Temple of the Sun, without any publick processions, being the monthly facrifices offered to the Sun: but these were not to be compared with the solemnity of the other sour principal Feafts, which were like our Grand Festivals of Easter and Christmas

#### CHAP. VIII.

The Description of the Imperial City of Cozco.

THE Inca, Manco Capac, was Founder of this City of Cozco, which the Spaniards have honoured with the continuance of its Name and Title, calling it the great City of Cozco, and Metropolis of all the Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru. And though they once called it the New Toledo, yet the impropriety of it foon caused that Name to be disused. For Cozco is not encompassed by a River, as is Toledo, nor like it in the fituation; the Houses being placed one above the other, on the fide of a Hill so high, that it surveys from all parts a large and spatious Plain beneath it: the Streets are very long and wide, and the publick Market places very great; so that the Spaniards in general, as also the publick Notaries, and other Writers style it by no other Name than by its ancient Title; for Cocco being like another Rome, the Imperial Head of many Kingdoms and Provinces, may equally deserve a title agreeable to its noble and generous Archievements, and likewife in some things be compared with Rome. As first, in that it was originally founded by its Kings. Secondly, in that it was the Head and Chief City of many Nations, subjected to its Empire. Thirdly, in the Excellencies of its Laws, which were many, and wife, and rarely tempered for the government of its people. Fourthly, in the qualities of the Men who were educated in Civil and Military Discipline, and were civilized and freed from all barbarity in their manners. Howfoever we may fay, that Rome had this advantage of Cozco, that the knowledge of Letters had eternized the fame and honour of Rome, and that its people were not more celebrated for the success of their Arms, than they were illustrious and renowned for their Arts and Sciences; when Poor Cozco hath had nothing but Memory and Tradition to deliver its great Actions, and feats of Arms to posterity. But Rome had the help of Historians to record its famous Deeds, and was as much beholding to 'the Pen, as to its Arms; it being doubtfull whether great Heroes are more obliged to Writers, who have transmitted the same of their mighty Actions to all posterity; or Writers are to the Noble Heroes, for opening unto them to large a field of great and various Atchievements. But this was not the fortune of our poor Countrey, which though abounding with Men famous in Arms, and in Intellectuals, and capable of Sciences; did yet for want of knowledge in Letters, leave no other Monuments of their paft actions, but what Tradition hath conferved and transmitted in some few abrupt and scattered sentences from Fathers to their Children; which also are in a great measure lost by the en-

trance or Invalion of a new people; for where an Empire or Government harb had its period, being overwhelmed by the power of a ftronger Nation, there all fo by natural confequence must the memory of Acts and Customs perith, which

have not been recorded by a skilfulness in Letters.

2.60

For my own parts being moved with a warm defire and affection to confere the poor remains of Antiquity in my own native Countrey, I have adventured on this laborious Defign of Difcovery, and of tracing the Footsteeps of the lost reliques of its forgotten Customs and Manners, and therefore that this City of Cozeo, which was once the Metropolis of many Kingdoms and Nations may be revived, and yet live in its ancient Fame, I have refolved in this Chapter to make fome Description of it, as I have received it by Tradition, and also as a true born and faithfull Son of that City, to declare what I have feen of it with my own Eves, and in what state and condition it was in the Year 1570, when I departed thence, specifying what ancient Names were still in use belonging to places and divisions of the City, with what alterations were at that time made in the names of Parochial Churches, and Streets which the Spaniards have built fince their coming thither.

The King Manco Capac having confidered all the conveniencies of Cozco, that it was fituated in a pleafant Valley, in the midft of a Plain, encompaffed on all fides with high Mountains, through which ran four delightfull streams, which though they yielded not great plenty of Water, yet were sufficient to refresh and make all those Lands fruitfull. In the middle of this plain was a Fountain of brackish Water, out of which they made quantities of Salt; the Soil was fruitfull and the Air wholfome: with which advantages the first Inca took a resolution of laving the Foundation of his City, and, as the Indians fay, by Order and Appointment of his Father the Sun, fignified by the discovery of a Wedge of Gold, which was the mark and fignal of that place, where the Head and Seat of his Empire was to be founded. The Climate is rather cold than hot, but yet not in that extreme, as to require Fires to keep them warm; the Chambers, or close Rooms, are sufficient to defend the Inhabitants from the rigour of the Weather, yet a pan of Coals may fometimes be usefull; the Air is not so sharp, but that the thin and lighter Clothing of the Summer may be sufficient, nor so hot as to be incommodious with the Winter-garments; the like may be faid of the bedding; for one Blanket may be a fufficient covering, and if there were three, t'were not cumber fome; for 60 constant and equal is the Weather, that there is little difference be tween the Winter and Summer, being here as in all other temperate Climates, the fame moderation in all featons of the Year. The Air of Cozco being rather cold and dry, than hot and moilt, is not subject to corruption; so that Flesh being hanged up in a Room where the Windows are open on all fides, will keep eight, or fifteen, or thirty, nay to a hundred days without being mortified, until it is become dried like Mummy. This I have feen my felf tried and experimented with the Flesh of Cattel of that Countrey; I know not whether the Flesh of Mutton, brought from Spain, will endure in the like manner; for there was no experiment made thereof in my time, by reason that the stock of the Spanish Sheep were not killed in my time, but rather suffered to increase and breed. The Climate of Cozco being in this manner inclining to cold, breeds very few Flies, and for biting and ftinging Gnats there are none, nor any other Infect that is troublefome, or vexations to the people of the City. The first Houses and Habitations were built on the fide of the Hill, called Sacfabuanan, which lies on the North-east fide of the City, on the top of which the Successours of this Inch erected the stately Fortress, which the Spaniards so little esteemed, nay so much fcorned, that they demolished it in a few days after they became Masters of the City. This City was divided into two parts, Hanan-Cozco, and Harin-Cozco, which is the Upper and the Lower Town. The Way or Road to Antifuyu, which leads to the Eastward, divided these two parts of Hanan-Cozco, which lies to the North and Hurin which points to the South. The first and principal Street was called Colleampata, Colleam is a word of no fignification with the Indians, but Pata is as much as the degree or step of a Ladder, or a Bench whereon to fit. On the rifing or turning of this Hill the Inca Manco Capac erected his Palace, which afterwards was the possession of Paullu the Son of Huayna Capac. I remember in my time to have feen a large and fpatious Hall belonging to this Houfe, which still remain

ned, defigned in former days, for a place wherein to celebrate their principal Festivals in rainy Weather. That Hall onely remained in being when I departed from Cozes, but all the other Rooms, which were conformable to the greatness of this. were fuffered to decay, and fall into ruines, without any repair. Next in order we come to another Street, called Canturpata, which looks to the Eastward. which fignifies as much as the Gilliflower-walk; for Canur is a Flower not unlike our Gilliflower, but of a different fort; for before the Spaniards came into this Countrey, there were no Gilliflowers; onely this Cantur refembled very much the Brambles of Andalusa, both in the Stalk, Leaf and Shortness, for the Thorns of it are very prickly, which because they did much abound in that Walk, they gave it the name of the Captur-Walk. Next we come to the Street called Pumacures, or the Lion's Post, because in that place many posts or stakes were driven into the Earth, whereunto they tied their Lions which they prefented to the Inco. untill they had made them tame and gentle. The next great Street was called Toe-cach, but I know not any reason for the composition of this word, Toe-fignifying a Window, and Cachi Salt, which are words ill conjoined together, unless they have some other fignification, of which I am ignorant; in this Street the first Convent, dedicated to St. Francis, was built: Turning a little from hence to the Southward, you come to the Street called Munaycencu, Muna fignifies to love. and Cenca the Nose or Nostrils; I know not the reason or sense for this name, but there must certainly be some superstitious meaning or occasion for it. Hence procreding on the same course, we come to the Street called *Rimac pampa*, or place of Proclamation, because that there all the Laws and Ordinances were published and proclaimed, and thereunto the multitude flocked from all parts and places to hear and understand the Laws which were promulged. Hence we come into the great Road which leads to Collafusu, and croffes Southward on the Street of Pumapchupan. which fignifies the Lion's Tail, because that Street is very strait and narrow towards the end, being bound in by two Streams, which there fall into one, and which being the most remote part of the Town, was called the Lion's Tail, perhaps because they kept their Lions, and other fierce Creatures, at that place. To the Westward, being about a mile from the farthermost Houses of the Town. there was a Village, containing about three hundred Souls, which in the Year 1560, was thus far distant, but now in this Year 1602, the Buildings are so increased, that they reach up and join to this Village. About a mile farther to the Westward there is another Street, called Chaquillchaca, the figuration of which is improper; by which the great Road paffes to Cuntifugu, and near whereunto are two pipes of excellent Water, which pass under ground; but by whom they were laid or brought thither, is unknown to the Indians, for want of Writings or Records to transinit the memory of them to posterity. Those pipes of Water were called Collyucmachae burns, or the Silver Snakes, because the whiteness of the Water refembled Silver, and Windings and the Meanders of the pipe were like the coiles and turnings of Serpents; and they report also, that the Streets of the City are extended as far as to Chaquillehaea. Paffing hence to the Northward, there is another Street called Pichu, which also was without the City; and another beyond that, called Quillipata, and another great Street called Carmenta, which is a proper Name without any fignification; and here paffes the great Road to Chinchafusu, to the Eastward, where the Street is that is called Huacapuncu, or the Door of the Sanctuary, because that Huaca, amongst the many other fignifications which it hath, fignifies a Sanctuary; Puncu is a Gate, because that a stream of Water enters through that Street, as by a gate, to the chief Market-place of Cozco; for though all the Streets and Lanes of the City were dedicated to the Use and Service of the Temple of the Sun, and of the Select Virgins; yet this passage, or chanel, by which this Water entred, was in a particular manner efteemed facred; as also the place at which it ran out, was called the Lion's Tail, fignifying, that this City, as it was holy in its Laws and Religion, fo it refembled a Lion in its valour, and martial Exercises. This Street of Huwa-punen came at length to join with Collem-Pata; fo that we are now come to the place where we first began, having finished the rounds of the City.

# TVC HAP. IX.

Royal Commentaries.

That the City contained the Description of all the Empire.

THese four great Streets did correspond with the four Quarters of the Empire called Tahuantinsuyu, ordained by Manco Capac, the first Incan-King. who intending to reduce those savage, and barbarous Nations under his Sovereignty. did command them to inhabit those Quarters, which lay towards the places from whence they came, so those who came from the East, planted themselves on the East side of the Town, those that came from the West, on the West side, so that at length they all feated themselves within the circle and compass deligned for the City in their different Ranks and Situations. The Curacas built their House as they found room, when they first came to the Court; for when one had finished his House, another built close by him, every one keeping the order and simation of his Province; for if his Province lay to the Right-hand of his Neighbour's Province, then he built to the Right, if to the Left, then to the Left, if the Province lay to the backfide of his Neighbour's dwelling, then he raifed his House there, fronting towards his own Countrey; so that taking a view of all the People and Nations inhabiting that City, with their feveral Ranks and Situations. it feemed like a furvey of all the Empire, or a Map comprehending in a plain Cosmographical Description all the circumference of Pern. Pedro de Cieca Writing of the fituation of Cocco, speaks almost to the same purpose, in the 93d Chapter of his Book in these words. "And whereas this City contained many Nations " of divers Provinces, and strange Countries, such as the Indians of Chile, Palts, "Cannares, Chachapoyas, Guancas, Collus, and many other people before mentioned; they were all disposed within the precincts of this City, in their respective "Quarters, as they were affigned unto them by the order of their Governous; " having liberty to observe the Manners and Customs of their Fathers, and the " habit of their Countrey, so that if a hundred thousand Men of these were as fembled together, every one would be diffinguished by the attire of his Head, " and his Countrey, and Lineage known to which he belonged. Thus far are the Words of Pedro de Cieca.

This Diffinction was made by the different attire on their Heads, either of Feathers, or Sashes wound about their Temples, which every Province framed to its felf, and not by contrivance, or order of the Incas; onely their Kings commanded them to continue their Falhions, to avoid confusion amongst the Nations which reach from Palto to Chile, which, as our Authour aforefaid alledges, was above one thousand three hundred Leagues. In which manner all the Streets of this City were the Habitations of the Subjects onely affembled thither from all parts of the Empire; and not of the Incas, or those of the Bloud Royal; who lived in the Suburbs of the City, the which we shall lay down, and describe in fuch manner, as they were fituated from North to South, with all their Streets and vacant places, and Palaces of their Kings; and how, and in what manner they were afterwards bestowed, when they came to be divided by lor amough the Spiniards. From the Hill Sacfabuamam there runs a shallow stream of Water from North to South, to the farther part of Pumapehupan, where the City is divided from the Suburbs. But more within the City there is a Street which lies North and South, which is now called St. Auftins, descending from the Houses of the first Inca, Manco Capac, to the open square of Rimac-pampu; there are three or four other Streets which crofs from East to West, through the large space which is between the Street and River, where the Incas of the Bloud feated themselves according to their feveral Ayllin, or Lineages; for though they were all of the fame Family, and lineally descended from Manco Capac. Howsoever being branched into feveral Lines, they derived their Pedigrees from divers Kings, faying

that these descended from such an Inca, those from another Inca, and so of the reft: of which the Spanish Historians not having conceived a true Notion. delivered to us for a truth, that fuch a Lineage was derived from fuch an Inca. and that Lineage from another, as if they had been of different Stocks and Families, whenas in reality they all proceeded from the fame original Being, honoured with the Title of Capac Aylin, or the illustrious or august Lineage of the Bloud Royal.

The Men of that Family were called by the name of Inca, and the Women of Palla, which implied a descendency from the bloud Royal. In my time those quarters, descending from the upper part of the Street, were inhabited by Rodrigo de Pineda, Joan de Saavedra, Diego Oitiz de Guzman, Peter de los Rios, with his Brother Diego de los Rios, Geronimo Costillas, Gaspar Jura; but now these Houses are turned into the Convent of St. Austin, as also the Habitations of Michel Sanchez, John de Santa Cruz, Alonfo de Soto, Gabriel Carrera, and Diego de Trugillo. who was one of the first Adventurers, and one of those thirteen Companions, who adhered to Don Francisco Piçarro, as we shall relate in its due place. Moreover there were Anton Ruix de Guevara, John de Salas, who was Brother to the Archbishop of Sevil, together with Valdes de Salas, who was Inquisitor-General, besides others, which I cannot call to mind, all which being great Commanders over the Indians. had their shares and lots divided to them amongst those who were the second Adventurers in the conquest of Peru. Besides these there lived many Spaniards in this quarter, who had no power over the *Indians*. One of which Houses, after my departure from Cozco, was converted into a Monastery of Augustine-Friars. We all those the first Conquerours, who were of the number of those one hundred and fixty, that were Affiftants of Don Francisco de Picarro in the imprisonment of Advanturers in this Conquest. were those who came in with Don Diego de Almagro, and Don Pedro de Alvarado. both which parties were called Conquerours of Pern, and no others; and the fecond party did much honour to the first, though they were fewer in number, and of a meaner quality, yet being the first and most forward in this adventurous Atchievement, were honoured and esteemed by them as Partners in their Enterprises. And now returning by the upper part of the Street of St. Austin, to enter (as we have faid) into the City, where upon the top of all stands the Convent of St. Clare. formerly the Dwelling of Alonso Dias, who married the Daughter of the Governour Pedro Arias de Avila; on the Right-hand of this Convent were many houses inhabited by Spaniards; and amongst the rest Francisco de Barrientos had possessions, which were afterwards alienated to John Alvarez Maldonado. On the Right-hand lived Hernando Bachicao, and after him John Alonso Palomino, over against which, to the South fide, was the Episcopal Palace, formerly the House of John Balla, and after him of Francisco de Villacastin; where now the Cathedral Church is situated, having been once a wide and stately Hall, which served for a Theatre in rainy Weather, where Shows at their chief Festivals were represented: It was anciently a part of the Palace belonging to the Inca Viracocha, the Eighth King; in my time there was no more remaining of it than this wide Hall, which was fo large, that when the Spaniards first entired into the City, they all lodged therein, so as to be near and ready to afford affishence to each other in case of danger. I remember that I once faw it, when it was covered with Thatch, though now changed into Tile. On the North fide of this great Church there is a Street with many Houses fronting towards the Market-place, in which are Shops for Artificers; and on the South fide, are Shops and Ware houses belonging to the most rich and principal Merchants of the Town.

Behind the Church were the Houses of John de Berrio, and of others, whose Names I cannot remember: Behind the chief Shops were the Houses of Diego Maldonado furnamed the rich, because he was the most wealthy Person in all Peru, being one of the first Conquerours of it. In the time of the Incas that place was called Hauncancha, which fignified the great or high Street, having been anciently the Habitation of Inca Tupanqui. On the South fide of these Buildings of Diego Maldonado were the Houles of Francisco Hernandez Giron; before which to the Southward also were the Houses of Antonio Altamirano one of the first Conquerours; joining whereunto on the backfide were the Houses of Francisco de Frias, and Sebastian de Caçalla; the which quarter of the Town was called Puca marca, or the coloured Street, anciently the Houses of the King Tupac Tupanqui. There is another Street beyond this to the South fide, very long and wide, the name of

Mm

266

which I cannot call to mind, where lived Alonso de Loaysa, 'Martin de Meneses. 3th de Figueroa. D. Pedro Puerto Carrero, Garcia de Melo, Francisco Delgado, belides mo. ny other Lords and Persons of Quality, whose Names I do not remember. Re yond this place, to the Southward, is the Square of Intipampa, or the Square of the Sun, because it lies just before the Temple, where those who were not of the degree of an Inca, came to offer their Sacrifices, being not lawfull for perform of less quality to enter within the Walls of the Temple; there the Priess me and received them, and prefented them before the Image of the Sun, whom they adored for God. That quarter wherein the Temple of the Sun was fituated, was called Coricancha, or the Street of Gold, Silver and pretious Stones, of which when there was great abundance, (as we have before declared) within the Templa What now remains to speak of, is the Suburbs of the City, called Pumapelulan.

#### CHAP. X.

Of the Situation of the Schools, of the three Royal Palaces. with the House of the Select Virgins.

Ow to finish our Discourse of the several Streets of the City, we mult to turn again to Huacapunen, or the Gate of the SanQuary, which lies North from the great Market-place; from whence likewife iffues another Street, the name of which I cannot tell, but may properly call it the Schools, because that the King Inca Roca founded certain Schools in that place, as we have already mentioned in his Life: In the Indian Language they are called Yaca Huaci, or the House of Learning, where their Scholars, or learned Men, called Amauras, or Philosophers, and Haravec, which are Poets, had their place of abode, being very much eftermed, and had in honour by the People, because they were Instructour and Teachers of youth, and Tutours to those of the Royal Bloud. Proceeding from these Schools to the Southward, there are two other Streets which lead to the great Market-place, where are two Royal Palaces, of so great a compass, that they took up all the one fide of the Square. One of these places which is to the Eastward of the other, was called Coracora; which is as much as a large Court; the which is confirmed by Pedro de Cieça, who in the 92d Chapter of his Book, faith, That the King Roca ordered his Palace to be built there, for the better convenience of the Schools, whereto he often reforted, to hear the Lectures of the Philosophers. I have not observed any thing to remain of the Coracora, it being all ruined and demolished in my time; though when the City was first divided into shares amongst the Conquerours of it, the Coracora was the Lot of Gargala; Pigarro, Brother of the Marquel's Francisco Pigarro, with whom I was well as quainted at Cozco, after the Battel of Huarina, and before that of Sacfahuana, he was very kind and obliging to me; for being but a Child of eight or nine years of age, he treated me as if I had been his Son. The other Palace to the Eastward of Coracora, was called Cassana, or a thing of admiration; as if it had been such a stupendious work, that every one upon the fight of it must be transported with wonder and aftonishment; it had been the Habitation of the Inca Pachacutec, great Grandson to the Inca Roca, who in favour, and for ornament to the Schools, or dered his Palaces to be adjoining thereunto; for the Schools were on the backfide of those Palaces, and were contiguous, or joining one to the other, without any other space or division between them. The principal Gates and Front of the Schools opened to the Street and River; but the Incas passed thither by the back way, being delighted to hear the Philosophical Lectures; and sometimes the bits Pachnetice would be Reader himself, and with the same occasion, declare and public

lift the Laws and Statutes which he had made, being a great Legislator: In my time the Spaniards opened a way between the Schools, and the Palace Callana: of which I have seen a great part of the Walls remaining, being made of excellent polished Stone, which appeared to have been part of the Royal Lodgings, together with a magnificent Hall, being fo spatious, as in the time of rain and wer weather ferved for a Theatre, and place wherein to celebrate their Feaths and Dancings; and which was fo large, that fixty Men might Exercise themselves on Horfe-back in it with their Darts and Lances. This vaft Hall reached as far as to the Convent of St. Francis, which because it was something remote from those quarters where the Spaniards inhabited, they passed a nearer way to it by the Street Tococachi. A great part of this Hall, or Gallery, was taken up for a Church. and divided from the reft, wherein were Cells or Dormitorics refectory, and other Offices for the Convent; and the open places belonging to it ferved for the Cloifters. John de Pancorvo, one of the first Conquerours, gave this Hall, and the Ground about it to the Friars, it being his lot when a divition of Houses was to every Man according to his proportion: And though feveral others had part of this place with him, yet he bought them out at a certain price, which in those days was purchased at an easie rate. Some sew years afterwards this Monastery was transferred to the place, where it now remains, as we thall mention in its due place, when we come to speak of the Charities which the Citizens made to the Friars for bying in the Ground, and building the Church. So that in my time I have feen this great Hall, or Gallery, demolithed; and the Shops built in the Street of Cassana, which serve for Merchants and Artificers to dwell in.

Before these Royal Houses was a great and open Court, being the chief place of the City, called Haucaypata, where the great entertainments and rejoycings at the chief Festivals were held: the length of it, North and South, was about 200 paces, or 400 foot; and the breadth, East and West, about 150 paces, reaching as far as to the stream of water which runs through the City: At the end of this open Court, to the Southward, were two other Royal Palaces, fituated near the stream, and to the Street called Amarucancha, or the quarter of the great Serpents. fronting to the Street Callana, anciently the Houles of Hugyns Capac, bet pents, or converted into a College for the Jesuits. One great Hall, or Gallery, of these Houses, remained in my time, but not so spatious as that of Cassana; as also a handsome round Tower standing in the middle of the Court before the House: But of this Tower, we shall speak more at large hereafter; for that having been the first quarters which the Spaniards took up in this City, they conserved it in good repair, being also a rare sumptuous Building; no other reliques of these Buildings remained in my time, having been all demolished, and suffered to decay without repairs. When the first division of this City was made amongst the Conquerours, the principal quarter of this Royal Palace, being that which fronted towards the Market-place, fell to the lot of Hernando Piçarro, the Brother of the Marquis Francisco Picarro, one of the first Conquerous of that City. In the year 1562, I saw this Gentleman at the Court of Madrid: Another part of this House was the thare of Mancio Serra de Leguiçamo, another was given to Antonio Altamirano, which he having divided into two Houles, I was to have bought one of them: Another part hereof was fet out by the Spaniards for a Prison, and another was given to Alonso Macuela, one of the first Conquerours, and after him to Martin Dolmos; to whom the remaining parts were allotted, I do not well remember. To the East of Amarucancha, which is the Street of the Sun; there is another Lane called Ac-Ilabraci, or the Convent of the Virgins dedicated to the Sun, which we have already mentioned; and of which we have nothing farther to fay, than that one part of it was the portion of Francisco Mexia, having its Wall adjoining to the great Market-place, and now filled with the Shops of Mer-

All the places which have been hitherto mentioned, whether common Streets, or Royal Palaces, were all to the Eastward of the River which runs through the Market-place: Whence we may observe, that the Incas raised those three great Halls, or Galleries, at the front, and on each fide of the Market-place for celebrating their Festivals with greater convenience, in case it should prove rainy weather at fuch certain times of the two Solftices, and at the beginning of fuch and fuch Moons. When the *Indians* made a general infurrection against the *Spaniards*, they burnt all the City, excepting onely those three Galleries of the four M m 2 which

which we have already mentioned, viz. Colleampata, Cassan and Amaricancha; but the fourth, which was the Head-quarter of the Spaniards, where now is the Cathedral Church, they shot an innumerable number of Arrows into it, and set fire to it, with Straw, in above twenty places: Notwithstanding all which, the sire was quenched, God not suffering it to be burnt that night, as we shall here after declare; and though they attempted it many days and nights afterwards, yet God who designed to introduce the Catholick Faith into those Countries, did by a strange and wonderfull Providence prevent that destruction, that the Spaniards by his mercy might have the greater cause of Triumph. In like manner they preferred the Temple of the Sun, and the House of the Select Virgins; but all the rest was destroyed by fire, supposing therewith to turn the Spaniards into Asses.

#### CHAP. XI.

Of the Streets and Houses on the West-side of the River.

HI therto we have described the Palaces and Buildings which are to the East-fide of the River, which passes through the middle of the City. On the West-fide is that wide and open place called Cussipata, which is a very pleasant and chearfull situation. In the time of the Incas this Cussipata was all one place with that on the other fide of the water, for then they covered the River over with great beams, and floored it with planks, for the more commodious receiving the great Numbers of principal Lords, and multitudes of Strangers which crouded to the great Festivals of the Sun: This Bridge which the Indians made of planks, because they had not the Art of Building an Arch, was ruined by the 5mmiards, who in the place thereof erected four Bridges at a convenient diffance one from the other, which were likewise of Timber, and remaining in my time; and afterwards built three other Bridges with Arches, which were franding when I departed. Those two open places were not divided in my time, nor were then Houses on both sides of the water, as now they are. In the year 1555, when my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega was Governour, those Houses were then in building, and were appointed for Dwellings for the Natives of the City; for at that time the fad disconsolate Widow, though she had been Empress of that great Empire, had not one farthing of Rent affigned to her; what she may have had since, I cannot tell. The Incas had never built any thing on the West-side of the River, unless t were that circle of Houses which we have already mentioned; because they would keep a space of ground for succeeding Kings to erect and enlarge their Palaces on, as their fancies and greatness should direct; for every King would have a Palace of his own building for conservation of his Name and Memory; which seems a piece of state and grandeur peculiar to these Kings. The Spaniards afterwards built their Houses in the same row, which we shall now describe, taking them from North to South, as we pass along, with the Names of the persons who dwelt in them at the time that I departed from that place.

For descending with the River from the Gate Avacapuncu, the first Houses be longed to Pedro de Orve, next whereunto were those of Juan Pancorvo, with whom lived Monso de Marchena, such being the ancient striendship between them; for though Monso kept Indian Servants, yet Pancorvo would not suffer him to live separate from him. Proceeding forwards, we come about the middle of the Street, to the Houses of the Valiant Hernan de Laguna, which were formerly the possessions of Antonio Navarro, and Lope Martin, both of the first Conquerours: the Houses of Antonio Nevaranto belonged to Spaniards, who not being Lords over the Indians, we pass them by, as we do several other Streets, to avoid tediousness to the Reader. Next to the Houses of Hernan the Brave, were the Houses of Monso

Hinojofa, which afterwards were the Possessian of Doctor Carvajal, Brother to the Factor, or Procurator, for Yllen-Suarez Carvajal, of whom the Histories of Peru

And now we come again to Cuffipata, called Our Lady of Merceds, where the poor Indian Men and Women relieved their miseries by bartering and exchanging of one thing for another; for at that time Money was not as yet current amongst them, nor was it coined in twenty years after; but here they kept their Market, or Fair, called by the Indians Cata. Passing hence to the Southward, you come to the Convent of the Merceds, which takes up the whole compass of four Streets. Behind this Monastery was another Neighbourhood, who were Masters of Indians; which I pass by, because I am not particularly acquainted with their Names:

beyond this, there are no farther Inhabitants.

But returning to the quarter called Carmenca, and vaffing into another Street

BOOK VII.

of Houses; we take notice, that the nearest Dwellings to Carmenca, were those of Diego de Silva, the Son of the famous Feliciano de Silva, who was my Godfather. when I was confirmed: To the Southward of these, in the middle of a Street. were the Houses of Pedro Lopez de Caçalla, Secretary to the President Gasca, and of Inan Betanças, with many others on one fide, and the other the Masters. which not being Lords of Indians, I was not acquainted particularly with. Paffing forward into another Street, are the Houses of Alonso de Mesa, one of the first Conquerours, which reach to the Square of Our Lady; adjoyning unto which, on each fide, and also behind, are many Houses; of which I shall not particularly make mention. The Houses to the Southward of those belonging to Alonso de Mesa, were the Possessions of my Master Garcilasso de la Vega, over the principal Gate, of which was a long and narrow Gallery, or rather Balcony, where the principal Gentlemen of the City came often to take their feats, and fee the running at the Ring, the Featt of Bulls, ( which is a fort of Baiting of them on Horseback used in *Spain*) as also the Darting of Canes, and other sports and exercises performed in the open place before the Gate: Before my Father's time these Houses belonged to a certain Noble Person, who was one of the first Conquerours, called Francisco d'Onate, who was slain in the Battel of Chupas. From this Balcony, or Gallery, as also from several other parts of the City, a point of the fnowy Mountain, in form of a Pyramid, appeared; for though it was 25 Leagues distant, and many other Hills in the way, yet so high was this pique, that it fairly shewed it self to the City with a white covering of Snow, which always remained, and never thawed: they called it Villeanuta, or some sacred, wonderfull thing, for this word Villeanuta was attributed to matters of great admiration; for indeed the form of this Pyramid is rare and curious, beyond any description we can make of it; and for confirmation of this truth, I refer my felf to those who have seen it. To the West-side of my Father's Houses, were those of Vasco de Guevara, one of the Conquerours of the second expedition, and were afterwards given to Coya Beatrix, the Daughter of Huayna Capac; on the South-fide of these were the Dwellings of Antonio de Quinones, which also fronted with the Great Place of our Lady; and farther to the Southward of these were the Houses of Thomas Vazquez, one of the first Conquerours, formerly possessed by Alonso de Toro, Lieutenant-General of Gonçalo Picarro, whom Diego Gonçalez his Son-in-law killed, out of a fear and jealoulie he had of him, ariling from some domestick quarrels between them. To the West-side of Thomas Vazquez his Buildings were the Houses of D. Pedro Luis de Cabrera, afterwards in the possession of Rodrigo de Esquivel. On the South-side of Thomas Vazquez his Houses, were those of Antonio Pereira, Son of Lope Martin of Peringal; next unto which adjoyned the dwelling of Pedro Alonso Carasco, one of the first Conquerours; to the South-side of which were others of less consideration, and the last of that quarter, which in the years 1557, and 58, began to be peopled. And now turning on the foot of the Hill Carmenca, to the Westside of the Houses of Diego do Sylva, we come to the Dwellings of Francisco de Villa, a Valiant Man, one of the first Conquerours, and one of the thirteen Com-Panions of D. Franciso Picarro. To the Southward of these on the other side of the Street, was a long and narrow Lane without Houses: Southward from which, was a very pleasant Walk, where now is the Convent of St. Francis, before which is a very wide and large place; and likewife more Southward from hence on the other fide of the Street are the Houses of Juan Julio de Hojeda, one of the first Conquerours, the Fither of Don Gomez de Tordora, who is still living. To

the Westward of these Houses of D. Gomez, were those of Martin de Arbieto, he vond which, in the year 1560, were no farther Buildings; for to the Westward of them was a great Plain in my time, convenient for running and breathing of Horses, and at the end of it was erected that rich and famous Hospital of the Indians founded in the year 1555, and 56. Thus far the Buildings reached in those days, what enlargements were made, were added fince. The Gentlemen which we have named in this Treatife, were all Perfons of Quality, and of Noble Blond and famous for their Arms, having vanquilhed and won that most rich Empire, the greatest part of which I knew, and of all those which I have named, there were not ten with whom I had not a personal acquaintance.

#### CHAP. XII.

Of the two Gifts which the City contributed for Charitable Vles.

 ${f B}^{
m Efore\ I}$  treat of the Foundation of that Hospital, and the Contributions given to it; I shall first mention the charitable Gifts which the Citizens made to the Friars of St. Francis, for buying the ground and body of the Church, which they found already built to their hands, when my Lord Garçilasso de la Foga was Governour of Cozco: the matter was this: These Friars (as we have said) ha ving their Convent in Callana, made a demand (I know not for what reason) upon Juan Rodriguez de Villa Lobos, for this Ground and Church; in pursuance of which, they preferred a Bill in the Chancery, defiring that they might have polfession of this Ground and Church, paying unto this Juan Rodriguez so much Mo ney as the Church and the Land about it should be valued or esteemed at, being 22200 Ducats: The Prior of their Franciscans was then F. Juan Gallegos, a holy Man, and one of a most Exemplary life and conversation; by whose means payment was made of this Money in the House of my Father, who gave possession thereof to the Friars, delivering the price in Bars of Silver. At which the standers by much admiring, being aftonished to see so great a sum paid so readily and punctually at the time by fuch poor Friars; the Prior made them this answer, that they should not wonder at these Works of Heaven, being produced by the mere charity of this City, whose hearts God had touched, and moved with such pious Zeal, that I can affure you (faid he) that on Monday of this Week we had not above 300 Ducats of this fum towards our payment; and now we are but on Thursday morning, when I am present before you with this great sum, raised by the pious contributions of the Inhabitants of this City, as well Gentlemen Souldiers, as Lords of the Indians, who for these two last nights came knocking at our Gates with Alms in their hands, which they defired to bestow secretly, with such frequent and continued course of pious Benefactors, who called to the Porter to receive their Alms and Charity, that we have not been able to take our rest or repose; all which I heard that good Man speak in commendation of the liberality and charity of the City. And now to speak farther of the Foundation of this Hospital, we must know, that this Godly Prior dying, another succeeded in his place, called Antonio de St. Michel, a Person of a Noble Family, (of which Name also there was a great Divine in Salamanca) who for his holy life and doctrine being a true Son, and faithfull Follower of St. Francis, was made Bishop of Chili, where he lived with exemplary piety and godliness, as the Kingdoms of Chili and Peru can testifie. This holy Man, in the second year of the three in which he lived a Bishop, preaching every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday in Lent, according to his usual custome in the Cathedral Church of Cozco, did upon a certain Sunday propose, that an Hospital should be erected in that City for the Indians; and that

a Fraternity of Indians, should be Super-intendents, or Supervisors over it, as the Spaniards were over theirs; affuring them, that the Spaniards had obligations to wards the Indians in some manner, which no Man could acquit himself of, whether he were a Conquerour of them, or not, but by some such satisfaction for their debt: And purfuing this discourse with most persuasive Arguments in all the Sermons of that Week, on the Sunday he concluded after fuch a preparation made: That the Governour, and he, would try what operation his Sermons had effected on them, to which end they would go personally from house to house to demand their charitable contributions towards this pious Work; admonishing them to thew themselves as large and open-hearted therein, as they had been valiant and covetous to obtain the Empire. Accordingly the Governour and the Prior took their Walk from house to house to gather the charitable Alms of the City, coming at first to the Dwellings of those onely who were Masters of the Indians: And at night, when my Father Garcilasso returned home, he commanded me to sum up the account of all the Collections; which when I had done, I found it to amount unto 28500 Pieces of Eight, which makes 34200 Ducats: the least that was given by any particular person was 500 Pieces of Eight, which makes 600 Ducats; there were some who gave a 1000 Pieces of Eight. Thus much was the Collection made in one Evening, and in the space of five hours onely; other days they took to go from neighbour to neighbour, every one giving so freely, that in a few months the fum amounted to above a hundred thousand Ducars: the which report being noised about in the Countrey, and that an Holpital was therewith to be founded for the Natives, many other contributions were added in the space of that year, some being given by Last Will and Testament, and some by devout and charitable persons in the time of their Life and Health, so that the Work was chearfully begun, the Native Indians, within the Jurisdiction of the City, concurring thereunto with all ready affiftence, being affured that the use and benefit thereof was intentionally designed for themselves. Under the first Stone of the Foundation, which was laid by my Father Garci-

left, he put a \* Doblon of Gold, being one of those with two Faces, of Fordinand \* A double lass, he put a \* Doblon of Gold, being one of those with two fraces, of Ferdinand \* A double and Isabel, the King and Queen of Spain: That fort of coin was rare in those days, fhillings Enand especially in that Countrey, and at that time, where, and when no Money eighth. ther in Gold or other Metal was flamped; for the Spanish Merchants did then bring their Commodities, which they bartered or exchanged for Wares of the Countrey, or fold for Silver or Gold, but brought no Money coined into those parts. I believe that the Doblon was brought thither for a curiofity, and prefented to my Father as a Medal; and of the same opinion were all those who saw it: for it paffing from one to another, the whole Corporation of the City, then prefent at this Solemnity of laying the Foundation, did all esteem it for a great curiofity, being the first coined Money that had been seen in that Countrey; and for that reason was worthily employed in that charitable Work. Diego Maldonado, a Native of Salamanoa, firnamed the Rich, for the great Wealth that he had attained, having formerly been Governour of the City, laid under one of the Stones a Plate of Silver with his Arms engraven upon it; and on this poor Foundation was erected this rich Edifice; which was afterwards endowed with many Indulgences and Pardons from the Popes, for all those who should dye in it: the which being made known to a certain Indian Woman of the Bloud-Royal, with whom I was acquainted; the finding her felf fick, defired to be carried into the Holpital; to which her Friends not agreeing in confideration of the abilities she had to maintain her felf; howfoever the still perfitted in her defires, faying, that it was not the cure of her Body that she designed, but to enjoy and partake of those Indulgences which the Princes of the Church had given unto those who should dye in that Hospital; for which reason she being carried thither, resuled to have her Bed laid in the Chambers of the fick, but in a corner of the Church; where the defired, that her Grave might be opened near to her Bed, which she covered with the Habit of St. Francis, and defired to be buried in it 3 then the called for the Wax candles, which the intended to have burnt at her Burial, that they might be in a readiness: And having received the Holy Sacrament and extreme Unction, the lay four days after calling upon God and the Bleffed Virgin, and all the Celeflial Court of Angels, and then expired. This godly end which this poor Indian

Woman had made, being generally known and talked of, the two Corporations

of the City, both Spiritual and Temporal, agreed to honour her Obsequies and

Enterment with their presence; the which being observed by other Indians, (who esteemed all their Nation and Lineage much favoured therein) it was hoped that this might be a means to animate and encourage them to embrace at their Death the same advantages which the Christian Religion produces. With which we shall conclude this discourse, and pass on to the Life and Actions of this tenth King, in whose Reign we have many particulars of great admiration.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Of the New Conquest which the Inca Yupanqui designed to make.

THE good Inca Tupanani having bound his Temples with the coloured wreath, and performed the Funeral Rites due to his Father; the first thing he designed was to render himself pleasing and gratefull to his people, by visiting the several Provinces and Kingdoms of his Empire; which (as we have said) was esteemed by the Indians for the greatest grace and savour which the Inca could the stiff towards his Subjects: For being possessing with an opinion, that the Inca were not of humane race, but descended as Gods from their Father the Sun; they could not but conceive and sansie great blessings to accompany so gratious a presence; and we may believe, that the Inca departing with these intentions, waste ceived in all parts by his Subjects with great joy and adoration. The Inca having passed in all parts by his Subjects with great joy and adoration. The Inca having passed three years in this progress and visitation, returned afterwards to the City; where having consulted with his Counsel, he resolved to undertake a brave and hazardous War towards the Insis on the East-side of Cozco; for as yet the Confines of the Empire were bounded by a long ridge of Hills, by which the showy. Mountain extended it self; but being desirous to pass it, and discover what Pople or Nation inhabited on the other side, the way to pass was contrived by solowing the current of Waters, which run through those Hills from West to East, for that the tops and precipices of those Mountains, by reason of the Snows, were esteemed impassable.

The pretence for this War was grounded on the common and plaufible colour of Religion; the defign of withdrawing them from their unhumane and babarous cultoms, and influcting them in the knowledge and religion which the Sun their Father had delivered, and all Nations had received, were always forble arguments, and infallible grounds for making their War just.

This defire, and motives of seeing this Countrey were encreased by an ancient

This defire, and motives of feeing this Countrey were encreased by an ancient relation which the Ancestors of this *Inca* had received, that the Nations on the other side of this Mountain were populous, and the Lands fruitfull; but that part thereof was inhabitable, being nothing but Mountains, Lakes, Bogs and Marish Grounds.

And as a farther encouragement to this design, there was a report, that among those populous Nations, the greatest and most considerable of them was called Muss, and since by the Spaniards Mosos; to which there is a passage by a great liver, which about the Antis to the East of the City is divided into many rivules, being five in number, every one having its proper Name; but afterwards on the other side of the Antis, they meet together, and falling into one stream, make a great River, called Amarumayn. Where this River empties it self Northward into the Sea, is not discovered; it is probable, that running Eastward, and joyning with many other Rivers, it comes at length to fall into that River which we call the River of Plate; for the Spaniards, when they first discovered that Country demanded of the Natives, whether there was Silver in those parts? they answered

that in that Countrey there was none, but that at the Head of that River was great abundance; from whence the *Spaniards* give the Name of Plate to that River, though there be no Silver Mines arifing in that Countrey; towards the mouth of that River which is effected fo famous, that it hath gained the renown of the fecond great River in the World after the *Orellana*.

The River of Plate is called in the *Indian* Tongue *Parabuny*, though the great River above (if that be it which joins with the River of Plate) is named *Amarumoyu*, all the other five Streams lofing their proper Names, when they join with this. *Mayn* fignifies a River, and *Amaru* are thofe great Serpents which are nourifhed in those Countries, of such bigness as we have before described, forafnuch as these Serpents being compared with lessers and the such exceed them, so doth that River surpass the Brooks and lesser Streams.

#### CHAP. XIV.

The Successes of the Expedition into Musu, until the end of it.

IT being impossible to find a way into Musu, over the inaccessible Mountains, and through the Lakes and Bogs, the King Tupanqui resolved to follow the course of the River, though as yet not known, or discovered; in pursuance of which, Order was given to cut down Timber, and make Boats, or Floats, for transporting ten thousand Men, with Provision sufficient for them, the which were two years in preparing; all which being built, and made ready, and the Souldiers raised and armed, and the Victuals and Ammunition provided, and the General and Officers named, all which were Incas of the Royal Bloud, they embarked in their Boats, made capable to carry thirty, or forty, or fifty Men a piece. Their Provisions they laid in the middle of the Boats, raised about half a yard from the bottom, to keep them from wet. With this force and preparations, they sculled down the Stream, and in their passage had many difficult Rencounters, and Battails with the Natives of Chinichu, who inhabit on the Banks on one side, and the other of that River, assembled in great numbers both upon the Water, and on the Land, to interrupt their passage. The offensive Arms used by that People of Antir, were Bows and Arrows: Their Faces, and Arms, and Legs were painted over red, and their Bodies with various colours, for the Countrey being hot, they went always naked, with a clout onely before their Privities, with Caps on their Heads, made up with the Feathers of Parrots, and Guacannyas.

In conclusion, after many Skirmishes and Treaties between one and the other Party, the several Nations and Inhabitants on the Banks of this River, were all reduced to the Obedience and Service of the Inca; and in acknowledgment of such submission and Vassalage, sent Presents to the King Tupanqui of Parrots, Monkies, Drills, Honey, Wax, and other Fruits which their Countrey yielded. These Presents were constantly made untill the death of Tupac Amaru, who was the last of the Inca, his Head being cut off by Francisco de Toledo, Vice-king of the Indies, as we shall hereaster more largely declare in the Lives and Successions of those Kings. Many of those Indians who were ordered to bring their Presents to the Inca, did afterwards, by concession from them, plant themselves near unto Tono, a place about twenty six Leagues distant from Cozco, where their Generation hath remained to this day. The Natives on the side of the River, commonly called Chunchu, being thus reduced to the service of the Inca; they proceeded forwards to other Countries and Nations untill they came to the Province of Mnsu, inhabited by a numerous and warlike Nation, having all things plentifull of their own product, and distant about two hundred Leagues from the City of Cozco.

The

The Incas report, that when they came into that Countrey by reason of the ma ny Skirmilhes they had passed, and the Difficulties they had encountred, their A. my was reduced to a very small number; howsoever they attempted to persuade the Musins to submit unto the Inca, to whom the Sun was Father, and who had fent him from Heaven to teach Men the way of a rational and moral Life; that being Men, they should not appear like Beasts, but adoring the Sun for God they should for fake the Worship of Stocks and Stones, and other vile and inani. mate Creatures. The Incas observing that the Mulus gave attention to them, were encouraged to make known their Laws and Cuftons to them, and recount the Provinces had voluntarily, and of their own accord, offered themfelves to the Obedience and Service of the *Inc.*, defiring him to take them under his protection. as this People and Worshippers of his Deity. It is moreover reported, that the Incas particularly declared to them the Dream of Viracocha, and his great Actions At the hearing of all which, it is faid that the Musius were so assonished, that they readily accepted the friendship of the Incas, and embraced their Religion, Laws and Statutes with great Devotion, promifing to be governed by them, and to acknowledge no other than the Sun for their principal God. Howfoever they refufed to be efteemed for Vaffals of the Inca, having not been conquered by him. but were proud to be accounted his Allies, Friends and Confederates. Under pretext of which Friendship, the Musius gave leave to the Incas to live and inhabit in their Countrey; for there not remaining above a thouland of them, they did not apprehend any danger of being subdued or enflaved by them, and therefore freely gave them liberty to take their Daughters and Kindred for their Wives, and having a great Veneration and Efteem for their Perfons and Wifedom, they committed the government of all things into their hands, both of War and Peace. Upon the Poundation of this new Alliance, and at their perfuafion, they fent Ambassadours to Cozco, to adore the Inca as the Off-spring of the Sun, and to confirm that Friendship and Alliance which they had contracted with his Subjects: taking a great compass in their way thither, to avoid the high Mountains, marish grounds and bogs, which were not paffible in the direct line. These Ambassadours being arrived at Cozco, were received by the Inca with all imaginable kindness and favour; commanding that care should be taken to inform and instruct them in the manner of his Courts, his Laws, Statutes and Religion; with which the Mr. fin receiving great fatisfaction, returned again to their own Countrey, with telelution to maintain this Friendship and Confederacy so happily begun, which continued untill the time that the Spaniards invaded and overcame their Country, Particularly it is reported of these Incas, who planted themselves in the Country of the Musiu; that the Children descended from them, desiring to return to Cour in the time of *Huayna Capac*, for that finding all things quiet in the Countrey of *Manjus*, and no danger of any revolt, the natural delire of vifiting the Countrey of their Fore-fathers, invited them to carry their Wives and Children unto Cozas; but in their way thither receiving news that Huayna Capac was dead, and that the Spaniards possessed the Land, having subverted and utterly destroyed the Empire of the Incas; they altered their delign, refolving to return again to the Mulm where they were ever afterwards highly esteemed, and held in Veneration, and all matters both of War and Peace committed to their management. It is faid that the River in those parts is fix Leagues broad, and that their Canoes are two days in paffing over it.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XV.

Of the Remains which are still apparent of that Expedition.

THE particulars of this Conquest and Discovery made by the Inca Tupanqui, which we have recounted in brief, were asterwards more at large related by the Indians, boasting much of the mighty Acts and Valour of their Ancestours; telling us of Battels which they fought upon the Water, and on the Banks of the River, and of the many Provinces they subdued, and many other Enterprises, which seem incredible to have been performed by a handfull of Men; and because that hitherto the Spaniards have not been able to make themselves Masters of the people about the Antis, how much less can it be pointed out to us, the way and means that these seem incredible, we that design to write a true History, have not thought fit to mix Fables with our true Relations, especially of things which being acted in remote and unknown parts, could not come so distinctly to our cognizance, as those which were acted in the Precincts of our own Countrey. Though the truth is, the Spaniards have in our time found many Evidences and Remains of those matters, as we shall see more distinctly hereaster.

In the Year 1564. a certain Spaniard, called Diego Aleman, born in the Town of St. John in the County of Niebla, Inhabitant of the City of Paz, otherwise called the New Plantation; being made Lord over a few Indians, was persuaded by a Caraca of that place, to take twelve Spaniards more into his company, and with them to make a journey into the Province of Musu, where he assured them was much Gold, offering himself to be their guide; the journey they undertook was a soot, both for privacy, the better to surprise the Natives, and because the way was mountainous, and not passable on horseback; their Design was for that present onely upon discovery, to see and observe how the Land lay, to know the ways, and afterwards return with greater force, to make their Conquest; they entred by Cochapampa, which borders upon Mossa.

They travailed twenty eight days through Mountains and Thickets, and unfrequented places, and at length came to a view of the first Province of that people. The Casique gave them a caution to proceed silently, and enquire of matters from some Indian before they discovered themselves; but the Spaniards not hearkning to the caution he gave, on the close of the Evening, with more boldness than prudence entred the Province, making a noise, as if their numbers had been great, or as if the sound of the Spanish Tongue onely, had been sufficient to affright them. But matters succeeded quite otherwise, for the Indians taking the allarm, and by the shout they made, concluding them to be sew in number, took courage, and falling upon them, killed ten, and took Aleman captive; the other two, by the darkness of the night escaped, and returned to the place where their Guide promised to expect them, being not pleased with the railness of their Countel. One of the two which escaped was called Francisco Moreno, the Son of a Spaniard, by an Indian Woman, born at Cochapampa; this Man got a Cloth made of Cotton, which was hanged in the air for a Hamock or Cradle, to lay a Child in it, having six Bells of Gold tied to the ends of it, woven with several Works in divers colours. So soon as it was day the two Spaniards and the Curaca could from the top of the Hill discover a great number of Indians, with Lances, and Pikes, and Breast-plates, which glittered against the Sun, all which, as the Guide assured them, were made of Gold; and that they had no Silver in their Countrey, but that onely which they procured from Perm in exchange for their Gold. And to describe the greatness of that Countrey, he told them, that as the List was to that

Nn 2

276

Mantle, so was all Peru in comparison of that Countrey; but to let pass his Conmography, there is no doubt but that this Province was both wide and long.

Afterwards these *Indians* having every Evening converse and society with those of Pern, had understood from them, that this Diego Aleman had been the Leader and Chief of those few, who attempted this bold and rash Defign; on reputation of which, they so highly esteemed and honoured him, that they chose him the Captain of their Army in that War which they made against their Neighbourson the other fide of the River of Amarumayu 3 judging themselves extremely honou. red, and fecure under the conduct of to renowned a General of the Spanish Na. tion. But Francisco Moreno, his Companion in these Travails, being overwearied in his Journies and Labours, fo foon as he arrived in his own Countrey, dyed having our himself into a Fever in his Travails over the Mountains and Ma rifles, which were not to be paffed on Horfe-back, but on Foot onely: The Moreno recounted many things at large relating to this Discovery, which moved and persuaded many to undertake this Design; the chief whereof was Gomes, a Tordoya, a young and brisk Gentleman, to whom the Count Nicua, Vice-king of Peru communicated all the particulars of Moreno's Journal at large: But in regard great number of people came in to offer their fervice, and lift themselves in the Expedition; the Vice-king fearing a Mutiny, or fome Combustion, gave out that the Defign was laid afide, and that they would disband the Souldiers which they had already raifed.

#### CHAP. XVI

Of other unhappy Successes which befell the Spaniards in that Province.

TWO Years after, Castro, a Doctor of the Civil Law, Governour of Pers, gave a like Commission to another Gentleman, an Inhabitant of Coco, called Gaspar de Sotelo, who fitted and prepared himself wirh a brave and stone company of Souldiers, who freely and voluntarily offered themselves to accompany ny him in this Expedition: But that which gave most hope and advantage to this Defign was a fecret Correspondence between him and the Inca Tupac Amark, who was retired into Villcapampa, they both having agreed to join their Forces to gether for this Conquest, and that Tupae was to furnish him with flat bottomed Boats to pass the River of Villcapampa, which lies to the Northeast of Cosco, But as in the like occasions there never want malitious Spirits, who, envious of the Enterprises of generous Men, do always endeavour to doe ill Offices; so in this also there appeared those, who derogating from the worth and ability of  $G_{MM}$ . de Sotelo, persuaded the Governour to take away his Commission, and conserit upon Juan Alvarez Maldonado, which being done, he raifed two hundred and fifty Foot, and one hundred Horfe, and embarked them on great flat bottomed Boats, built on the River Amarumays, which lies East from Coxco. Gomes de Tordoso observing that this Conquest which he designed to himself, was by Commission glven to Gaspar de Sotelo, and afterwards to Juan Alvarez Maldonado, in preparing ven to Gaspar de Sotelo, and alterwards to standards. In preparing for which, he had engaged his Friends, and spent his own Estate, he to highly resented; that he would not be diverted, but published abroad, that he also intended to proceed on that Design; for though they had revoked his Authority, yet he still kept his Commission, by virtue of which he went on in raising his Souldiers; and though sew appeared, and that his numbers did not amount to above sixty Men in all, because the Governour had declared his sense and pleasure against six; yet in despight of all opposition resolving to proceed; he entred by the Province of Camata, which is Southeast of Cozco, and having passed insuperable Mountains, and difficult marish and boggy Grounds; he arrived at length at the River Amarumayn, where receiving advice, that Juan Alvarez was not yet passed, he entrenched himself on the banks of the River, with design to hinder his passes. ne entrended infinited on the bailts of the River, with design to finited his par-fage, and to treat him as an Enemy; and though he had but a finall number which adhered to him, yet being all choice Men, and faithfull to him, every one carrying two Carbines well fixed and charged, he promifed to himfelf fuccess and advan-

Juan Alvarez foon following after, descended by the stream untill he came to the place, where Gomez Tordoya expected his coming; they being both emulous each of other, and exasperated with equal gall and anger, without any other treaty or prologue, came to blows. Juan Alvarez Maldonado confiding in his Numbers, was the first Aggressor; Gomes trusting in the courage of his Men, and their double Arms would not give ground, but received his charge with great constancy, fo that they fought that whole day, as also the second and third, with that spight and rage, and with fuch little confideration, that they were almost all killed; and fuch as did escape with their lives, were yet so wounded, that they were disabled. and unfit for fervice. The *Indians*, who were Natives of that Province of *Chini-thi*, having observed this advantage, fell in upon those that remained alive, and unterly destroyed them; amongs which *Gomes de Tordoja* was also slain. I knew all these three Gentlemen, and lest them in Cozco, when I departed thence. The Indians took three Spaniards alive, that is, this Maldonado, Diego Martin a Portugal Friar, and a certain Gun-fmith called Simon Lopez; Maldonado being known by the Indians to have been the Commander in chief of one of those parties, was treated by them with all courtefie and respect; and considering that he was wounded, and a Man in years, they gave him liberty to return unto his Indians in Cozco, giving him convoy to as far as the Province of Callavaya, where the finest Gold is extracted in pieces of four or five Caracts in weight: but the Friar and the Gunfmith they kept above two years afterwards; during which time, they employed the Gun-fmith folely in making them Hatchets and Pick axes of Copper; and the Friar they held in great veneration, because he was a Priest, and a Servant of the God of the Christians: And when at length they gave them liberty to return to Peru, they entreated the Friar to flay amongst them, and teach them the Doctrine of Christianity, but he refused to dwell with them, This and many such occasions have been lost, whereby the Gospel might have been propagated by Preaching, without the force and compulfion of Arms.

Two years afterwards the Chunchus gave licence to these two Spaniards to return unto Perw, guiding and conducting them untill they came to the Valley of Callavaya, so that they told their own Story of this unhappy expedition. They also gave an account of all the Actions and Exploits which the Incas had performed at the lower parts of this River; and how they dwelt and inhabited amongst the Mustas, and that after that time they acknowledged the Inca for their Lord and Sovereign, and that every year they carried him prefents of such Fruits as their foil produced; the which prefents were continued untill the Death of the Inca Tupac Amaru, which was some few years after this unfortunate action and fight between fuan Alvarez Maldonado, and Gomez de Tordoya. The which Story we have fore-stalled and related out of its due place, thereby to attest, and prove the Conquest which the Inca Tupanqui made along the great River Amarumayu; and that the Incas who defigned to make a Conquest of the Musius, did afterwards plant themselves, and inhabit amongst them. All which the Friar Diego Martin, and the Gun-smith Simon did particularly relate and confirm: And the Friar as to himself did say, that nothing did trouble him so much in his life, as that he did not continue his abode amongst the Indian Chunchus, as they desired of him; but that not having the conveniencies there of faying Mass, was a great inducement to recall him thence, for otherwise he would never have removed from thence. He farther faid, that he often purposed to return thither again, being troubled in his confcience for not having farisfied the importunity of those poor Indians, who made that reasonable request to him, which he by his yow and profession was obliged to grant : And farther that Friar alledged, that those Incas who were planted among the Mussus, might be of great use to the Spaniards in the Conquest which they deligned to make of that Countrey. And so let us return again to the Acts and Monuments of the good Inca Tupanqui; the chief and greatest of which, was the Conquest of Chili.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XVII.

Of the Nation of Chirihuana; of their customs and manner of living.

S coverousness and ambition of government is natural to all Men, so these Incas transported with a defire of new Kingdoms and Conquests, made it their chief business and glory to enlarge their Empire. In pursuance of which four years after that Yapangui had fent his Army down the River, he defigned a nother Conquest over the great Province of Chiri-huana, which is seated in the Antis to the Eastward of the Charcas. But in regard the Country was unknown. and the ways undiscovered, it was thought fit and convenient to fend fives find into those parts, who might see and discover the Situation and Nature of the Countrey, and Manners of the People. The Spies being diffracthed, as was refolved, they returned at a certain time, bringing a report, that the Country was bad, full of high and barren Mountains, Bogs, Lakes, and Marish Grounds; that the Natives were absolutely brutes, and worse than beasts, having no Religion, or Worship of any thing, but lived without law or good manners, wandring in the Mountains and Woods, not affociated in any community or political governments unless it were, when they joined their Forces together to infeft their Neighbous, with intention to eat the flesh of those which they took in War, without respect either of Sex or Age, and that nothing should be lost of all their spoils, they drank the bloud when they cut their throats. Nor did they onely eat the flesh of their Enemies, but of their own people, when they died; onely they lame-ted over their bones; which when they had laid, and disposed orderly according to their joints, they buried them in rocks, or caves, and the hollow of trees. They went naked, and promiscuously used coition without regard either to Sisters, Daughters or Mothers. And this was the common way of living practifed by the Nation of Chiri-buana.

The good Inca Tupanqui (for so was he styled commonly by his own people, as also by Pedro de Cieça) having heard this report, turned to his relations and kindred, who were then present, and told them, that now he esteemed it a duty and obligation incumbent on him to reduce the people of Chiri-huana, that so he might withdraw them from the turpitude of their manners, and from that bestial lie which they did lead, it being the grand design for which his Father the Sun had sent him into the World. Having said these Words, he appointed ten thousand Men to be raised, and made ready, under the Command of Colonels and Captains of the Incan Family, Men experienced both in War and Peace, and instructed in their duty, and the business that they were to perform. This Army being provided, marched into the Province of Chirihuana, where they soon sound the want and misery of the Countrey; to supply which, they gave notice to the Inca, who speedily furnished them with all things necessary. But such were the disficulties of that Countrey, being nothing but Mountains, and Bogs, and Fens, that after the labour of two years, they were not able to effect any matter considerable there in; which being advised to the Inca, he ordered their return, designing after some time of repose to employ them on some more gratefull, and more pleasing Concuess.

The Vice-King D. Francisco de Toledo, who governed those Kingdoms in the year 1572, resolved to conquer those Chiribuanas, as Acosta in the 28th Chapter of his 4th Book doth relate at large; and in order thereunto having appointed a considerable force of Spaniards, provided with all necessaries to undertake that enterprize, he entred into that Province, carrying with him great numbers of Horses and Cows to breed and increase; but he had not marched far before he experienced the insuperable difficulties of that undertaking, which he not believing by any former report, nor yet admonished by the ineffectual attempts which the International Company of the International Company o

made upon it, was forced at length to abandon his Defign, and fly shamefully out of the Countrey. The ways were so bad, that the Mules were not able to pass with his Litter, so that he was carried on the Shoulders of Spaniards and Indians; whilst the Chiribmanas cried after them with Curses and Reproaches, saying, Throw down that Old Woman from her Basket, that we may eat her

Royal Commentaries.

For the Chiribuanas (as we have faid) are a fort of people greedy and ravenous after Flesh, because they have none in their own Countrey, either of tame or wild Cattel, the Soil not producing Herbage, or other nourishment for them being over-run with Briers and Bulhes, and not cultivated with the least Art or Indufire. Had they conferred the Cattel which the Vice-king left them, ordering Cow-keepers or Herdsinen to attend them, as was practifed in the Islands of Hifpaniela, and Cuba, they might have had an increase fufficient to have stocked their Countrey. Howsoever that barbarous people, even from that little Conversation and Learning which they had from the Spaniards, during their short abode in their Countrey, reaped fome benefit as to their manners; for they did agver afterward eat the Flesh of their own dead; onely they were thirsty after the Bloud of their Neighbours, and so raving for the Flesh of their Enemies, that they despited their own Lives to gain theirs, being insensible of all Dangers at the fight of their Prey; and fo much did they long for humane Flesh, that when the fight of their Preys and formed that they long for matter Print, that which they furprifed at any time Shepherds keeping their flocks of Sheep, or Herdfinen watching their Cattel, they would forfake and neglect the Herds and Droves, to take and devour the Flesh of the Shepherds. This inhumane barbarity was so dreadfull to all forts of people, and their Neighbours round about, that ten Chiribusiness would chase a thousand others, to whom they were so terrible, that they affighted their Children with their very Name. The Chirchnamas also learned from this short visit of the Spaniards to make Houses not for private Dwellings, but for the publick reception of all comers; the Fashion of which was one wide Gallery, divided into as many Apartments as there were Persons; the Room being no bigger than what was capable to receive one fingle person, for they had no Houshold-stuff, nor Garments to cover them, going always na-ked. And thus much shall serve for what we have to say of the condition and brutish Life of the Chiribuanas, who are so bestial, and inhumane, that nothing less than a Miracle can reclaim them from this gross and irrational course of Life.

CHAP.

280

BOOK VII.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Preparations which were made for the Conquest of Chili.

THough the good King Tupangui had had but ill fuccefs against the Chirimana, yet it did not discourage his Design for the Conquest of Chili, or for Archieve. ments of a more noble Nature: For in regard the great Maxime of the hear State was the increase of their Empire, they were ever attempting and designing forme thing towards the enlargement of it; and indeed fuch was the Confliction of it in those days, that they could not well subfift without War, their people in the confliction of it in those days, that they could not well subfift without War, their people in the confliction of it in those days, that they could not well subfift without War, their people is ing numerous, and without Employment, and the Stores of Arms, Cloths and Shoes, which were the Tribute of the Provinces, yearly increafing, there would have been no confumption of them without a War, but would have decayed and perished in the Magazines, or Store-houses, without use; for as to Gold and Silver. (as we have faid) none was exacted, nor were they in use as current Coin but onely were the voluntary Presents which the Vassals gave for adornment of the Royal Palaces, and Temples belonging to the Sun; for these Reasons, and ser the Love and Obedience which his Subjects bore towards him, the King Tunn qui accounted himself to be in a proper and able condition for making a War upon the Kingdom of Chili, to which end having advised with his Council concerning the way and manner of carrying on the War, and having confittude and or dained Officers for administration of common Justice, during his absence, he proceeded on his way to Chili, as far as Atacama, which was the most remote Province that was peopled on that fide, between which and Chili were great Defact. without People or Provisions; and there he intended to pitch his Camp, to give heat and life to the defign.

From Alacama the Inca sent his Spies, and a party like a Forlorn-hope, to discover and observe the ways and Difficulties of the passage; and because the care was great, and the true Discovery of vast importance, the charge of it was committed to Incas onely; the Kings not being willing to entrust the common sater to the faithfulness of any, but such as were of the Royal Lineage. These Incas took with them certain Indians from Alacama and Tuema for their Guides, for so we have said before) these had some knowledge of the way; for the better assurance of which it was ordered, that from two Leagues to two Leagues the Guids should go, and return with a report of the way, and difficulties which they encountred in it; and should by such Advices accordingly contrive with most advantage to lodge, and lay their Provisions for the Army in the most commodion places. With this labour and diffigence they penetrated eighty Leagues through this desart Countrey, which is as far as from Alacama to Copayapu, which is a little but a well peopled Province, environed round with long and wide Desars, for to pass forward, as far as to Cuquimpu, are other eighty Leagues of desarts.

The Spies having made a Discovery as far as Copanapa, and taken as much notice of every thing, as could be done by a survey of their Eyes, they returned with all diligence to render an account to the Inca of what they had seen and observed. The Inca having received their Information, ordered ten thousand Men to be made ready, under the Command of General Sinchiruca, and two other Major Generals, whose Names are not known, the which being dispatched, marched in the best order that the way would permit, having their Provisions carried on the backs of Sheep, whose Flesh also served for Victuals.

This Army being dispeeded away, the *Inca Tupanqui* commanded that they should be followed by ten thousand more, for the succour and reinforcement of their Companions, which marched before, the which added to the greater terrour and affrightment of the Enemy. The first Army being arrived near to Copagas.

fent their accustomary Summons to the people, requiring them to render and submit themselves to a Child of the Sun, who was sent from his Father to give them a new Religion, and Laws, and Customs, that so they might live like Men, and not like Beasts; nor would it avail them to fly unto their Arms for succour of defence, for that either by soul means or fair, they must obey the \*Inca,\* who was Sovereign Monarch of the four parts of the World. The Natives of Copayapa, being affighted at these Summons, betook themselves immediately to their Arms, being resolved to defend the Consines of their Countrey; where at first they had some light Skirmishes and Encounters, both parties trying and proving the Courage and force of each other. The \*Incas\*, in compliance with the command of their King, faintly managed their Arms, being unwilling to use Fire, and Sword, and other Extremities of War, but rather by dallying with them sometimes in Words, and again with Blows, induce them to a submission. The Enemy on the other side remained in great perplexities and doubts what to doe; the terrour and dread which they apprehended in opposing the Deity of the Sun, made them fear that some great Curse or Malediction would be the effect of their Rebellion, yet the desire they had to maintain their Liberty, and the ancient Worship of their Gods, was a most prevalent Argument against all Innovations.

#### CHAP. XIX.

The Incas possess themselves of the Valley which they call Chili; and of other Summons sent to divers new Nations, with their Answers thereunto.

IN this doubtfull condition and fuspense were the people of Copasapu, when the second Army came to the Succour and Reinforcement of the former; with the sight of which, being now totally discouraged, and out of all hopes of making resistance, they came to a treaty, and accepted all the conditions both of civil manners, and religious Worship, which the power of a prevailing Enemy was pleased to impose upon them. All which being advised to the Inca, he was greatly pleased with the success, conceiving that he had now an open and plain Field before him to the Conquest of Chili, which untill now he very much doubted, apprehending that the distance and difficulties of the way would render the Enterprise almost insuperable. The Province of Copasapu having submitted on composition, rather than subdueed by sorce, the Inca followed the course of his good fortune; commanding ten thousand Men more to be raised, and surnished with Arms and necessary Provisions for their March, and therewith to be dispatched away with all Expedition, for reinforcement of the former Army; which being thus strongly recruited, they marched eighty Leagues farther into the Countrey, where, after many difficulties, and much labour, they arrived at length at another Province, or Valley, called Caquimpu, which they subdued. What particulars occurred in this Enterprise, what Battels were fought, or what Treaties passed, is not certain, for that being a Countrey very remote, the Indians of Pern were not able to render any persect account of particular matters, more than in general, that the Valley of Caquimpu was added to the Dominions of the Empire. Thence they proceeded forwards, conquering all the Nations before them, as far as to the Valley of Chili, from whence that Kingdom takes its denomination. During all the time of this War, which (as some say) lasted six denomination. During all the time of this War, which (as some say) lasted six years, the Inca with great care teinforced his Armies from time to time, furnishing them with Arms, Cloths, Sho

ly the Dignity and Honour of his Majesty, that his Souldiers should not loke ground, or retreat one step from the Possessions they had gained, so that at length Chili being made the stat of War, was invaded by the Inca with fifty thousand Men, provided with as much convenience and plenty, as if they had been quartered within the City of Cocco.

Of all matters that succeeded, intelligence was given to the Inca from time to time, and having made necessary provisions for securing the late Conquests, they continued their march to the Southward, Subduing all the Nations before them to the River of Maulli, which is almost fifty Leagues distant from the Valley of Chili What Battels or Skirmillies paffed here is not particularly known, and therefore it is probable that matters were ended by way of Friendship, or Composition, being always the first Trial which the *Incus* made at the beginning, before they put matters to the extremities of a War. The *Incus* had now enlarged their Eq. pire above two hundred and fixty Leagues in length, the distance being so great from Atacama to the River Maulli, counting the Defarts as well as the inhabited places; for from Atacama to Copayapu are eighty Leagues, from Copayapu to Cuous on are eighty more, from Cuquimpu to Chili are fifty five, and then from Chil to the River Maulii are almost fifty more; all which was not as yet sufficient to fatisfie the Avarice and Ambition of the Incas: For having given out the necess. ry orders for Government, and fecuring the late Conquests, and made provision against all accidents and contingencies which might happen in War, they proceded farther, passing the River Maulti with twenty thousand Men; where, 2007ding to their custome, they in the first place sent their Summons to the Province of Purimanca, (called by the Spaniards Promancaes) requiring them either to accept the Inca for their King and Lord, or otherwise provide to defend themselves by Arms. The Purumaucans having received intelligence of the approach of the Incas, had put themselves into a posture of Defence, and having made an Alliance with their Neighbours of Antalli, Pincu, and Cauqui, resolved to dve, rather than lofe their ancient Liberty; and on this confidence gave for Answer. That the Conquerours should be Lords over the conquered, and that the Incas should food understand in what manner the Purumaucans were used to obey.

Three or four days after this Answer the Purumancans having joined with the Allies, appeared in a Body, to the number of 18 or 20 thousand Men, pitching their Camp in fight of the Incas, who still continued to repeat their instant obcitations for Peace and Concord, protesting to them, and calling the Sun and Moon to witness, that they came not to deprive or despoil them of their Lands and Estates; but onely with an intention to reduce them to a manner of rational living like Men, and impose nothing more upon them, than the Worship and Adoration of the Sun, whom they required them to accept for their God, and the Incas for their King and Sovereign. The Purumancans replied, That they would not spend their time in parlying, or vain Disputes, but would refer the Controversite to be decided by the Sword, and that the Incas should accordingly provide the next day for a Trial, they being resolved neither to send other Proposals, nor receive

them.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XX.

Of the cruel Battel between the Incas and other Nations, and of the first Spaniard who discovered Chili.

Royal Commentaries.

THE day following, both Armies raifing their Camps, put themselves in order of Battel, and began the Fight with great Courage and Resolution, which continued that whole day with such equality of Fortune, that it could not be discred to which part the Victory most inclined; many were slain and wounded on both sides, untill the night divided them, and caused them to retreat to their several Quarters. The second and third days were alike bloudy, one party contending for Liberty, and the other for Honour. The fourth day both sides were drawn up in their Camp, expecting which should make the attempt; and in this order they continued for the space of two days after, and then they both drew off, each side suspecting that the other had sent for more Succours, requiring speedy Recuits. The Purumaucans, and their Allies, thought that they had gained Credit enough, in being able to withstand the invincible Power of the Inc. 18, and with this Reputation they returned to their own Countries, proclaiming Victory and

Triumph in all parts where they paffed.

The *Incas*, after due and mature confideration, thought it not convenient to puriue after the Enemy, but rather give way to their bestial Fury for a time; howfoever the Debates hereupon were divers, fome were for pursuing the Enemy, untill they had entirely fubdued them; but others of a more moderate temper, were for following the mild and gentle Principles of the *Incas*, not being over forward in the utter destruction of their Enemies. At length it was agreed and concluded, that they should preserve that which they had already gained. making the River Maulti the utmost limit and bound of their Frontiers, untill fuch time as they should receive new Orders and Instructions from the Luca. Of all which the King Tupanqui being advised, gave directions, that they should give a stop to the farther progression of their Conquests, and attend to the improvement and cultivating of the Lands and Poffestions they had gained, with particular respect to the ease and benefit of the new Subjects; that so the neighbouring people being allured by this good treatment might offer themselves to become Vassals to the *Inca*; and in case the Nature of this people should be so dull and flupid, as not to observe and distinguish between the happiness of an improved Life, and their own Bestialities, that then the loss would be theirs, and redound more to their own hurt, than to the prejudice of the Incas. In compliance with this Command from the King, they defifted from farther profecution of their Conquests in Chili, making the River Maulti the ultimate bounds of their Empire, which they fortified with Caltles, and strong Garifons; so that now their business was to administer Justice, and improve the Incomes of the Sun; all which was performed with great respect to the benefit of the Subjects, who finding themselves obliged by such kind treatment, did with great Zeal and Affection embrace the Government of the brow, and comply with their Laws, Rites and Religion, continuing constant in them, until such time as the Spaniards became Mafters of their Countrey.

The first Spaniard that discovered Chili, was Don Diego de Almagro; but he didbut just see it, and afterwards return to Peru, having sustained innumerable labours, and endured great fatigues both in his journey thicher, and in his return; the which enterprise was the cause of the general Revolt of all Peru, and the original of that Discord and civil Dissertion which happened afterwards between those two Governous, and of the Death of the said Almagro, being taken Prisoner at the Battel of Salinus; and also of the Death of the Marquis D. Francisco de Pieuro, and of D. Diego de Almagro, who was born of Spanish and Indian Bloud, and who commanded in the Fight, called the Battel of Chupus. Of all which we

O 0 2

shall (God willing) treat more at large in its due place. The second person that entred into the Kingdom of Chili was the Governour Pedro de Valdivia, who wish a strong party both of Horse and Foot, marched beyond the Dominions of the a fitting party both of Hotel and 1904, inactive beyond the Dolininous of the Incas, making conqueft of all before him; the Colonies which he planted were thriving and proferous, though he himfelf unhappily fell by the hands of his own Subjects of the Province of Aranen, which he having subdued, made choice own Subjects of the Province of Aramen, which he having hudded, made choice of for himfelf, when the Lands were divided amongst the Conquerours. This worthy person planted many Colonies, and founded Cities with Spanis Inhabitants; and amongst the rest, that which after his own Name was called Valdivis. in the Conquest of this Province he performed many and noble Exploits, and afterwards governed it with great prudence and justice, and had not onely been happy in himfelf, but fortunate allo to his people, had not the boldness of an *ladian*, who adventured to cut the thread of his life, given a period to the expectation of many other bleffings, which his Wifedom and Conduct might have produced to his Subjects. And in regard the Death of this Governour and General was in a manner without Example, and that which was never practifed by the the dians either before or fince the Entrance of the Spaniards into that Countrey 1 and what turned to their greater mischief; I have thought fit to relate it in this place that fo the Reader may be clearly informed of the particulars of that unhappy her. tel, according to the first report which came of it to Peru, soon after the Fight was ended, and likewise what intelligence the second report gave of it; for hence understanding of which, it will be necessary to begin from the original and confe of this whole matter.

#### CHAP. XXI.

Of the Rebellion of Chili against the Governour Valdivia.

THE possession and inheritance of the Runguotti of Community and lot of this Gentleman, who was worthy of an Empire, his fortune was thousand pieces of Gold: But in regard the third of Gold encreases with the gains of it, and that there is no end proposed to Wealth and Riches, so the more the Governour amassed, the more labour and hard usage he imposed on the history. forcing them beyond their strength and abilities, to which they had not been at cuftomed to labour, and dig in the Mines to fatiate that Avarice of his, which was never to be fatisfied: The people of Aranca (which were the Subjects of Valdivia) not being able to fupport this Yoke of bondage and fervitude, joined themselves with others in confederacy, and put themselves into open rebellion, committing all the outrages and infolencies they were able upon the Spaniards. The Governour Valdivia having intelligence hereof, marched out with a hundred and fifty Horse, despiting the Indians, as the Spaniards have always done, on occasion of the little revolts and mytiging of the needs. fuch-like revolts and mutinies of that people: But this contempt of an enemy cost dear, having been the ruine and destruction of Valdivia, and of those who were with him, who all perished by the hands of those whom before they had

despised.
The first news which came of this disasture, was brought to the City de la Plant, which is in Pern, by the hand of an Indian wrote in a fcrip of Paper, without form Lanciers, were fivallowed up by the Earth. This report coming in a ferral of Paper, and by an *Indian* Meffenger foon gained belief, being quickly fpread through all *Pein*, to the great amazement of the *Spaniards*, who could not understand what those Words should mean, of being swallowed up by the Earth; for they could not contain the contains the cont not think it possible for 150 Spanish Horse to be overthrown by the Indians; and there-

therefore they were more inclinable to believe, that in regard that Countrev is like Peru, mountainous, and full of precipices and hollow places, and fubiect to Earthquakes, that the Spaniards were unadvifedly fallen, and perifhed in fome unstable, and false grounds and caves, rather than by the force and courage of the Indians, whom after many years of experience, they concluded unable to destroy fuch a number of Spaniards in battel. Whilft they of Pern remained in this doubtfull belief of matters, after 60 days time a more particular and certain relation came of the Death of Valdivia, and all his Souldiers, with all the circumftances of the late battel, which the Indians fought with him: the which I shall relate according to that account which was given of it from Chili; the which having in the first place foecified the Infurrection of the Indians, and the many infolencies and outrages they had committed, proceeded to tell us; That when Valdivia came to the place where these Rebels of Aranca were affembled, he found 13 or 14000 of them in Arms; which he fuddenly affaulting with his Horfe, did in many and divers Skirmishes always beat them, and put them to flight; so that the *Indians* were fo terrified with fear, and dread of the fury of the Spanish Horse, that they would never adventure into the open Plains; for that ten Spaniards were able to beat a thousand Indians, but kept themselves lurking in the Woods and Mountains, where the Spanish Horse could not come at them; and from thence they often sallied out, doing all the spoils and mitchies that they were able to the spaniards. from whom they would receive no Articles or Propofals of Accommodation, being more willing to dye, than obey, and serve them longer.

Thus the War was continued and carried on for many days, during which time the report was spread in all parts of the Countrey of the Arancans, and coming to the Ears of an old Captain of theirs, who had been famous in War, and of long experience; being one day in his House, he began to consider the reason. how it could be possible for so small a number as 150 Spaniards to subdue and enflave 12 or 13000 Indians; for that either they must be Devils, or otherwise immortal Men, as once the *Indians* did at the beginning believe them to be. To discover this mystery, and the reason of this great disproportion in War; he one day ascended to the top of a Hill, from whence he could see and survey the two Armies encamped; that of the Indians was large, and far extended with great numbers of Men, that of the Spaniards was little, and contracted within a small compass of ground: Confidering awhile hereupon, and of the situation of the two Camps, and wondering how it was possible for so small a number to be always victorious over a greater; he departed, and went from thence to the Indian Camp, where having called a Council, and made a long and rational discourse upon this subject; he at last made these Queries and Demands in the case:

Whether the Spaniards vvere mortal Men, like them, or vvhether they vvere immortal and incorruptible bodies, like those of the Sun and Moon? Whether they were infentible of hunger and thirst, and stood in need of sleep or repose after toil and labour? and in thort, whether they were made of fleth and bones. or of fteel and iron? The like Oueries he also made concerning their Horses: To all which answer being made, that they were Men like them, and of the same composition and nature; Then, faid he, go your ways, and take your repose, and to morrovy you shall see vyho are most Men, they, or vye. With this the Affembly being diffolved; in the morning, by break of day, they founded to Arms, the Indians giving louder shouts, and making greater noise with their Trumpets and Drums, and fuch-like instruments, than they had formerly done; and in a thort time the Old Captain had divided his Army into thirteen feveral Squadrons. each confifting of a thousand Men, keeping them still in referves one after the

286

#### CHAP. XXII.

Of the New Method and Way of Fighting, contrived by an Old Indian Captain.

THE Spaniards being allarumed with the noise and shouts of the Indians. Gil. lied forth in their bright and glittering Arms, with long Plumes on their Helmers, and Feathers on the heads of their Horses; and seeing the many Divisi. ons and Squadrons of the Enemy, they imagined that they were more able to break the smaller Battalions, than if they were united into one body. So foon as the Indian Captain faw the Spaniards appear, he encouraged the first Squadron you should overcome them, but that you should perform what you are able in favour and defence of your Countrey; and when you are worsted, and can perform the state of the sta form no more, that then you fave your felves by flight, taking care in your retreat that you break not into the other bodies, so as to disorder them, but that you fly behind all the reft, and there rally, and make up your body again; the like advice and order he gave to all the other Squadrons. With this defign and refolution the *Indians* engaged with the *Spaniards*, with whom having fought awhile, and performed what they were able; being routed, they retired into the Rere of the Army, the second, third, fourth and fifth, were easily broken, and routed by the Spaniards, but yet not without some loss on the Spanish side both of Men and

Thus as the first Squadrons were overthrown, still new referves came up, who all fought in their orders one after the other. In the Rere of all was another Catain, who governed in the orderly rallying of the Squadrons, which he caused to eat, and drink, and repose themselves, whilst the others continued the fight, that fo they might be refreshed, when their turn came for the next engagement. The Spaniards having already routed five Squadrons of the Enemy, and feeing still to or twelve more before them coming on; and having fought three long hours, ye encouraging one the other, they affaulted the fixth Squadron, which came in relief of the fifth, which they overthrew, as also the feventh, eighth, ninth and tenth Division. But now having fought seven long hours without intermission, both the Men and Horses began to fail, not being able to charge with that mente and vigour as they did in the beginning; which the Indians observing, would not permit them one moment of repose, but still plied them with new and fresh Squadrons, and after all the Spaniards faw notwithstanding ten Divisions still to be fought with; and though the natural force both of Man and Horfe began now to grow tired, and faint; yet they still roused their invincible spirits, not to shew or evidence any symptoms or appearances of failure to the *Indians*: Howoever the *Indians*: beginning fensibly to find the decay of the *Spanish* vigour and mettle, and that their force was not fo impetuous and irrefiftible as it was at first, still continued to bring up their Squadrons, untill two a clock in the afternoon; which the Governour Pedro de Valdivia observing, and that there were eight or nine Squadrons still to be overcome; and that when those vvere routed, they vvere always rallied, and made up; vvhich nevy vvay and method of Fighting having vvell confidered; and that it being novy late toyvards the Evening, it was probable the Enemy would afford them as little repose in the Night, as they had given them respite in the Day; he resolved to retreat before their Horses were wholly spent, and difabled of farther fervice: According to his Command his Souldiers retrea; ted towards a narrow pass, which if they could reach, being about a League and a half from the place where the Fight was, they imagined themselves secure from any attack of the Enemy; for that two Spaniards on foot were able to defend it from all the Army of the Indians. Having taken this resolution, though late, he

gave Command to his Souldiers to retreat, paffing the word still as they retired. that they should make for that narrow pass, still turning upon the Enemy, and making head against them, changing the state of their case from an offensive. ro a defensive Fight.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

The Indians overcome the Spaniards by the Treachery of an Indian.

Certain Indian, who from a Boy had been bred up in the Family of the Go-Certain Indian, who from a Boy had been bred up in the Family of the Governour Valdivia, whose Christian Name was Philip, but by the Indians called Lautaru, being the Son of a Cacique: This Fellow being more biasted by the natural affection which he bore to his Countrey, than by his love to God, or fidelity to his Mafter; fo foon as he heard the word given to the Spaniard; to retreat, he instantly reported it to the Indians, having the knowledge of both Languages, and called out to them not to content themselves with this slight and advantage, in letting them go free, but to run and possess the narrow passage, and prevent their entrance into it, in the which they did now place all the hopes of their fecurity and protection; wherefore cried he still out, Make use of this advantage, which is now given you for the liberty of your Countrey, and rescue it from destruction by the bloud of these Thieves and Traytors. And having said these words, that he might encourage them by his Example, he took up a Lance from the ground, and placed himself in the front of them to fight against the Spaniards.

The Old Captain, who was the first Projector of this way of Fighting, observing the way which the Spaniards took, soon apprehended their design by the hint which Lantaru had given them; to circumvent which, he dispeeded away two fresh Squadrons of those which had not as yet fought, to hasten with the best order they were able to the narrow paß, and there, at the entrance of it, to keep their flation firm untill the rest came up 3, which having done, he pursued the Spaniards with the other Squadrons, still plying them with fiesh bodies of Souldiers, so that they did not permit them one moment of respite, always killing and purfuing them, untill they came to the very mouth and entrance of the narrow pass, where when they came, and that the *Spaniards* found it already possessed by the Enemy, they began to despair of all hopes to escape Death; which to avoid, no means appearing, they called on the Name of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, and of such Saints for which they had the greatest devotion.

The Indiana perceiving that both the Men and Horses were wholly spent and ti-

red, came in upon them in an entire body, and 15 or 20 of them together fell on one poor Horse, some catching him by the legs, some by the tail, others by the mane, whilst others with their great clubs knocked both Man and Horse down, killing them with the greatest cruelty and rage imaginable. The Governour Pedro de Valdivia, and a Priest that was with him, they took alive, and tied them to trees, untill they had dispatched all the rest, that they might in cool bloud consider with what Death they might punish them. These particulars came by the second Advice from Chili to Peru, being sent by some Indian friends, who were present in the Battel, three of which made their elcape, having by the darkness of the Night hid themselves in the Thickets of a Wood, until such time as the *Indians* retiring from that place to celebrate their Victory with joy and triumph, gave them opportunity to ecape; who being Men well acquainted with the ways, and more faithfull to their Mafters than Lautaru, returned again to the Spaniards, bringing the fatal news of the loss of Pedro de Valdivia, and all his companions.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

How they killed Valdivia, and maintained a War Fifty Years afterwards.

THE manner how they killed Valdivia, was after the coming of this fecond Advice related in different ways by these three Indians, because that none of them were present at his Death: One said, that Lantaru sinding his Master tied to a Tree, reviling and reproaching him first, said, Why is this Traytor suffered to live? and with that killed him with his own hand: Another said, That Valdivia, before he died, desired first to speak with his Servant Lantaru, hoping by his means and intercession to save his life: But the most certain intelligence we have, is this, That an Old Captain beat his brains out with a club, perhaps it might be that Old Captain who managed all this affair; for it is said, that he killed him without any parly, lest his people treating with him, and believing all the promises and vows which this unfortunate Governour might make whill he was tied to a Tree, and in apprehensions of Death, when he might easily Anick on the conditions of life to leave their Countrey, and depart thence with all his People, and Souldiers, and never to return again; not trusting, as I say, to the credulous humour of his people, whom he perceived hearkening to the promise and vows of Valdivia, he resolutely passed through the midst of them, and with a club dashed out his brains, putting an end to the parly which his Souldiers cutent and visits of valdivia, he resolutely passed through the midst of them, and with a club dashed out his brains, putting an end to the parly which his Souldiers cutent and with him; and therewith turned towards them, saying, Are ye so solid will not a Man in his condition promise, and how little will he perform after he hash obtained his liberty?

But the circumstances of his Death were reported in another manner by a Speniard, who was a Native of Truxillo, called Francisco de Rieros, who was a Captain then in Chili, and Master of some Indians in that Kingdom; who coming to Pern sometime after that statal disasture, reported, that the Indians passed the night after this Victory with Dances and Merriment; and at the end of every Dance they cut off a piece of the sless of Videlivia, and another of the Priess, (they being both tied together) which they broiled before their saces, and then eat it during which time, Videvia consessing his Sins to the Priess, they both expired in that condition. It is more probable, that after the Captain had killed him with his club, that the Indians might eat him, not that this fort of Indians delighted in humane sless, but onely to vent their rage and spleen on him, who had been the Authour and Original of all the slavery and mitery they had endured.

From that time the *Indians* took up a custome of fighting with the *Spaniards* in feveral Squadrons or Divisions, as *D. Alonso de Erzilla* in the first Canto of his *Araucana* reports; and that after this rebellion, they maintained the War 49 year, until the end of the year 1553; at which time *D. Sebastian de Custilla* began his rebellion in the *Villa de la Plata*, and *Potos*; which are in the Kingdom of *Peru*, and *Evancilla* themselves the second of th

Framisco Hernandez Giron began his in Cozco.

Thus have I, as clearly as I could, related the particulars of the Fight and Death of the Governour D. Pedro de Valdivia, as it was written and related in Pern, by those who lived in Chili; it being referred to every Man's judgment to believe that report which he esteems most probable: the which Story I have anticipated, and reported out of its due place and time, in regard it is the most memorable and notorious passage that ever happened in the Indies, which I would not omit to describe, left I should have had no other occasion which might lead me to a farther discourse of Chili, or left I might have had time or life to extend this History to that period of years in which the Spaniards became absolute Masters of that Kingdom.

### CHAP. XXV.

Royal Commentaries.

Of other unhappy Successes in the Kingdom of Chili.

Thus far had I writ when fresh Advices came of other fatal and unfortunate Successes in Chili, which happened there in the Year 1599, and in Peru in the Year 1600. Amongst other Calamities the Earthquake about Arequipa is recounted as one, which at length ended in such a terrible irruption of fire from a certain Hill, which for the space of twenty days continually threw up such quantities of Ashes and Sand, as in the parts round about covered the Earth two yards thick, and in places farther off at least a yard, and where least, a quarter of a yard deep, for the space of thirty or sourty Leagues round in the Countrey of Arequipa; whereby all their Vines and Corn Lands were spoiled, their Trees and Fruits scorched and blasted, and all their Cattel perished for want of pasture. Their Cows and Oxen lay dead in Droves of five hundred in a place, and thee. Their Cows and Goats, and Hogs lay buried in these Ashes. Many Houses were overwhelmed with the weight of the Earth and Sand, which this irruption thew up, such as remained were preserved by the diligence of those Masters who always cleared and threw them off as they came; all which was accompanied with such dreadfull Flashes of Lightning, and claps of Thunder, as were heard and seen at thirty Leagues distance from the Confines of Arequipa; and to thick were the Clouds of Sand and Asses, which were thrown up, that for many days they so obscured the Sun, that they were forced to light Candles for performance of their necessary occasions. These and the like particulars were advised from that City, and the adjacent parts, the which we have succincily touched, referring our selves for a more full Relation thereof to the Historians of those times, whose business is to describe all the particulars hereof more at large.

Howfoever we shall relate the misfortunes of Chili, as they were advised in writing from thence, because they come pertinent to the foregoing story of the Indian of Aranca, and are consequences of the Insurrection begun in the Year 1953, and which continued untill the beginning of 1603, nor is it known when there will be an end thereof, in regard that after forty nine years since this Rebellion began, (during which time they have endured all the miseries of Fire and Sword, ) yet still those troubles seem rather to increase than abate, as plainly appears by the intelligences which we have extracted from a Letter written from an Inhabitant of the City of Santhiago in Chili, which came at the same time with the relation of the Calamities of Arequepa. These Advices were delivered to me by a Gentleman who was my Friend, and had lived in Penn, and served in quality of a Captan against the Rebels in the Kingdom of Lattu, when they mutined on occasion of the great Taxes which were laid upon them, his Name was Martin Cuaço, a person who hath done great Service to the Crown of Spain. The title of these

misfortunes of Chili runs thus:

Advices from Chili: and prefently adds, So foon as an end was put to the writing of the foregoing Intelligence of Arequepa, came other more difinal stories from Chili, full of forow, and greatly to be lamented. The particulars were related in the manner following.

A Relation of the Loss and Destruction of the City of Val. divia in Chili, which happened on Wednesday the 24th of November, 1599.

A Bout break of day five thousand *Indians*, belonging to the parts adjacent. A "and to the Divisions of the Imperial, Pica and Puren, whereof thre thousand were Horse, and the rest Foot, having (as was said) seventy sire. Arms, and above two hundred Men armed with Coats of Male, affaulted the City, surprising it without the least allarm, by the guidance of treacherous Spies belonging to the same place. They divided themselves into small Bodies of twenty four or twenty five in a Company, for they knew that the Spaniards lay secure, and sleeping in their Houses, and that their Corps of Guard were but four Centinels, and that two onely went the rounds: They considered also that the Spaniards were elevated with the success they had had in the two Incursions lately made, when in the space of twenty days they had the fortune to take and demolish a Fortress which the Indians had erected on the fide of the marish Grounds of Paparlen, with so great a slaughter of them, that the Spaniards believed, that in the compass of eight Leagues round, them, that the Spanards believed, that in the compats of eight Leagues round, there was not an Indian that could appear. Howfoever having bribed the Spies which the Spaniards entertained amongft them, they fucceeded in the most notable Plot that ever was defigned by filly Barbarians; for they with great quiet and silence encompassed every House with people sufficient to deal with those which were within, for they were well advised of the numwith those which were within, for they were well advised or the numbers which dwelt in it; and fetting Guards at the entrance to every Street, they affailed the unhappy City, giving fire to the Houses, and having seized on the Gates, the Inhabitants could neither relieve one the other, nor yet make their escape by flight; so that in the space of two hours, they had destroyed all the people by Fire and Sword, and possessed themselves of the Fort, and Guns in it, there being no people within to defend it. Those that were killed and taken, were about four hundred *Spaniards*, of Men, Women and Children They facked and plundered to the value of three hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, nor did any thing remain which was not either burnt, or laid desolate. The Ships of Vallan, Villarroet, and of one D. Diego de Roya, were let runa drift down the Stream, to which some people made their escape by the means of Canoes which lay by the water side, otherwise none had remained to have been the Messengers of this fatal News. The Indians had been provoked to this cruelty in revenge of those people whom the Spaniards had slain in two late Incursions; having fold their Wives and Children to Merchants, who " transported them into foreign Countries; and so sensible were they of the "flavery they had endured for fifty years paft, that though they had been bap tized, and entertained Priests to instruct them in the Christian Doctrine, yet " the first thing they did was to burn their Temples, and with sacrilegious hands " to throw the Images of Saints from the Altars.

"Ten days after this unhappy fate the good Colonel Francisco del Campo arrived in the Port of this City with the succour of three hundred Men, which the Governour of Peru had fent thither, for the relief of that, and the other distressed Cities: It was his fortune to recover a Son and a Daughter of his which were both Children, which being committed to the charge of his Sifterin-law, had been taken, and carried away captives, when the City was facked and laid defolate; the miferable State of which, when he faw, he with great Rage and Refolution landed his Men, marching with all expedition to relieve the Cities of Oforno, Villarica, and the unhappy Toperial; from which places they had received no news in the space of a whole year, but that they had endured a Siege of so long a time, and were almost all famished and dead, having no other sustenance than the Flesh of their dead Horses, and when those

" failed of Cats, and Dogs, and the Skins of Beafts, and this was all the Intelligence they had, being brought to them by a Messenger who escaped down the "River, representing with Sighs and Tears the miserable condition of their " neople. Wherefore the first thing that this Colonel defigned after his landing. " was to relieve the City of Oforno, for he was informed that the Enemy foon "after the Destruction of Valdivia, were gone thither with the like intent; his fucces herein was accordingly prosperous, for he raised the Siege, and performance of the state of the stat " med other Actions of happy confequence.

At the infant that I am writing this, news is come, that all the people in "Toperial were starved with hunger after the Siege of a complete Year, excepting twenty Men, who, to avoid Famine, yielded themselves into the hands of "the Enemy, and thereby endured a greater mifery than Death itself. In Angol they killed four Souldiers, but who they were is not yet known. God Al-

" mighty have Mercy upon us.

BOOK VII.

From Santiago in Chili, in the month of March, 1600. .

All which Relation came (as I have faid) in feveral Letters from Peru. and the Kingdom of Chili, which was a great calamity to that Countrev. Moreover Father Diego de Alcobaca, whom I have formerly mentioned, in the Year 1601. amongst many other things relating to the Affairs of that Countrey, writes me these very words concerning the Kingdom of Chili.

" The condition of Chili is now become very unhappy, for there is not an In-" dian but who can mount his Horse, and dare encounter with his Launce the " best Spanish Souldier that is; and though we fend every year Souldiers thither, "yet none of them return; they have destroyed two Plantations of the Spaniards, and having killed all the Men, and destroyed every thing of use, they carried their Wives and Children into Slavery; and lately they killed the Governour " Lopola from an Ambuscade, who married the Daughter of D. Diego Sagratipae, "who was an Inca, and was departed from Villcapampa, before you left these parts. God in his mercy pardon the Sins of the dead, and put an end to these "Afflictions of the living. Thus far are the words of Alcobaça, which he writes me with many other fad flories, which I purposely omit, because they contain nothing but what is tragical, and full of sorrow; amongst which recounting the afflicted Estate of Arequepa, he says that Wheat that Year was worth in that Countrey ten and eleven Ducats a Bushel, and Mayz thirteen.

Moreover, befides all that which we have already delivered concerning Arequepa, they wrote farther, that their calamities still continued, having to contend with the extremities of the four Elements, as appears at large by those Relations which the Jesuits have given to the General of their Order, concerning the most the General of their order, concerning the most remarkable Occurrences of Peru, which happened in the Year 1602. And though those Letters say, that their missortunes were not at an end, yet they farther add, that greater were the Afflictions of the Kingdom of Chili, which happened after the forementioned troubles; the particulars of which were given me by Francisco. de Caffro, who was born at Granada, and in this Year 1604 is Prefect of the Schools of the facred University of Cordova, and Rhetorick Professiour. The Title of which, together with the particulars, is Verbatim in these words.

292

#### Of the Rebellion of the Araucans.

F the thirteen Cities which were established in this Kingdom of Chili. the The thirteen Cities which were established in this Kingdom of Chili, the "Indians have destroyed six, namely Valdivia, Timperial, Angol, Santia Crie, "Chillan and Conception. They overthrew, consumed and laid desolate the "Houses and Habitations, dishonoured and prophaned the Temples, obscured the brightness of that Faith and Devotion which shined in those parts, and what is worst this success hath encouraged, and raised the Spirits of the Indian in that manner, that they are grown bold and consident, omitting no opportunity or advantage which may offer to rob and destroy our Cities and Monasteries with Fire and Sword. They have learned also many Arts and "Strategems of War; for that when they besieged the City of Osorio, and compelled the Spaniards to retire within their works, they so that our could receive no suffernance, unless it were some small quantities of the they could receive no fustenance, unless it were some small quantities of the they could receive no fustenance, unless it were some small quantities of the Seeds of Herbs, and Leaves of Turnips, which some sew were sain to sight for, and gain with the point of the Launce. In one of these Sieges of this City they broke the Images of Christ and our Lady, and other Saints, to the great dishonour of God, which none but his infinite Mercy and Patience could have suffered. In the last Siege which the Indians laid to this place, they supprised the Spaniards, and killed the Centinels, and without any opposition entred and possessed themselves of the Town, exercising such cruelty as was agreeable to the barbarity of their Natures; for they butchered the Childen, and chained the Women and Nuns, intending to carry them away into Slavery, but whilst they were thus bussile unpowed in packing up, and dissossing but whilst they were thus bussile to employed in packing up, and dissossing the said of the Women and Nuns, intending to carry them away into Slavery, but whilst they were thus bussile to employed in packing up, and dissossing the said they were thus bussile to the said they were thus bussile to the said to the women and Nuns, intending to carry them away into Slavery. and chained the evolution and rouns, intending to carry them away into savery; but whilft they were thus bufily employed in packing up, and difpoing their Boory, and plundering every where without order; the Spaniards took courge, and with that opportunity fell upon them, and God affifting their endeavour, they refcued their Wives and Nuns from their violent hands, and with the loss "they rescued their Wives and Nuns from their violent hands, and with the loss of some sew forced them to fly, and quit both their Prey and their City. The last Victory which the Indians obtained, was when they took Vilarrica, win great effusion of Spanish bloud; they set fire to the four Quarters of the Tom and killed all the Friars of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and the Merceds, with all the Clergy that were there, carrying all the Women away Captives, many of which were Ladies of Quality, and Condition. And this was the Fate of that City, which was once of Fame and great Renown, and illustrious amongs the neighbouring Cities of that new World. Thus far proceeds the Relation of Chili in the Year 1604. To all which nothing can be farther said, than that the were Judgments of God, which his secret Providence permits for the chastistement of Mankind. And herewith let us return to the good Inca Tupangni, to conclude the remaining Actions of his Reign. the remaining Actions of his Reign.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XXVI.

Of the quiet Life of the Inca Yupangui, and of the Actions wherein he employed himself until the time of his Death.

THE King Impangui having established and confirmed the Conquests which The King Impanyan having entablined and confirmed the Conquetts which his Captains had made, under the fecurity of good Laws, and fettled Religion in all parts, having also made provision for his own Royal Revenue, and separated a maintainance for the Priesthood of the Sun, he determined to put an end to his farther Conquests, which are now far extended, reaching no less than a thousand Leagues in length; so that he resolved to spend the remainder of his a thousand Leagues in length; so that he resolved to spend the remainder of his Days in erecting Monuments and Trophies of his greatness, which might ever conserve his Memory in great Renown. To which end he built new Fortresses, and many Temples dedicated to the Sun, with Houses for the Select Virgins, Royal Palaces, and made many Aqueducts, Walks and Gardens. He also endowed the Temple of the Sun in Cozo with greater Riches, of which though it stood in no need, yet he thought it a duty to contribute some thing towards the glory of him whom he honoured, and esteemed for his Father; and more especially he will be a described the Secretary for the second secretary for the second secretary. busied himself in building and completing the Fortress at Cozco, for which his Father had made provision of all materials, and gathered great quantities of Stones and Rocks, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to discourse more at large. He also personally visited all the parts of his Empire, that so he might with his own Eyes see the State of things, hear the Complaints and Aggrievances of his people, and provide a Remedy and Relief for his Subjects; to all which he attended with so much care and compassion, that he worthily deserved to be surnamed The Pions. In these Employments this Prince with great Peace and Tranquillity The Pions. In these Employments this Prince with great Peace and Tranquillity spent his time for several Years, being greatly beloved and obeyed by his Subjects; at the end of which falling sick, and finding within himself his end to be near, he called the Prince, who was his Heir, and his other Sons together, recommending to them by way of Testament the strict observance of their Laws, and religious Rites of their Idolatrous Worship; and above all encharged them to perform and administer Justice to their Subjects in the most equal balance, and therewish he gave them his Blessing of Peace, for that now his time was come to depart this Life, and rest with his Father the Sun, who called and summoned him to his Manssons of Festicity. Mansions of Felicity.

Thus dyed Tupanqui full of Glory and Triumph, having enlarged his Empire above five hundred Leagues in length to the Southward, being as far as from Accama to the River Mauli; and to the Northward one hundred and forty Leagues, along the Coast from Chincha to Chimu. He was lamented with great grief, and having ranked him in the tenth Order of their Gods, who were Children of the Sun, because he was the tenth King, they celebrated his Obsequies with great solemnity, which, according to their Custome, continued for the space of a whole Year, offering unto him many Sacrifices. He less Tupon lica Tuponqui his Heir and added Search Laboratory. and eldest Son, which he begot of his Wife and Sifter, called Coya Chimpu Occlo, to and eitert son, which he begot of his Whie and Silter, called Coya Chimpu Occlo, to fucced him in all his Dominions. The proper Name of this Queen was Chimpu, but the word Occlo was a facred Title amongst them, he lest many legitimate Sons and Daughters of the true Bloud; besides many other natural Children, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, which was no great matter amongst them, considering the many Women, which those Kings maintained in every Province of their Dominions. And because this Inca laid the Foundation of this great Work, it is requisite that we should treat of it immediately after the Life of the Stiffs Foundary because the second excellent Targety of the second excellent Targety of the second excellent. its first Founder, because it is the most excellent Trophy of the Incan Magnificence, and that which may ferve for a matter of Oftentation and Glory, not onely to the Authour himself, and the preceding Kings, but sufficient to derive Honour to all their Posterity in suture Ages.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Fortress of Cozco, and the greatness of the Stones with which it was built.

THE Incas, who were Kings of Pern, erected many wonderfull and stately Edifices; their Castles, Temples, and Royal Palaces, their Gardens, Storehouses, and other Fabricks, were Buildings of great Magnificence, as is apparent by the ruines of them; though very obscure conjectures are to be gathered from such remains.

The werk of greatest oftentation, and which evidences most the Power and Majesty of the Incas, was the Fortress of Cozco, whose greatness is incredible to any who hath not feen it, and fuch as have viewed it with great attention cannot but admire it, and believe that fuch a work was erected by Enchantment, or the help of Spirits, being that which surpasses the Art and power of Man. For the Stones are so many and so great, which were laid in the three first rounds, being rather Rocks than Stones, as paffes all understanding, how and in what manner they were hewen from the Quarry, or brought from thence, for they had no instruments of Iron or Steel, wherewith to cut or fashion them: Nor less wonders full is it to think, how they could be carried to the Building; for they had neither Carts nor Oxen to draw them with; and if they had, the weight was fo vast as no Cart could bear, or Oxen draw; then to think that they drew them with great Ropes, over Hills, and Dales, and difficult ways by the mere force of Mens Armes is alike incredible; for many of them were brought ten, twelve and fifteen Leagues off, particularly that Stone, or Rock rather, which the Indian call Septifica, which fignifies tired or weary, because it lies in the way, having new been brought fo far as to the Building; but it is certain that it came fifteen Leagus from the City, and was transported over the River of *Tucay*, which is almost a broad as the *Guadalquiver*, which runs by *Cordova*. The Stones brought from the nearest parts were from Muyna, which is five Leagues distant from Cozco: Butto proceed farther in our imagination of this matter, and confider how it was pollible for this people to fit and join such vast Machins of Stones together, and confider how it was pollible for this people to fit and join such vast Machins of Stones together, and confider how it was pollible for this people to fit and join such vast Machins of Stones together, and confider how it was pollible for this people to fit and join such vast Machins of Stones together. ment them to close; that the point of a Knife can scarce pass between them, is a thing above all admiration, and some of them are so artificially joined, that the crevices are fcarce difcernible between them: Then to confider that to fquate and fit these Stones one to the other, they were to be raised, and lifted up and removed often, untill they were brought to their just fize and proportion; but how this was done by Men, who had no use of the Rule and Square, nor knew how to make Granes, or Pullies, and Cramps, and other Engines, to raife and low them as they had occasion, is beyond our imagination, being of that bigness that Toseph Acosta saith was prodigious: For the bigness and compass of these Stones, I shall rather refer my self to the Authority of this Acosta, than to the report of my School-sellows, of whom I desiring to be informed of the just proportion of these Stones, they fent me the measures of them by Fathoms, and not by Yards and Inches,; which account not being so exact as I defired, it seemed requisite in a work so wonderfull, and in which the yastness of the Stones is the greatest matter of Admiration, to take the more authentick testimony of Notaries. Acost in the 14th Chapter of his 6th Book, saith, "That the Expences which the Intel " made in building Forts, Temples, Houses of Pleasure, and other Edifices was " very great, and the labour excessive, as the Ruins which remain make to appear, and are fall to be feen in Cozco, Tiaguanaco, Timbo, and other places, where the Stones are of that vaft proportion, as paffes understanding how they were hewen, squared, and carried to the places where they are now fixed. It is certain, that for erecting those vast Buildings of Forts and Temples in Cozco, and other parts, by direction of the Inca, there was the affishence and concourse "of great multitudes required from all Provinces, for the forwarding of these Works; the labour was certainly great, and the fashion admirable and unusual, "for they used no Mortar, nor had they Iron or Steel to cut and polish the Stones, nor Instruments or Engines to carry and raise them, and yet they were "fo curiously joined and fitted, that the places where they joined were scarce discernible; and yet the Stones were of that vast bigness, as is incredible, unless in be to those who have seen them. In Tragramaco I measured one my self, which was thirty foot in length, and eighteen in breadth, and fix foot in thickness. In the Wall of the Fortress built at Cosco there are Stones of a far greater bigness, which were laid by hand, and what is most admirable, is, that they were never cut by any Rule, being rough cast, and without equal proportion, and yet are fitted and joined one within the other without any Mortar or Cement, all-which must be done by force of Men, and great toil and labour; for certainly to fit one Stone to the other, which were at first unequal, there must be often removes, which could not be performed easily but by force and strength of the Armes. All which are the Words of Acosta, extracted verbatim, whereby he manifests the difficulty of that labour to Men who had not the use of those Instruments and Engines which are common amongst us.

Perhaps the *Jucas* in the height of their Glory were defirous to recommend the greatness of their power to the admiration of all Ages; as allo to thew the Art and ingenuity of their Mafter-builders, not onely in polithing their freezed Stone, (which the *Spaniards* do much admire) but allo in laying their rough Stones, (called by the *Italians a la ruftica*) in which they did as much excell as in the former; and herein they did not onely shew themselves Artists, but Souldiers also in the contrivances of their Fortresles, which they built in every advantageous Pass and place, where such a Bullwark might be of defence or bar against the Incursions of

an Enemy

BOOK VII.

This Castle or Fortress they erected on the top of a high Hill on the North-side of the City, called Sacsabuanam, at the soot of which are the Dwelling-houses of Cozzo, which extend themselves at a great distance on all quarters, the side of this Hill which is towards the City, is exactly perpendicular, so that it is impregnable, and cannot be stormed on that part, nor can it be battered with Cannon, by any level, or upper ground which commands it; though the Indians before the coming of the Spaniards, had no thoughts or imagination of Cannon, nor provided any other desence than a thick Wall of Stone, curiously polithed on all quarters, being about two hundred fathom in compass, every row of Stones was of a different height, and yet laid exactly by the line, and so well fitted and enchased one within the other, that they needed no Lime, or other Mortar to cement them. The truth is, they used no Mortar mixed with Sand, because they knew not how to burn Lime; howsoever they had a kind of a red Farth, of a bituminous matter, which was very binding, and such as served to fill up holes and nicks in the Building. And in this first row they shewed both Industry and Art, for the Wall was thick, and the Workmanship rare on all sides.

### CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the three Walls which are most to be admired of all this Work.

N the other fide from the City, the Hill hath an open prospect to the Plains and the afcent to the Fortress is so easie and wide, that an Enemy mayer. filv arrack it in a formed and orderly Body. Wherefore they fortified it on that fide with three Walls, one before the other, each Wall being 200 fathom in length be. ing made in the shape of a half Moon, because they come to join with the single Wall, which is towards the side of the City. In the first Wall which is to from the power and first shock of an Enemy, though they are all of the same Work they have placed the greatest of their Stones, which are of that stupendious bignels, as are admired by all that fee them. For my part I am of opinion that those Scrones were never digged out of any Quarry, but were loofe Rocks found in the Mountains, which they took and fathioned to their purpose, and laid them as they casually came to hand, some being hollow, others rough, and others plain and finooth; fome were pointed at the corners, others without; in the mending and plaining of which they were not very curious, by paring or cutting off the uneven parts of every Stone; but rather filled up the hollow or vacant places with some other Stone, which was as great or greater than the other, and so supplied the inqualities of one Stone by some other which fitted to it; for it seemed to have been their intention to have composed all the work with great Stones, and not to have pieced it up with the adjuncts of less, being a matter of greater State and Magnificence. And this is what Acofta did much admire in the Work, that the Stone of the Wall not being cut, but worked without any Rule or compass, were refo well fitted, as if they had been all polified; and though the outward furth cies of the Stone was rough, and not smooth, but remained in its natural fathion yet the joint, by which it was incorporated with another, was so well worked that nothing could be better fitted; so that considering the rustical outside, and the artificial junctures within, it made in groß a noble and a stately Frontispiece

A certain Prieft, born at Montilla, who remained at Peru after I was come to Spain, and where he also returned in a short time after, speaking of this Forms, and of the prodigious Stones, told me, that before he faw them he could not be lieve the report was made of the mightiness of them, and after he had seen them, the Fame feemed less than they really were; and confidering by what power or at they were laid in that form, he could not conclude or imagine other than that they were fo disposed by some Enchantment or power of the Divel. And really though the Indians had been provided with all the Engines and Arts which are common in our Countries, yet still the difficulty will occur, how the Art of Man was able to arrive to fo great a work, which exceeds all the Seven Wonders of the Universe. We know that to make a Wall so long and broad as that of Babylon, 10 erect a Coloffus at Rhodes, or the Pyramids in Egypt, are easily contrived and completed by the force of multitudes, and quantities of all materials, fuch as Brick and Lime for making the Walls of Babylon, Brafs and Copper for casting the Colfus, Stones and Mortar for raifing a Pyramid; in fine, time, and labour, and numbers of People are able to effect and compass any thing of this nature; but how the Indians without Engines should be able to carry and transport such vast Stones of Rocks from remote places up to the top of a Hill, and without Tools polifh and fit them for a Building, is such a riddle as the wit of Man is not able to resolve but must have recourse to Enchantments, and helps from the Devil; in regard that evil Spirits entertained fuch familiarity with that people.

Every Wall of the Rampire had its Gate about the middle, and every Gate had its Percullis of Stone, of the length and breadth of the Gate which flut it. The first Gate they called Tinpuncu, which signifies the Gate of Grayel, because the

Soil thereabouts is gravelly, and full of Sand, which may be mixed with Mortar, for they call Sand and Gravel Tin, and Youncu a Gate. The next Gate of the second Ramnire they called Acabuana, for the Word Acabuana, pronounced with an afoiration in the Throat, was the Name of the Master-workman that made it. The third Gate was called *Viracochi Puncu*, being confectated to their God *Viracochi*, which was the Apparition before related, which in a Dream revealed unto the Prince the Rebellion of the Chancas, and for that reason they esteemed him the Defender and new Founder of their City of Cozco, and called that Gate by his Name. imploring the like Protection and Affiftence in defence of that Fortrets which he had formerly thewed in the fafeguard of that City, and of the whole Empire: Between one Wall and the other there was a distance of about twenty five or thirty foot, which was filled up with Earth to the top of the Wall; but it is not certain whether this Earth was cast up by hand, or whether it were from the rife of the Hill, perhaps it might be by both, and that what was wanting by the afcent might be supplied by the hand. Every Rampire had its Breast-work, under which they could fight with better shelter, than if they had exposed themselves to the oven force of the Enemy.

#### CHAP. XXIX.

Of the three great Towers; of the chief Workmen employed in this Building, and of the great Rock which refled in the way.

Aving passed these three Walls or Rampires, we come to a long, and narrow place, where were three strong Towers built in a Triangle, according to the fituation of the place; the chiefelf of them was placed in the middle, called Mayor Marca, which fignifies the round Fortress, in which springs a plentifull Fountain of excellent Water, which was brought at a far diffance under ground. but where, and from whence the Indians do not know; for fuch Secrets as these were always referved from common knowledge in the Breafts of the Inca, and of his Council. In that Tower the Kings had their Apartments, when at any time they went up to recreate themselves in the Fortress, the Walls of which, instead of Tapeftry, were adorned with Gold and Silver, inlaid with the thapes of Birds and Beafts, which were excellently well counterfeited; it was also furnished with its fervices of Plate and other moveables, properly belonging to it, as had all the other Royal Palaces. The fecond Tower they called *Paucas Marca*, and the third Sacllac Marca, they were both square, with many Chambers for lodging Souldiers belonging to the Garison; they were often relieved and changed by their turns, and were to be all *Incus* of privilege, for other Nations were not capable of admission into that Fortress, being effectived a facred place, and confectated to the Sun for exercise of Arms, as the Temple was for Prayers and Sacrifice. The Captain or Commander in Chief was to be of the true and legitimate Royal Bloud, under whom were feveral Lieutenants and Officers ordained, fome for government of the Militia, others were Purveyors, and fuch as had care of the Provisions, others were Armourers to furbith and cleanfe the Arms, and others had the care of the Wardrobe, of keeping the Cloths and Shoes of the Garifon. Under these Towers was as much room as above, and between them were Galleries of Communication. The Quarters under ground were formed with great Art, having Lanes and Paffages with fuch windings and turnings, all of the fame fize, and fathion that they feemed a labyrinth, and so difficult to find out, that none durft enter

Q = q

in without a Guide, or direction of a twine of Thread, which being fastened as the entrance, directed their return through all the Turnings and Meanders of it When I was a Boy I often went up to the Cattle, with others of the fame age with me; and then the upper Rooms were all ruined, and fome of those which were under; into which we durft not adventure farther than we could fee the light which thined in them, for the *Indians* told us, that if we adventured farther

we should lofe our felves, and never find our way out again.

In making their Vaults they were ignorant of the way of arching, but infled thereof they laid Braggets or Corbels of Stone, which ferved in the place of Reams for support of the whole frame of Building, which being equally cut, and shared at all ends reached from one Wall to the other. All the great Fabrick of this Fortress was made in part of polithed, and part of rough Stone, richly embellished according to the best of their Art, whereby the Incas made oftentation both of their Skill and Grandeur, being defirous to advance the Excellency and Magnife. cence of this Work above any other; that fo it might remain for a confimma-tion of all their Trophies; and indeed fo it proved, for the *Spaniards*, a few years after this was completed, invaded their Empire, and put a ftop to the proceedings of feveral other great Works, which they defigned to have finished.

There were four chief Undertakers in the Building of this Fortres; the principal Perfon, who drew the Draught, and defigned the whole Plot, was Hualiba Rimachi, he was an Inca, and stiled Apu, which fignifies Chief; the second to him was Inca Maricanchi, and the third Acabuana Inca, to whom they afcribe the chief contrivance of the Buildings at Tiahuanacu, which we have formerly mentioned The fourth and laft was Calla Cunchny, in whose time the great Stone which rested in the way was brought thither, and his Name engraved on it, as a monument to conserve his memory; the which Stone (or Rock rather) was of that vast proportion, and so exceeding all the others, that I would gladly insert here the me measure of its height and thickness, but in regard I have not procured an exact and certain account of it, I shall refer my felf to the relation of those who have feen it: It remains in the Plain before the Fortress, to which, as the Indians say, it could never arrive, in regard it tired by the way, and wept bloud, proceeding from the toil and fatigue it had endured in its motion. The stone is rough and unpolithed, in the same manner as it was hewn from its Quarry, a great part of it is buried under ground, and they fay, it is now funk lower than when I faw it for they fanfied that there was great treasure hid under it, and for that reason they digged about it as deep as they were able, that fo they might arrive at this image nary Riches; but in regard that as they digged the Stone funk lower, therefore the greatest part of it is now hidden under the Earth. According to my best remembrance it hath a hole or two upon the upper part of it, or fuch as paffes from one fide to the other; the *Indians* call the foliables the Eyes of the Stone, our of whichit wept bloud; from the Dust which is lodged in those Holes, and the continual droppings of water upon them, it hath died the Stone in those parts with a reddiff colour, because the soil thereabouts is of the same colour, and which the Indians fay proceeded from the bloud which iffued with the tears of that Stone. This Fable is commonly reported amongst the Indians, and I have heard it often from

But the true Moral of this Fable, recounted by the Inca's Amautas, who were their Philosophers, and people of learning, was this: That this Stone, or Rock, was moved and drawn by twenty thousand Indians, who dragged and drew it with great Cables; the undertaking was great, for it was to pass through cragged, and uneven ways, and over Ascents and Descents; one half of the people drew before, the other half were on each fide to poile the weight, and keep the Stone direct, left it should fall into any precipice, or gravel it self in any place, from whence it could never be recovered. It is said, that for want of due care in those who had the poiting of this weight, it happened to lean too much towards the defcent of a hill, and being over-born by its great burthen, it tumbled down a bank, and killed three or four thouland of those Indians who were the guides to direct and support it; notwithstanding which misfortune they again took courage, and raifed the Stone, carrying it to the Plain where it now refts. The Bloud which it thed, and squeezed from the Veins of these poor Wretches, were the true tears which iffued from the hollow orbs of its Eyes; and because the weight was too valt to be carried up to the place, unto which it was defigned, they faid, that it

tired and fainted in its Journey, attributing all the feelings and vaffions of the Men tired and fainted in its Jointey, attributing an extra part of the inanimate and feinfeles Stone. This, and many fuch Fables, the Indiana conferve amongst them, believing that such passages as these are best recommended to Posterity, and conserved under such wonderfull and improbable fictions.

The Spaniards, who in reason ought to maintain, and at their own cost to have kept this Fortrels in repair, for the greater advancement of their own honour, that fo they might give occasion to the World to admire their Atchievements and great Prowefs, in being able to fubdue a people fo potent, and which were able to erect fuch wonderfull and prodigious Fabricks; but on the contrary, as if they had been envious of the great Acts of those they had subdued, they have laid their own hands to the pulling down of this prodigious piece of Art and Industry; and with the Materials thereof have built the private Houses of some particular perfons in Cozco; for to avoid the cost, and time, and labour of the Indians in bringing Stones and Materials from diffant parts, they have brought from the Walls of the Rampire, all the polithed and wrought Stones, that there is fearce a House in all the Town, at least fuch as belongs to the Spaniards, but what is built our of the ruines of that Fortress.

The great Stones which were the supporters of the lower Buildings, were digged up, and brought away for Thresholds and Jambs of their Doors; the lesser Stones served for the Walls; and for Steps to their Stairs, they chose stones of such fize as was convenient, which when they had found, and pitched upon, they cast down all the rows of Stones above them, to ten or twelve degrees above them. untill they came to those which fitted their occasions. In this manner they wholly overturned and destroyed the Majesty of that noble and stately building, unworthy of fuch a Fate, and which will ever remain an object of great compaffion to all Beholders, the Spaniards were so expedite in the destruction of it, that in my time there remained onely fome few ruines which we have formerly mentioned. The three great Rampires of Rock are ftill remaining, because the Stones are so vast and weighty, as cannot be removed; howsoever they have disordered some of them, in hopes of finding that Chain or Cable of Gold, which Hunna Capac

made, for they had some intimation that it was buried there.

The good King Inca Yupanqui, who was the tenth of the Incas, was the first Founder of this abused and injured Fortress, though others will have it begun by his Father Pachacutec, because he had left the first draught and model of it, and had made Provisions of great quantities of Stone and Rocks for the Building, befides which there were no other Materials. The whole Work was fifty Years before it was completed, not being finished untill the Reign of Huayna Capac, nor then neither, as the *Indians* report, for that the great Rock which refted in the way was defigned for additional Buildings to it; but to this and many other Buildings in divers parts of the Empire, a frop and difappointment was given by the Civil Wars which arose not long after between the two Brothers, Huascar Inca, and Atabualpa, in whose time the Spaniards made their Invasion, and then those Destructions and Ruines followed, which are apparent at this Day.

> BOOK Qq2

# Royal Commentaries.

## BOOK VIII.

#### CHAP. I.

The Conquest of the Province Huacrachucu, and whence that Name was derived.

HE Great Tupac Inca Tupanqui (whose Name of Tupac fignishes Brightness and Splendour, and indeed the greatness of his Atchievements deserve no less a Title) so soon as his Father was dead, took upon him the coloured Wreath, and having complied with the Obsequies, Rites, and Funeral Ceremonies and Sacrifices due to the memory of deceased Kings, in which he spent the first Year of his Reign, he took a Progress into the several Kingdoms and Provinces of his Empire; for it was the constant Custome of the young Heir, to soon as he came to his Sovereignty, to shew himself to his Subjects, that they might both know and love his Person, and that both the publick Counsellers in Provinces, and particular Persons might have opportunities to represent their Aggrievances personally to the King, whereby the Judges and Ministers of Justice might with more care persons their Duties, searing to tyranize and oppress the people.

Having in these Journies and Visitations passed four long years, with which his people remained highly satisfied and contented, he decreed that fourty thousand Men should be raised, and put in Arms against the following Year, that so he might proceed forward in the Conquests and Designs which his Ancestours had projected. The great pretence on which the *Incar* did most avail themselves, and that which best covered the Ambition they conceived for enlargement of the Empire, was a Zeal towards the Welfare of the *Indians*, whose unhumane and bestial Customs they desired to reform, and improve to a more moral and political way of living, and to a knowledge and worthip of his Father the Sun, whom they owned and proclaimed for their God.

The Army being raifed, and all things put in order for this Defign, and a Governour appointed for Rule of the City, the *Inca* took his march by way of *Cuffamarca*, intending to invade the Province of *Chachappya*; which, as *Blux Valera* fays, figuifies the Countrey of flour Men; it lies Eaftward from *Cuffamarca*, the Menseing very valiant, and the Women beautifull. Thele *Chachapysas* adored Serpents, and worthipped the Bird *Cuntur* for their principal God; on report of which the *Inca Tupaa Tupanqui* was greatly moved to reduce this Province to his Empire, being famous in feveral respects, but the approach to it was difficult, the

203

firmation being mountainous and craggy, and the people of it above forty than fand in number.

These Chachapuras bound a Sling about their head for the dress and ornamen of it. being thereby diffinguished from other Nations; the manner and fashion of their Sling was different from other Indians, being the chief Arms which they used in the War, as they were of the Ancient Majorkins.

But before they came to the Province of Chachapuya, they were to pass through another, called *Huacrachucu*, which is very large and great, but the fituation mountainous, and the people fierce. They wear for a devife and diffinition on their heads, or rather did wear it (for now all those fancies are confounded) a black Binder of Wool, stitched with white slies; and instead of a Feather upon it, they carried the point of a Horn of a Deer, or Stag; whence they had the Name of Huacrachnen, which is the horned Cap; for Chucu fignifies the Salha. bout the head, and Huacra a Horn. This people, before they were fuldued by the Incas, adored Serpents, and in their Temples and Houses set up their sources

for Idols to be worthipped. This Province offering it felf in the way to Chachapuya, was first to be subdued and accordingly orders were given to the Army to attack it: the Natives appeared in defence of their Countrey, supposing it impregnable, and not passable for an Army, and therefore at all the difficult paffes opposed the Enemy, in which Skirmishes many were slain on both sides. Which being observed by the horand his Council, they confidered, that in case they proceeded in that rigorous and forcible manner, the consequence would be of great damage to their own people and the total ruine and extirpation of their Enemies: To prevent which has ving gained fome strong and fast places, they sent their Summons and Propofals of Peace and Friendship, as was the custome of the Incas; by which they made known to them, that the intention and defign of the Inca was to doe them good (as had all his Ancestours done to the other Nations they had subdued) and not to tyranize, but to bring them greater benefit than he could expect from them': That they would doe well to cast their eyes for example on other Nations, whose Lands or Possessions they had not taken away, but improved by Aqueducts, and other benefits: That they had permitted the Curacas to oniov the fame Government which they formerly had, having no other design in all their Wars and Actions, than to force Men to Adore the Sun, and reform them from their inhumane and bestial customs. These Propositions as forded great matter of debate to this people; for though many were of opinion that they ought to accept the terms of the Inca, and receive him for their Lords yet the younger fort, who were more in number, and of less experience, oppofed the agreement, and carried it in the Negative, and thereupon profecuted the War with much fury and resolution; for having contradicted the more Aged Men in their opinion, they effeemed themselves engaged in point of reputation to overcome, or dye.

But that the Enemy might not think that the Conditions which the Inca had offered, did proceed from timorousness, or cowardise, but onely from that piety, and compationate difposition, which was inherent in him, and all his family; he commanded that the War should be renewed with heat and violence; and he ving made divers detachments of his Army, affailed them in feveral places at the same time; that so making a diversion of their Forces, he might abate the heat of their courage, and make them understand their own weakness. With this fecond attempt they gained other places, and ftrong paffes, and ftraitened the Enemy in that manner, that they had no other remedy, but to have recomb unto the mercy and elemency of the *lnea*, who, according to the accustomany goodness of those Kings, received them to pardon, giving order to his Officers and Ministers to treat the Huacrachucus, as if they were Brethren and Allies, to cloath the Curacas with the finest fort of Garments called Compi, and the more ordinary people with the Avascas, which is the more coarse. He also commanded, that they should be supplied with Provisions for their sustenance, for that a year of War had confumed all their Stores; which they took fo kindly, that they esteemed it the greatest evidence they could receive of the favour and forgiveness

of the Inca.

BOOK VIII. Royal Commentaries.

Herewith an end was put to the War of this Campagn; for that the Cononeft of a Province so inaccessible in its situation, and so well defended by its Natives, was a fufficient Work for one Summer. And because that Countrev was subject to much rain, he quartered his Army in the Frontiers of it, and recriticed it with twenty thousand Men more, that he might make a more quick dispatch and riddance in his Conquests. But first he took order to have his new Subjects well instructed in the superstitious Rites of his Religion, and in the Laws and Moralities of his Empire: He appointed also, that designs should be laid for Aqueducts and Gardens, and for clearing those Grounds which were fruitfull, and of good Soil, of Bushes and Weeds, making them good and profitable manure, and fit to be fown; for want of which industry, and good husbandry, little or no benefit was made of their Lands: All which, when the Indiana fay, they admired, and acknowledged the infinite goodness of the Inc. to them.

#### CHAP. II.

Of the Conquest which the Incas made on the Borders of Chachapuyu.

HE recruits being come, and the feafon of the year fit for action, the Irect Tupac commanded his Army out of their Winter-quarters to take the Field, and march towards the Province of Chachapuyu; but in the first place he dispatched a Herald before to offer them terms of War, or Peace; but they flighted all terms of Accommodation, and resolutely answered, That they were ready with Arms in their hands to defend their Liberty, and that the *Inca* might doc his pleafure, for that they refolved never to be his Vaffals. This Answer being given, both parties prepared for War, which was carried on with that refolution and fury, that many were killed and wounded on both fides: The Incas refolved never to retreat; and the Chachas (for they had that Name also) were obstinately determined rather to dye than yield. Both parties being thus refolved, the War became very bloudy, by reason that the Chachas, whose Countrey may be flyled a Kingdom, being 50 Leagues in length, and 20 in breadth, reaching to Muyupampa, which is 30 Leagues farther; forefeeing the intentions of the Inca, and growing jealous of his Power, had made provition for two years before a-gainst him, having fortified all their strong holds, the ruines of which remain to this day; and having Barracadoed the narrow paffes, which are rocky and mountainous, and fo difficult to climb, that in many places the *Indians* have made eight or ten several Stories, with steps to descend; and besides these, there is no pasfage forwards by other ways. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Incas, with loss of many of their Men, gained several of these strong Holds, which proved of great advantage to them: The first of these was situate on a Mountain, being two Leagues and a half high, called the Hill of Pias, because the peo ple, who live on the other fide, are to called, being the most considerable of that Province. And thus far the Incas having gained with great difficulty, they were now entered eight or ten Leagues within the Countrey, the people retreating before to other places of greater strength.

Howfoever the Old Men and Women, who were not able to climb the Mountains in company with the Young, were taken by the Inca, together with young Children, whom the Parents could not carry with them; all which the Great

Tupac committed to the care and kind treatment of his Officers.

Having paffed this people of Pias, the Army proceeded in its march; and be ing come to a certain opening, or breach of the fnowy Mountain, called Chiran calla, which fignifies the dangerous Gate, because it had been fatal to many peo. ble, who passed that way, the Inca made a detachment of 300 Men, which like a forlorn Hope, preceding the Army on defign of difcovery, were on a fudden over-whelmed with the fall of a Mountain of Snow, in which all perifled, no one Man escaping. By reason of this missfortune, the *Inca* could not pass for 6. one man eccaping. By reason of this mistoriane, the man could not pais torgoveral days, which gave occasion to the Chachapuyar to spread a report through at their Countrey, that the Incas terrified with the late unhappy accident, were resistant. red, and fled to their own Countrey.

The Snows being in a manner thawed, the *Inca* purfued his Conquest, and with much difficulty gained step by step all the Countrey, as far as Cuntur Mans which a confiderable people inhabits; paffing by others on each hand of the way by reason that the passages to them were obstructed, and difficult, and the Native

not worth the labour and charge of a Conquest. But the people of Cuntur Mana made great refiftence, fought valiantly, and continued the War for many days But whereas the power of the *Inca* was at that time invincible, and that nothing could be opposed fufficient to withstand it, the Chachas being over-powered by the Numbers which affailed them, were forced to yield, and submit themselves at the cretion to the Inca, who, according to his custome, received them to mercy and pardon; and that he might quiet and fatisfie their minds with confidence of his Clemency, and might by their example invite and allure others to the like his iection, he treated them with kind entertainment, bestowing favours, and his

beneficence upon them.

304

The Inca having fettled his Ministers and Officers necessary for the Establish ment of affairs, he proceeded forward, taking in all the Forts and strong place in the way before him, which now yielded without much bloud or opposition following the example of Cuntur Marca: Eight Leagues from which is another people salled Cassa Marquilla, who defended themselves within their Rocks and Moun tains : For these being naturally warlike and fierce, adventured to try the force of the Incas in many engagements; but at length their Chachas having proved their irrefiftible power, and confidering that the greatest part of their Province had submitted to the *Inca*, they thought it best for them to follow the same example, and vield also.

CHAP

#### CHAP. III.

Royal Commentaries.

Of the Conquest of other People, and Barbarous Na: tions.

FRom Cassanarquilla the Inca proceeded to another People called Papamarca, from the Papas or Dewlaps, which are great bunches that hang from their throats; the which were subdued by the Inca in the same manner as the others: Thence he marched eight Leagues farther, conquering all before him, untill he came to a confiderable Plantation, called Raympampa, which fignifies the place of Festival, the principal Festival of the Sun being called Raymi 3 of which we have treated at large in a distinct Chapter. And it happening when this people was fibdued, (whose Countrey was all a pleasant and even Plain,) that the grand Festival of Raymi was then come; wherefore the Inca appointed that place for the celebration of it; for, as we have faid, it was not a material point in their Religion, where, or in what place that Feaft was kept by the Inca himfelf, provided that the High Prieft, and the other Incas, observed it at Cozco, with all the formalities and folemn rites of it.

From Raymipampa he marched three Leagues farther to Suta, which he fubdued with like facility; for the Natives feeing the greatest part of their Countrey already in possession of the Inca, yielded themselves with all readiness into his power. From Suta the Army marched to a people called Llavantu, which was the most remote part of the Province of Chachapuya, which also yielded, despairing of power to make relistence against the Inca, who now was become absolute Matter of the whole Province; the most considerable people of which, we have already mentioned, though befides these there were many little Plantations not worth the naming. The Conquett of this Province was very difficult and laborious, by reafon of the Mountains and strong Passes, defended by a stout and sierce people.

From Llavannu the Inca, Tupac Tupanqui, made a detachment of his Army, to subdue the Province of Musupampa; through which the Valiant Ancohualla took his March, when he cast off his subjection to the Inca, as we have related in the Life of Viracocha; this Province is fituated within the Anis, and once acknowledged subjection to the Chacha, but whether it was by force, or by agreement of confederacy, or alliance, the Indians are ignorant; it lyes 30 Leagues Eastward from

The Natives of Muyupampa having received information, that the whole Province of Chachapuya had yielded to the Inca, did also with much readiness receive his Religion, Laws and Cultoms: the like also did the Province called Cascayunca, and divers others of lefs note within that Divifion; all which being received into favour of the Inca, he commanded, that they should be instructed in the Knowledge and Religion of the Sun, and all necessaries provided for their better welfare and subsistence; to which end, he ordered Aqueducts to be made, their Lands to be plowed, and broken up, that so they might yield greater abundance, and increase; and that the *Curacus* should be vested with the finest *Compi*, which they efleemed as a high favour; and with these and other benefits the people remained abundantly fatisfied. Herewith the Wars concluded for that year, the Army being drawn into Winter-quarters; and in the interim Orders were issued out for supplying the Souldiery, and the new Conquests with Provisions from the Neighbouring Countries; for the Wars had made destruction, and caused want and famine of all things necessary for the support of life. The Summer being come, the Inca Tupac took the Field with an Army of forty thousand Men, and marched to the Province of Huancapampa, which is a Countrey large and populous, but all of different Nations and Languages; every Nation or Lineage lived apart, or by it felf, without friendthip or alliance, but in a state of War, acknowledging no Lord, or Government, for their Superiour, but like brute beafts, preyed one upon

the other: they had no employment or occupation to buffe themselves in for most of them went naked, without cloaths or covering; the prize and reward of their War, were the bodies of the Wives and Daughters of the conquered, of which they enjoyed as many as they could get; and for the Men, they eat and do

voured one the other.

Their Religion was as bestial as their Morality; they adored many Gods, eve. ry Lineage, or Family, had one or more proper to it; fome adored Animals, or living Creatures, others Birds, Herbs, Plants, Rivers, Fountains, nay any thing which they liked, or were pleafed with; in which diverfity of Gods, there often arose Disoutes and Arguments concerning their Power and Goodness, which was most commonly decided by War. People living at this rate, without reason or politiques, were eafily subdued; for they could never stand to make any defence but, like wild beafts, were hunted in the Mountains, where in the Thickets, in Caves and Rocks they concealed themselves; but famine, and want of sustenance forced many of them from their retirements, into the power and obedience of the *Inca*, though many of them, who were obstinate and surly, like brute beasts, pe

rished in their places of concealment.

But the Inca Tupac used all diligence to catch, and tame them, committing them into the hands of Masters and Instructors, who might teach them to associate and live in communities, how to cultivate the Grounds, and wear Cloathing, and make Garments of Wool and Cotton: they also shewed them how to bring the nels of water for refreshing their Fields, and so learned them to manure their Lands that it became the most fruitfull foil of all Pern. In some time afterwards, for greater improvement of that Countrey, they ennobled it with a Temple of the Sun, and a House of Select Virgins, with many other Edifices of Honour and Re. nown. They commanded, that all their Gods should be thrown to the Fault and that they should acknowledge and worship no other but onely the Sun, who was the fole God of the Universe: that none should eat Man's sleth on pain of Death, and utter destruction of himself and family; and for other matters they gave them Priests and Men of learning to instruct them in their Laws and Customs: In all which they became so docible, and such proficients, that in a short time they lived orderly and fociably in civil communication, and the two Provinces of Cascayunca, and Huancasampa became the most knowing, and most orderly Citizens in all the Empire of the Inc.u.

#### CHAP. IV.

The Conquest of three Great and Warlike Provinces.

 $\mathbf{H}^{\mathcal{D}}$ ancapampa being conquered, the *Incas* proceeded to reduce three other great Provinces, containing many other Nations under their power; but how long this succeeded after the Conquest of Huancapampa, is not certain: But these people were of a different quality to those before mentioned; for they lived in a political manner, had their Towns, and Fortifications, and fome manner of Government a-mongst them; they often assembled, and held Counsels to consider of the publick good and welfare. No person pretended to a Right of Dominion over them, but by common confent they elected their Chief Governour in the time of Peace, and Captain in case of War, serving them with entire obedience, during the time of their Magistracy. These three Provinces were called Cassa, Ayahnaca, and Callna. The Inea, so soon as he approached the Confines of these Countries, sent his Summons to the Inhabitants, requiring them to receive him for their Lord and Sovereign, or otherwise provide to defend themselves by force of Arms; for answer whereunto, they returned a short reply, That they were ready to dye in defence of their Liberties; for as they never had received any Lord that was imposed on

them, so now they could not incline their minds to any servile subjection. Herewith a cruel War began, for all the fair offers and pretences of the *biea* could avail nothing; for their ancient liberty and freedom still presenting it self before vail nothing; for their ancient inderty and freedom titli preferring it left before them, flopped their Ears to all the gentle words of favour the high expressed, faying, That the greatest favour and grace he could doe them, was to leave them to their own liberty. All these three Provinces being affociated together, unanimoully contributed to the affiftence of each other, and made front oppolition, having killed about 8000 Incas; with which flaughter the Incas being enraged perfected the Enemy with fire and fword, and all the miferies of War, which they supported with great patience and equality of mind in contemplation of their liberty, which they disputed and defended with great resolution; for no sooner were they forced from one ftrong Hold, but they posted to another, and thence to another, abandoning their Countrey, and Houses, without care of their Wives and Children, resolving to dye with Arms in their hands, rather than become the Slaves and Vaffals of another.

The Incas still proceeded in the Conquest of this Country, untill they had forced them into a corner of it; where having fortified themselves, they endured all extremities; and though reduced to the ultimate point of periffing by famine. yet ftill continued constant, and resolved not to be subject to the Inca: the which fome of their more fober and intelligent Captains confidering, and finding that upon these principles all of them must necessarily dye and perilh, without knowing any cause or reason for it: And seeing that other Nations, as free as they, had submitted to the Dominion of the Inca, under whom their peace and plenty was augmented, rather than in the least abated or infringed. The Captains and Chiefs having this communication together, agreed to yield themselves and people to the Inca; the which was performed, though not without fome mutiny and fedition amongst the Souldiery; howsoever the generality being led by the example and dictates of their Commanders, did all at last submit, and yield unto due obedi-

The Inca Tupac received them with all expressions of grace and favour, telling them, how much he pitied their folly, which had so unnecessarily betrayed them to the last extremities of want and famine; but now to relieve them in this condition, he ordered, that they should be entertained and treated like his own Children: And that whereas many of them perished in the late War, so that their Lands and Dwellings were void and depopulated; he ordered, that they should be again flocked and supplied by people transplanted from other Provinces. And thus the Inca having provided matters for due administration of that Government, and fettled and established their Doctrine and Religion, he returned again to Cozco, being more troubled and uneafie for the lofs and destruction of those poor Indians, than tired or wearied with the fatigues, and incommodiousness of the War; of which he was fo fentible, that he would often fay, that if he were affured that the other Nations, more remote, had taken example by the obstinacy of these, that he would defer the Conquest of them for the present, and untill such a conjuncture of time, as might render them more pliable, and better disposed to receive the Government of the Incas.

Wherefore the Great Tupac refraining from War, spent several years in visiting his Kingdoms, adorning them with stately Edifices in every Province, and inhabited Countrey, such as Royal Palaces, Fortresses, and Houses for publick Stores, Aqueducts and Temples dedicated to the Sun, with Convents for the Select Virgins, besides many other publick Works, such as making High-ways and open Roads, of which we shall treat more at large in the Second Part; but more especially his care was, to finish the Fortress of Cozco, the Foundation of which was

laid, and begun by his Father the Inca Tupanqui.

Having thus spent some years in the exercises and employments of Peace, the Incare affumed his thoughts of conquering the Provinces, which lye Northward, called Chinchafum: The first Quarter he came to, was Huannen, which contains many Northward to the Chinchafum of the Contains many Northward to the Chinchafum of the Contains many Northward to the Cont ny Nations, but all independent each of other, living scattered up and down the Fields, without government or communication, but in perpetual War and Fightings: they had some Fortresses and strong Holds on the tops of Mountains, to which at any time, when they were worsted, they sled for reluge; all which people, by fair terms, according to the accultomary clemency of the *Ineas*, were with much facility reduced to their command; though at first the Natives of *Huannes* 

thewed themselves surly, obstinate and rude; with which the Officers of the Income being highly provoked, put many of them to the Sword with great feverity and cruelty; but the *Inca*, to appeale and moderate their fury, put them in mind of the Original Law of the first Inca, Manco Capac, who commanded them to reduce the Indians to his subjection by gentle and fair terms, rather than by Arms, or of

The Indians being on one fide terrified with the fear of punishment, and allo red on the other by the promifes, and kind offers of the Inca, were reduced with out much labour; so that they were persuaded to live in Societies, and receive the Idolatry and Government of the Incas, who, in a short time, so improved this plea. fant Province of Huanney, that by the fruitfulness of the Soil, and good temperature of the Climate, it became the Head and Chief of all the Neighbouring Countries And here, as a principal mark of favour, they erected a Temple dedicated to the And nere, as a principal mark of havour, they decede a tempe deducated to me Sun, with a Houfe for the Select Virgins: In the building of which, twenty thou fand Indians were continually employed, and as some will have it thirty thousand, all which took their turns in the labour, which shews the great numbers of those Inhabitants. Pedro de Cieça in his 8 oth Chapter speaking of the Huannen, halt thele words, which I have extracted Verbatim. "In the Precincts of Guannen, therewa erected a Royal Edifice, rarely built of great Stones, and well polified. This Palace, or Royal Chamber, was the chief place where the Courts of Iudicanne were held for the Neighbouring Provinces, and for the Andes, adjoyning where unto was the Temple of the Sun, with many Virgins and Officers belonging to it; and was so considerable in the time of the Incas, that above 30000 ld. "ans were always employed in the fervice of it. It belonged to the Stewards the Incas to collect in the ordinary Tributes; and the Countrey people were " obliged to afford their attendance and fervice at this Palace. Thus far are the words of Cieca de Leon.

The Conquest being made of Huanucu, as we have in short related; we stall now briefly touch on other matters, unless some remarkable passage occur, for I resolve to hasten to the end of those Conquests which were made by the Incar, that so I may treat of the Wars between Huascar and Atabualpa, who were Ne phews of this *Tupaa Tupanqui*. To proceed therefore, we fay, that the *Inaa Tup* commanded an Army of forty thousand Men to be raised, and fitted for the year following, intending to conquer the great Province, called Camari, which wash Chief over divers others, being very populous, and the Inhabitants valiant and warlike; for their diffinction from others, they wore their Hair long, tying p their Locks on the top of their heads with a knot. The Nobles, and those would be fine in their Dress, wore a Cap on their heads of a thin woven thread. like a fine Sieve, scarce above three fingers high, through which some threads were drawn of divers colours: but the common fort, and fuch as were lazy, and ungentile, wore, in the place hereof, the shell of a Goard, or Pumpkin, for their Cap; fo that oftentimes in difference, the Indians would call this Nation of Cannan, by the Name of Matiuma, or Pumpkin-pate. By this, and fuch-like devices on their heads, during all the Reign of the Incas, the Indians were diffinguished, and known of what Countrey and Province they were; in my time also they carried these distinctions; but now, as I am informed, they are neglected, and every one wears what he pleases. These Natives of Camard, before the times of the Inc., went almost naked, both Men and Women, wearing onely a loose Cloth to cover their privities: They had many Lords which ruled over them, some of which made an Alliance one with the other; but these were such as were of the meanest rank, who, to refift the power of the great ones, and their tyrannous oppression, joined together in confederacy and alliance.

CHAP

#### CHAP. V.

Of the Conquest of the Province of Cannari; of its Riches and Temple.

Topac Tupanqui marched to the Province Cannari, and in his way conquered all that tract of ground which is named Palra, from whence, and from the low and warm Vallies, they carried unto Cozco, that pleasant Fruit which is called Palta ; the which Countrey, though the people thereof were fierce and warlike, vet the Incas eafily overcame, alluring them with fair words, and kind usage and treatment into a fubmission. The device, or distinction of this Nation, was a certain little Tablet; which so soon as a Child was born, they bound on his forehead, and another on the nape of his neck, which every day they bound harder and harder, keeping it on untill he was three years of Age; by which time taking it off, it had brought the head into a most ugly and deformed shape; they always carried their Children at their backs; fo that when they faw an *Indian* with a broader and flatter forehead than was usual, and the nape of his neck wide and broad, they would in derifion call him Palta Uma, or Palta Pate. And here the Inca having fettled and established all things necessary for the religious and secular Government, he proceeded with his Army to the borders of Cannaris, from whence he dispatched his accustomary Summons, that either they should submit, and yield, or prepare for War. These offers of Peace being tendered, occasioned some debates amongst the Camarians, but at length, after variety of opinions in the cafe, it was generally, and by the major part agreed to fubmit, concluding themselves unable to make refishence, and thereupon full of joy and feltival, they went to make tender of their fervice and obedience to the *Inca*; after whose example the *Curacas* came in, and with much readiness paid their homage and duty. The *Inca* received them with much commendation and praise, commanding that such Cloths and Vestments should be given them, as were necessary and convenient for them; and that some course should be taken to instruct them in the Doctrine and Religious Worship of the Sun, and in that Political way of Government by Laws, which was practifed by the Incas: For before this time the Cannarians adored the Moon for their principal God, and after that Great Trees and Stones, which were rare, and not common, especially the Jaspar; but having received the Doctrine of the Sun, there was a Temple immediately built, and dedicated to him, and a House of Select Virgins, with many Palaces for the Kings. They erected also Houses to receive the Royal Stores, and the common Provisions of the people; they enlarged also their Arable Grounds and Patturage, they made Aqueducts and Chanels to convey their water; in short, they made the same improvements in this, as in all other Countries which were fubdued by the Inca, and with better fuccess, because the goodness of the Soil was fuch, as produced all manner of Fruit in great abundance; which the Cannarians observing, were much satisfied with the change of their condition and vaffalage, proving ever afterwards very good Subjects, which they teftified by their Loyalty in the time of the Civil Wars between Huafear and Atabualpa: Though afterwards, when the Spaniards came in, one of the Cannarians fled over to their fide, after whose example all his Countreymen affected the *Spaniards*, and detested the *Incas*, as we shall hereaster declare in its due place, it being the custome of the World to take part with the strongest side. The Inca Tupac having reduced the Cannarians to his Dominion, took especial care to satisfie and content the several People and Nations which were under that denomination; and to oblige them the more, he resolved to assist by himself in Person, in teaching and instructing them in the Doctrine of his Idolatry, and the Laws of his Government; in the inculcating of which, he spent much time and labours, so that at length they remained well effablished and settled in peace and quietness: Upon report of which, many other Provinces, not as yet subdued, took such a kindness to the Government of the Luca,

that voluntarily, and of their own accord, they joyfully received him for their Lord and Master. Amongst these Nations, there is a fort of people called Quillacu, who are so miserable and mean-spirited, that they sear they shall want Earth, and Water, and Air. Whence the Indians had a Proverb amongst them, which the Spaniards afterwards allowed in their Language, calling a Man Quillacu, when they would denote a covetous person, or any of a vile and sordid nature; and these were those on whom the Inca imposed a Tax, or Tribute of Lice, that so they might oblige them thereby to pick and cleanse themselves, not suffering their bodies to be devoured alive by this vermine. Tupan Tupanqui, and after him his Son Huayne Capaa did greatly ennoble these Provinces of the Canmarians, and that also which is called Tumipampa, with these publick Edifices, and Royal Palaces, adorning the Walls of the Chambers with the Figures of Herbs and Plants, and all living creatures represented in Gold and Silver; the Doors of them were plated with Gold, and studded with Emeralds, Torquoises, and other pretious Stones; for those sade on the sufficient of their business to make them Presents of things of great ostentation, and to please and stater their humour, adorned their Temples and Palaces with all the

Treasure they were able to procure. Pedro de Gieca in the 44th Chapter of his Book, treating at large of the Richael wherewith their Temples and Royal Chambers were adorned in the Provinces be longing to the Cannarians, as far as Tumipampa, which the Spaniards mifcall Tomebanks by a mistake of letters: he there says, That besides these Riches, there was an immense sum of Treasure laid up in Jars, and Pots, and other Utensils, together with rich Robes and Vestments of Silver, with curious stitches, of which he touchesing many passages of his History; the which was so neat and curious, the Gold he ing stitched, or woven, in less pieces than Seed-pearl, and with such artificial work that the best Silver-siniths in Seville have asked me the manner how they were no ven, or fown so close, that the seam could not be discerned; a small piece of which work I brought into Spain, and it was highly prized and esteemed. Pedra de Cieca having discoursed at large of the Treasure of the Cannarian Provinces, hall these words. "In fhort, whatfoever I can utter or express of the Riches with which the Incas have adorned their Palaces, will fall short of the true value of it; and then speaking in particular of the Chambers and Temple of Tumpampa, he said,
"That the Indians report, that the greatest part of those Stones, of which those Chambers and Temple were built, were brought from the great City of Cozobs command of the King Huayna Capac, and his Father Tupac the Great, by force of Men, who drew them with Cables, which if fo, was very wonderfull, confidering the weight of the Stones, and the great number of them, and the diffance of the way. These are the very words of that Historian, who, by reason of the difficulty of that work, feems to doubt the truth of that report which the Indian gave; but for my part, who am also an Indian, and acquainted with the humour of my Countreymen, I do declare my belief to be thus far of it; it being probable,that those Incan Kings, who were always desirous to shew favour to their Subjects, would also oblige them in the transportation of these Stones from Cozco; which coming from thence, were esteemed Sacred: For if it were a favour to have a licence granted for building a Temple to the Sun in any principal Province, because thereby the Inhabitants became Citizens of Cozco; much more must it be to have the very Materials of it brought from the City it felf, by command of the Inca, without o ther charge or labour to the Natives; and not onely to have their Temple referble that at Cozco, but also to be the same with it in the substance. Now the Indian, to enjoy such a piece of grandeur, which they esteemed to be God-like, and Divine, would omit all other Works to employ themselves in the carriage of these Stones, over Rocks and craggy Mountains, and to fuch a far distance as it is from Cozco to Tumipampa, which is no less than 400 Leagues, which none would believe, but those who were employed in the work; But as to the report which Pedro de Cings received from the Indians, who averred, that the greatest part of those Stones, of which the Temple and Palaces of that Countrey were composed, were brought from Cozco, was more to boast of the savour and honour which the Inca did them in giving out fuch a Command, than to raife the glory of fuch a Work by a belief, that the Stones were really brought from fo far a diffance. And so much shall serve for what we have to say concerning the Greatness and Riches of those Royal Palaces and Temples of the Sun, which were built in Tumpampa, and in all parts of Peru.

#### CHAP. VI.

Of the Conquest of many other and great Provinces, as far as the Consines of Quitu.

HE Inca having fettled and established affairs in Canaris, he returned to Cozco, where he spent several years in the administration of good Government, and other just actions appertaining to the Office of a Great King. But as it is natural to Puissant Princes to be ambitious, and desirous to enlarge their Emplre, so likewise this Inca thought it not fit to lose longer time in a reposed life. but to proceed in his Conquests; to which end he raised a considerable Army, with which he marched to the Confines of Tumipampa; from whence beginning his Conquests, he reduced many Provinces as far as the Borders of the Kingdom of Quitu, which extend little less than 50 Leagues in length; the chief places of which are Chanchan, Moca, Quessa, Pumallatta, which signifies the Countrey of Lions, because they abound more in those parts, than in the places thereabouts, and are adored by the Inhabitants of Ticcampi, Tincass, Cayampi, Orcollass, and others of less note, for their Gods: the which places being very thin of people, were cafily reduced; and moreover, the Lands are very barren, and the people fottifly, without Lords, or Government, or Religion, or Political Communication: every one adored that for God, which they most defined, or rather they worthipped nothing, living like brute beafts, feattered and wandering in the Fields and Woods, whom there was more trouble to infruct and inform with any kind of good manners, than to overcome, or reduce: these they taught to make Cloths, and Shoes, and to Manure the Land; for watering of which, they made Aqueducts and Chanels for them. In all these Provinces the Incas made large Roads, and High-ways, and Store-houses to lay up Provisions for sustenance of the Souldiery, and Chambers for their Kings; but would not honour to vile and tervile a fort of Inhabitants with the beauty of Temples dedicated to the Sun, or with the Houses of Select Virgins; they being capable of little more, than to keep themselves clean from Lice, by obligation of that Tribute they were to pay in them.

Whilft the Inca, Tupac Tupanqui, was thus employed in reducing and instructing the Provinces before mentioned; other Nations which are feated to the Westward of these, bordering on the Confines of that Province which the Spaniards call Puerto Viejo, or the Old Port, fent their Ambassadours to the Inca with Presents, befeeching him to receive them for his Subjects and Vaffals, and that he would be pleafed to fend them Captains and Teachers, who might inftruct them in the way of living in Societies, and how to manure their Lands, that they might live like Men, and not like Beafts, promifing for themselves all loyalty and faithfulness: Those that made the first motion to send this Embassy, were of the Nation of Huancavillea. The Inca gratiously received their Address, commanding that satisfaction should be given them in all their defires; and so Teachers were sent to inthruck them in Religion, and in the Laws and good Customs of the Inca: Enginiers were also fent them to make Aqueducts, and manure their Fields, and reduce them into Societies: But afterwards the ingratitude of this people was fuch, that contemning the favours and promifes which the Inca had made them, they arose up against his people, and barbarously murthered them all. As Pedro de Ciof in his Observations reports, which because it serves to confirm the particulars we have often repeated in this Hiftory, touching the gentleness and good-nature of the Incas, who were always ready to teach and inftruct the Indians, who fubmit ted to their Dominion; we have here inferted the Words of *de Cieça*, that fo what we have faid concerning the *locas*, may also be confirmed by the authority of the Spanish Writers: His Words are these which follow.

312

"To return then to our purpose; I say, that I have heard from Old Indian. " who were Chiefs in the time of the Great Topa Inga Tupanque, that some of " his Captains, with certain Troops, which they had drawn out from those Gar. " rifons, which he maintained in divers Provinces of his Kingdom, had by divers ways of management reduced much people to the friendship and fervice " of the Inca; the principal fort of which went with their Prefents to the Pro. vince of *Paltas* to pay their refpects of reverence and duty to the *Inca*, who courteoully received them with all affection, bestowing on several of them rich pieces of Woollen, made at Cozco. And whereas the occasions of the Incare quired his return to his principal Provinces, where he was so much esteemed, that they styled him Father, and honoured him with Titles of Supreme Eminence: And such was his affable disposition towards all, that his Fame was great, and his Memory perpetual. But in regard the occasions of his Kingdom were so pressing, that he could not stay, and in Person visit those Indians: he committed the care of that Government to certain Officers, who were Natives of Cozco, and whose charge it was to instruct them in the manner of living. that they might become rational Creatures, and live with some form and live. But these did not onely shut their Ears to necessary instructions, and disain But thefe did not onely flut their Ears to necessary instructions, and disting the Orders which the Officers of *Topa Inga* prescribed, for their living under Laws in good fociety, and using laudable customs and ways to live, such a Manuring their Lands, and other matters which contribute to the happines of of life: But in return for such benefits, which they ill understood, they killed their Instructors, not suffering one of them to live and escape; and this villany they acted without any provocation, or any oppression, whereby they might deserve ill from them. It is said, that when the Inga Topa sheard of the officers he dissipate the state of his afficie he dissipated that the lines and seat the said sheard of the officers he dissipated the said seathers. " this Maffacre, temporizing with the prefent state of his affairs, he dissembled "the matter, not having opportunity at that time to revenge the Death of those "Captains and Subjects. Thus far are the Words of Pedro de Cieça, with which he concludes his Chapter: To which we add, that the Inca having finished the Conquest of those Provinces, returned again to Cozco, to take some repose and divertisement after his great labours and cares in War.

CHAR

#### CHAP. VII.

The Inca conquers Quitu, and lends to his Son the Prince Huayna Capac to come to him.

THE Inca Tupac, after some sew years of ease and peace, re-assumed again the thoughts of War, resolving to turn his Arms against the Kingdom of Quitu, being a Countrey great and samous, of 70 Leagues in length, and 30 in breadth, the Soil fruitfull, and capable, by good Husbandry, of great improvement and benefit to the Inhabitants. Wherefore providing an Army of sorty thouland firong, he marched to Tumipampa, which borders on the Confines of that Kingdom, fending thence the usual Summons to the King of Quiu, who styled himfelf after the Name of his Countrey. This Prince was of a barbarous and rude nature, and confequently fierce and cholerick, feared by his Neighbours for the great Power and Dominion he had over them. Wherefore relying on his own force, he confidently answered, that he was Lord and Sovereign himself, and would acknowledge no other, nor receive Foreign Laws, but gave fuch as he thought fit to his own Vaffals; nor would he forfake the Gods of his Ancestors, which were wild beafts, and great trees, fuch as afforded them flesh and wood, and other benefits necessary for the support of life. The Inca having received this answer, would not immediately break into Acts of Hostility, endeavouring for awhile to try the effects of gentle allurements, and moderate terms, according to the rule and maxime of his Ancestors. But this kind usage operated little on the affections of the people of Quin, who grew more proud and insolent by the condescentions of the *Inca*; which was the cause, that when the War broke out, it continued many months and years; during which time, many Skirmithes and Battels happened with great flaughter and damage on both fides.

Tupac Inca Tupanqui perceiving that this War was likely to continue long, fent for his Eldest Son and Heir the Prince Huayna Capac, that so he might exercise and practife him in the War, commanding him to bring a recruit of twelve thoufand Men with him; his Mother was called Mama Occlo, Sifter of his Father, according to the cultome of those Kings, who always took the Eldest Sisters for their Wives: The Spanish Historians say, that Huayna Capac, in the vulgar Language of that Family, fignifies a Rich Youth: But it is certain, that those Indians in giving their Names and Sirnames to their Kings, observed (as we have faid) other Elegancies and Phrases in Speech, different from the common Language, having ever fome respect to those symptoms, and appearances of Vertue, which they observed eminent and hopefull in their Princes, adding other August Titles agreeable to the Prowefs, and Illustrious Actions performed in their Manhood. And so, because this Prince demonstrated in his Youth clear evidences of a Royal and Magnanimous Soul, they gave him the Name of Huayna Capac, which fignifies as much as a Youthfull Spirit, invigorated with inclination to heroick and illustrious Atchievements. For when they gave the Title of Capac, which is Rich, to Manco their first Inca, they did not mean the Riches of Fortune, but the Excellencies and Greatness of Mind; they ever after appropriated this Title to the Capac Allu, which is to the Royal Family, and Princes of the Bloud; fo they attributed the Title of Capac, to the Feast of Raymi, which is the principal Festival of the Sun; fo also they called a Subject Capac Runa, which is Subject and Vaffal of the Rich, meaning the Inca, being never given to any other Lord, though he were never fo Rich, or powerfull: And so also this word Capac was given to any other thing, which they would dignifie with relation to Royalty.

314

BOOK VIII.

Amongst the many other Illustrious Qualities with which this Prince was en dowed, he had one, by which he most particularly obliged his Subjects, giving early Indications of his Vertue, which merited the Name of Capac, during the time he was Prince, and which afterwards he conferved, when he came to be fole Monarch; The which particular quality was this: That he never denied any Woman the grant of her Petition, of whatloever age, quality or condition the were antiwering her according to her years; for if the were elder than he, he would fay, Mather, what you defive, that be done. If the were of equal years with him, he would use the compellation of Sifter; if younger, he would call her *Daughter*, and fay, *What thou askeft, fhall he performed*; and to all Women generally he would lay his hand on their left shoulder, in token of his favour and respect to them And this Magnanimity of mind he carried to even and conftant, that in marters of great importance, he would condescend to the diminution of his own Right and Prerogative of his Majesty. As we shall hereafter more at large

This Prince being now about twenty years of Age, purfued his Wars, gaining on the Kingdom by little and little, ever treating with them, and offering tenns of Peace and Friendship. But this barbarous Nation, which went almost nated and was ignorant of Political Government, would never give ear to proposit of Accommodation. Tupac the Father observing the good Conduct of his Son. committed the absolute Government of this War to his management, and h returned to Cozco, the important affairs of his Empire requiring his prefere there.

The Prince in the mean time, with the affiftence of his Captains, fo well mi naged the War, that in the space of three years he became absolute Master of the Kingdom of Quitu, though some I dians of that Countrey say, that he was sive years; but then they count the two years, in which his Father was there in perfon, attributing the Conquest of that Countrey to them both. The gentleness and good-nature of the Father and Son was the cause of this long continuance of the War; for had they vigoroufly proceeded with fire and fword, they might foon have completed their Conquest; but they willing to save the Bloud of the Natives, preffed upon them as they retired, and so won the Country by little and little; though the *Indians* say, that the War had continued longer, had not the King of Quitu died at that time; they fay also, that his Death was occasioned by grief, for feeing himfelf in an unhappy condition, develted of the greatest part of his Dominion, and unable to defend the remainder; and not daring to trust, or confide in the Clemency of the Inca, whom he believed he had prove ked to that degree, as never to obtain his pardon; he died with the preffire of his great troubles and afflictions; he being dead, his Captains prefently yielded themselves to the mercy of *Huapna Capac*, who received them with obliging terms, commanding them to be vested with Garments of the finest fort, and prefented them with other gifts, which were most in esteem almongst the Indian; treating also the more common fort of people with great kindness and friendship: In thort, he performed all the generous Actions he was able to them, to render his Clemency the more apparent and perspicuous to that stupid Nation: And to oblige all that whole Countrey in general, fo foon as the War was ended, he not onely made them Aqueducts to refresh, and make fruitfull their Soil; but also built a Temple there for the Sun, and a House for the Select Virgins, adorned with Riches, and other Embellithments agreeable to the quality of those Edifices: In performance of which, those Indian had great advantage, for their Country yielded much Gold, which they had digged for the fervice of their own King, and much more afterwards for the use of the Prince Huayna Capac, because they found that they very much gratified his humour by Prefents of that Metal; his affection and coverousness of which, transported him to such extremities of Oppression, as were never before practifed by Incan Kings, which was the cause of the ruine of their Empire, and occasion of all that misery, which afterwards extinguithed this Royal Family,

Huayna Capac leaving Quitu, proceeded to another Province called Quillacence, which fignifies a Note of Iron; because they boared the Bridge which passes bewhich rightless a from a factor of a piece of Gold or Silver, which reached to their Lips: the *Inca* found these to be a fordid, vile people, almost all naked, and full of Lice; they had no Religion amongst them; for they worshipped nothing, unless it were the Flesh of some Animal; of which they were so ravenous. that wherefoever they found any carrion, flesh of Horse or Mare, or any thing elfe corrupted and flinking, they would eat and devour it with the greatest bleasure and appetite in the World: So that it is very probable, that fuch a fort of Beafts as these, were easily subdued, and reduced to obedience.

From hence the Inca marched to another Nation called Pafeu, as vile and fordid as the former, differing onely from them in this, that they would by no means be perfuaded to eat Flesh, saying, That they were not Dogs. These being easily reduced to the obedience of the Inca, Instructors were appointed for them to teach them the manner of living after the rational manner, imposing on them the Tribute of Lice, that so they might keep themselves clean, and in health.

From Paltu they proceeded to another Province called Oravallu, the Inhabitants whereof were much more Political and Warlike than the others. These having made some little resistence against the Inca, did soon yield, finding that they were not able to defend themselves against that Potent Prince.

And having here made due provision to secure the Countrey, the Inca proceedded to another Province called Caranque, the people of which were most barbarous in their life and manners; they adored Tygers, and Lions, and great Serpents, offering the hearts and bloud of Men in their Sacrifices: Making War upon their Neighbours, onely for the fake of War and Enemies, that they might have fuch as they might kill and eat. At first they made great opposition against the Inca, but being repulsed, they soon discovered their errour, and in a few days furrendred at diffrection. Huanna Capac ordained and conflitted Ma-flers to teach and inftruct them in their Idolatrous Worship, and in the rules of a Moral life, forbidding them to acknowledge any other Idol but the Sun, or facrifice the bloud of Men, or eat humane fleth; which last was the most grievous of any to them, because they were of any thing the most ravenous of that. Thus far the Conquest of those Provinces extended on that side, which bordered on the Kingdom of Quitu.

Book VIII.

217

#### CAAP. VIII.

Of the three Marriages of Huayna Capac; of the Death of his Father, and his Sayings.

\* Upac Inca Yupangui defifting now wholly from Wars, attended to the Govern ment of his Empire, viliting divers parts of it at different times, to the great Joy and comfort of his Vaffals, who were transported with joy, as often as they faw the Inca in their Countries: It was he who effectually laboured about the Fortress of Cozco, his Father having onely begun, and laid the foundation of it; this Work was many years in building, on which twenty thousand Indians were al. ways employed, every Nation and Province taking its turn, with that rule and order, that nothing could be disposed in better and more exact method and distipline. Every two years the Incd visited his Kingdom of Chili, fending every year thither many fine Garments for cloathing of the Curacas, and their Kindred, with more common habit for the ordinary people. In exchange for which, the Cataquet fent much Gold, and plumes of Feathers, and other Commodities of the growth of their Country. And this continued untill the time that Don Diego de Alman

invaded that Countrey.

The Prince Huayna Capac having conquered the Kingdom of Quitu, and the Provinces of Quillacenca, Pastu, Oravallu and Caranque, and given instructions for the orderly management of the affairs of those Countries, he returned to Cozo to render an account to his Father of all the Actions he had performed in his Service. being received by him with great triumph and joy for his happy return: And then he married a fecond time with his fecond Sifter, called Rava Occlo, because by his first Wife, and eldest Sister, called Pillen Huaco, he had no Children; ithe ing necessary that the Succession should be supplied by an Heir legitimate on the fide both of the Father and Mother. In like manner he married a third time lawfully, according to their Laws and Customs, with Mana Runtu, the Daughte of his Uncle Auqui Amaru Tupac Inca his Father's fecond Brother. Auqui is a tilk of diffinction, given always to the fecond Sons of the King, and in a courtefie to all those of the Royal Bloud, but not to others, of what quality soever. Amou is a Name given to the greatest Serpents of the Antis. The like Names of living Creatures, of Flowers or Herbs, or any thing supereminent, or excellent in its degree or quality, the Incus would take upon the melves, fignifying, that as those Creatures were famous in their Species, fo the Incas were in the generation of Mankind. The King Inca Tupac, with the confent and advice of his Council, or dered that those two Women, last married to Huayna Capac, should be esteemed and judged as lawfull Wives as the first, and not for Concubines, their Children being made capable to inherit, left a legitimate Heir should fail in the Succession On which confideration the Marriage with his Coulin Germain was efteemed lawfull, because she was the next of kin, Huaym Capac wanting a third Sister, with whom he might match. By his Sifter Rava Occlo, he had a Son firnamed Huapea Capac, a Huafear Inca; the fignification of which Name of Huafear, we will declare in its proper place, because his true and proper Name was Ini Curi Hualipa. Of his Coulin Germain, who was his third Wife, he had Manco Inca, who succeeded him in his Kingdom, that is, in Name onely, for the Inheritance was then in reality fallen into the hands of Strangers, as we shall see in its due place.

Some years of peace and tranquillity being paffed, during the Reign of Tupac Tupanqui, he began at length to feel himfelf crazy, and declining towards his end; wherefore he affembled the Prince Huayna Capac, and all his other Sons and Daughters together, to the number of two hundred, and more: To whom after the cu-ftome of former Kings, and by way of his last Will and Testament, he recommended the practice of Peace and Justice for the good and benefit of their Subjects, which would reader them Ulustrious, and make them to appear true Children of

the Sun. In particular and especial manner he encharged to his Eldest Son the care of conquering the Barbarous Nations, with intent that he might reform their manners, and reduce them to the true Religion of the Sun, and teach them to live in Societies, and with Political Government, and that in all things he should innitate the examples of his Ancestors. Lastly, he encharged him to revenue that perfidious treachery, of which the people of Puerto Viejo, and the parts adiacent. and especially those of *Humacavilleas* had been guilty in killing those Captains and instructors, which at their request he had fent amongst them, lest the impunity and remifness in punishment of that ingratitude should be of ill example to other Subjects; and that after having chaftifed this offence, he should endeavour to reform their bestial way of living, by teaching them to Manure and Sow their Fields, and cover their Bodies. And farther, he encharged them to live in love and amity together, for that he was going to rest, and repose himself with his Father the Sun. Thus the Great Inca Tupac Tupanqui died, leaving to his Subjects a perpetual memory of his Piety, Clemency, and many other benefits beftowed on his Empire. In confideration of which, his people, befides his Titles and Appellations of Honour, common to other Kings, gave him the supereminent denomination of Tupac Taya, which fignifies the glorious and resplendent Father. Befides the Prince, who was his Son and Heir, he left five Sons, which he had by his Silter Mama Occlo; his fecond Son was called Angni Amaru Tupac Inca, after the name of his Father; the third was Quekuar Tupac, the fourth Hualpa Tupac Inca Tupanqui, which was \*my Great-Grandfather by the Mothers fide; the fifth was \* The Autority of the Mothers fide; the fide was \* The Autority of the Mothers fide; the fide was \* The Autority of the Mothers fide \* The Mothers fid Titu Inca Rimachi; and the fixth was Augui Mayta. His Body was afterwards fo thour. well embalmed, that when I faw it in the year 1559, it feemed to be alive.

Blas Valera speaking of this Inca, hath these words, which I have translated out of Latin. Topac Tupanqui delivered this Philosophical discourse by way of Argument. "Many say that the Sun lives, and that he is the Maker of all things; now it is necessary, that the thing which is the cause of the Being of another. should be affistent and operate in the production thereof; now we know that many things receive their Beings, during the absence of the Sun, and therefore he is not the Maker of all things: And that the Sun bath not life, is evident, for that it always moves in its circle, and yet is never weary; for if it had life, it would require reft, as we do; and were it free, it would vifit other parts of the Heavens, unto which it never inclines out of its own sphere; but as a thing obliged to a particular flation, moves always in the fame circle, and is like an Arrow which is directed by the hand of the Archer. He faid also, that this Inca did often repeat that Saying of Inca Roca, the fixth King, as a politick and wife fentence; which was this: That it was not fit that Sciences, which be-" long to Noble persons, should be communicated to the common and vulgar people, left they grow proud, and contemn the wifedom of those to whom the charge of Government is committed; it is sufficient for them to learn the trade of their Fathers, and follow their profession, not aspiring to those improvements " of mind, which appertain onely to Princes and Rulers of the people. He had this other Saying likewife, That Covetouiness and Ambition render a Man uncapable to govern himself, or others; for Covetouiness diverts the mind of a Man from its true object, that is, from the common welfare, to his own private interest; and Ambition corrupts the understanding, making it uncapable of other counsels, than such as tend to its own exaltation and glory. Thus far are the Words of Blus Falera concerning the fententious Sayings of Tupac Inca Yuрапдні.

And fince we now approach near the time in which the Spaniards obtained this Empire; it will be convenient to declare in the following Chapter, what Provifions were then found in those Countries for the sustenance of humane life. And then next in the life of Huayna Capac, we shall shew what things were wanting, and supplied by the Spaniards, that so one thing may not be consounded with ano-

CHAP

219

#### CHAP. IX.

Of Mayz, Rice, and other Seeds.

THE Fruits of Peru, by which the Indians were sustained before the coming in of the Spaniards, were of divers forts, some being produced above, and others under ground. Of the Fruits which grow above ground, the chief and principal is that Grane which the people of Mexico and Barloventa call Mayz, and those of Peru, Cara, being the onely Bread they use: And this is of two sorts, one is hard, which they call Murnehu; and the other tender and fine, called Ca. water: the hard Mayz is that which they have brought to show in Spain, but not the fine and tender sort. Some parts produce much finer, and tenderer than others, particularly the Countrey of Rucana. At their folemn Sacrifices, as we have faid, they used Bread made of Mayz, which they called Cancu; and at other times, on occasion of a Feast or treatment which they gave, they made that for of Bread which was called Huminta; the which forts of Bread had little diffe. rence in themselves, being onely distinguished by their use, some being made for Recrifice, and others for common fullenance: Their Corn was Ground by the Women on a broad Stone, on which they cast the Grift, and on the top thereof they laid another Stone in the sashion of a Half Moon, not round, but with a point of three fingers broad at each corner. At the corners of the Stone, made Half Moon wife, they laid their hands, rubbing and preffing it hard on the Mayz, until it was broken: This difficulty and troubing and prening it nard on the may, until it was broken: This difficulty and trouble they had in Grinding the Mayz, and all other Grane; for which reason they did not commonly eat Bread. They did never beat their Corn in Mortars, though they had learned the way of it; because it required more labour of the Armes, than the Grinding with a Scope they would be of which a board of the Armes, than the Grinding with a Stone, the weight of which made the work more easie: And then the good Honsewise having ground awhile, with one hand lifts up the upper Stone, and with the other fiveeps up the Corn, gathering it into the midft of the Quen, which for the likeness of it we may call a Falling-Mill, because of the stroke which for the fixeness of it we may can a running that which they gave on it with their hands. They made also a kind of a Hally-which they gave on it with their hands. Pudding, called  $\Delta p_i$ , which was a great Dish amongst them, and which they et with much delight; but this was esteemed high feeding, and not common a every meal. The Flour they divided from the Bran, in this manner, they laid all upon a clean cloth made of Cotton, and then spread it with their hands all over the Cotton-cloth; the finest part of the Flour would stick to the Cotton, but the more groß parts of the Bran would remain loofe from it, and so they easily took it up, and divided it with their hands; then they swept up the Flour which fluck to the cloth into the middle; and having taken that away, they brought more, untill they had cerned and fifted all their Grift; but they chiefly took this pains for the fake of the Spaniards, and not of the Indians, who were not focurious in their diet, but that the courfest fort of this Bran would go down with them; for the Bran of Mayz is not so harsh or choaky, as much to offend the palate. This was their manner of dividing the Bran from the Flour, for as yet the use of Sieves was not brought from Spain, by reason that their Bread was all made of this Mayz, and not of Wheat: All which I can restifie to have seen with my own eyes, having been nourished for nine or ten years with no other thread the spain been sometimes of the production. Bread than that of Cara, which is Mayz; the which is of three forts: Canen is for Sacrifice, Huminta for their Fealts, and great Entertainments; Tanta, with an afpiration on the top of the mouth, is common Bread. Cara, when it is parched, they call Cancha, which being pronounced with an N, Cancha fignifies a Street, or Neighbourhood. The boiled Cara, they called Mani (and the Spaniards Mote) which is boiled Mayz, having two Names for the fame thing.

Flow of Mayz: the *Spanish* Women made Biskers and Eritters, and other Dithes, both for healthfull, and people that were fick; for the Phylicians in that Countrey forbid Wheaten bread to all those that are fick, and prescribe them no other diet, than what is made of Mayz. Of this Flour, with water, they brew their Drink, which the *Indians* know how to make sower after a certain manner; that is becomes excellent Vinegar. Of the Canes before the Mayz is ripe, they make rate Honey; and after it is ripe, the Canes being dried, are good feeding for all Cattel. Some *Indians*, who love to be drunk, lay *Cura* steeping in the water, untill it be grown, and then they grind it, and boil it in the same water, and afterwards draw it off, and keep it untill it be stale: This is the strongest drink they have, and which presently makes them drunk, they call it *Vinnapu*, and in other Languages *Sora*. The *Incas* forbad it, because it was so violent and strong, though now, they say, it is come in use again amongst some toping fellows. All these uses, as we have said, they have of this *Cara*, besides many others in Medicines and Physick, and in Plasters, as we have mentioned in the other part.

The next fort of Grane, which is ripe in the Harvest of that Countrey, is that which they call *Quinna*, or small Rice, because in form and colour it much resembles it. This Plant in the stalk or blade, is very like our Spinage, the leaf being very tender, and much used by the *Spaniards* and *Indians* in all their boiled Disses, and is put into all their Broths and Potages. The *Indians* also in those Countries, which do not produce Mayz, make their Drinks of this *Quinna*, and the *Indian* Physicians make use of the Flour of it in all their Medicines for the fick. In the year-1590 they sent me some of the Seeds of this *Quinna* into *Spain*, which I sowed at divers times and seasons, but never came up. Besides this Grane, they have three or four forts in *Pern* of Vetches, the Kidney-beans, which they put into their boiled Meats, called *Purnu*: they are in Shells or Pods, like our Lupines in *Spain*, though bigger and whiter, called *Tuvi*: They have also a fort of these Beans which are not to be eaten, called *Chin*, of divers colours: they are used for Counters in play by Men in years, and Boys in their common sport; the variety of which, for brevity, we omit

#### CHAP. X.

Of Pulse and Roots which grow under ground.

There are many other things which are produced under ground, and yet are effected for excellent nourilly part in the barren Countries, which yield no esteemed for excellent nourishment in the barren Countries, which yield no plenty or quantities of Cara: The chief Dith of all is Papa, which being boiled, or baked, ferves them for Bread, and which they put into all their Difhes: To conferve it, they dry and wither it in the Sun, or Frost, and call it (as we have faid) Chanu: There is another fort which they call Oca, of a very pleasant tafte, it is long, and thick as a Man's middle finger; it is very fiveet, being eaten raw; they boil it with their Meat; and to keep it, they dry it in the Sun; and it is fo delicate, that without either Sugar or Honey it feems a Conferve, and then it is called Cavi. There is another fort like this in the shape, but not in the taste, being very bitter, and cannot be eaten unless it be boiled, and then they call it du-The Indians fay that it is an Enemy to procreation: but those who would not lofe their appetite to Courthip, holding in their hands a wand, or ftick, at the time they eat it, can (as they tay) find no hurt or prejudice by it. I have often heard them to talk and discourse to this purpose, and seen them practise it; but I believe it was rather by way of jeft, or merriment, than out of belief of this old Womans story.

Those Roots which the Spaniards call Patatas, and the Indians of Peru Abichu are of four or five feveral colours, some are red, others white, others yellow of thers brown, and are of different taftes, the worlt fort are of those which are brought into Spain. They have also a fort of Goards, called Roman Goards, and in Peru, Capallu, they grow like Melons; they eat them boiled, or baked, but never raw. The fort of Goards of which they make Bottels, or Veffels, for all man. ver raw. The fort of Goards of which they make bottens, or venies, for all manner of uses, are very good, and in great plenty, which they call Mai; but the Goards which are eatable, were not known untill the time of the Spaniards. There is another fort of Root which they dig out of the Earth, which the Indians call The chic, and the Spaniards Mani; all the Names which the Spaniards give to their Fuis and Pulse of Pern, are all taken from the Language used in the Island of Barlanna The Tuchic both in the kernel and tafte is very like Almonds: If it be eaten crude it offends the head; if baked or parched, it is pleafant and wholfome, and with Honey makes admirable Almond cake; they also press Oil out of it for diversition eases. Besides these, there is another fort of Root which grows under ground called by the Indians Chuchuchu, for which, as yet, the Spaniards have coined m proper Name, because they have no fort of that Fruit in the Islands of Bark vento, which are very hot Countries; but this grows in Collag, which is a cold Climate; being eaten raw, it is delicious to the palate, and a great strengthener of the fromach, the Roots of it are much longer, and deeper in the ground that the Anni-feeds: It casts no leaf above ground, but onely a green Fiber, which shews the place where the Chuchuchu is found; and when that greenness wither it is a fign that the Fruit is ripe; and the feafon to gather it: This Fruit, and the Ynchic, are esteemed delicacies, fit for the palate of the rich and curious, rather than for the diet of the common people, who make it their business to gather and present them to the Rich, and persons of Power and Quality.

#### CHAP. XI.

Of Fruits and Fruit-Trees of the largest sort.

There is another fort of Fruit, excellent and good, which the Spaniard having no name for, call it a Cucumber, because it is something like it in its shap, though not in the taste, nor yet in the quality of it, being of good digestion, and such as they prescribe to persons sick of Calentures, or high Fevers, and of another nature to the Cucumbers of Spain. What name the Indians give them, I must conserve that I have quite forgot; for which I blame my self, and cannot imaginete word they give it, unless it be Cacham; but I hope that the distance I am now from my own Countrey, and my long absence from thence will excuse my ignorance amongst my Countreymen, for whose sides I have undertaken this work, without other hopes or expectation of reward, than onely to please and serve them. These Cucumbers are of three several forts and sizes; the least, which are such are in the form of a Heart, and grow in little buthes, are the best. There is another fort of Fruit called Chiss, which was brought to Cozco in the year 1557. Its very delicious to the palate, and wholsome; it grows on branches which run almost level with the ground, it bears a kind of colour, or grane, like the Arbuten, and is of the same bigness, onely it is not round, but rather long, in fathion of a Heart.

There are many other forts of Fruits, which grow on high Trees, fome of which are produced in hot Countries, fuch as are on the Sea-coaft, about the 40-tis, others in more temperate Climates, fuch as are the warm Vallies of Parts but because these Fruits are common in many places, it will not be necessary suparticularize the several forts of them, but onely to report in what manner these particularity in the several forts of them, but onely to report in what manner these particularities.

Book VIII. Royal Commentaries.

And first as to that Fruit which the Spaniards call Guayavas, and the Indians Stanins; we say, that they are of a round fashion like the common Apple, and with a skin or paring like them: In the meat, or pulp of it, are many little round seeds, less than Grape-stones; some of which are yellow without, and red within, and are of two kinds; some are so sower, that they cannot be eaten, others are sweet, and very pleasant to the palate; some are green without, and white within, and are much better than the red; though in some Countries on the Sea-coast they esteem the red much better than the white. The Spaniards make a Conserve of them, as also of other Fruits, which hath been practised since my departure out of Pens. At Seville I saw some Fruit of the Savintu, which a Passenger, a friend of mine, brought from Nombre de Dios; and because it was a Fruit of my own Countrey, he invited me to the eating of it.

Another Fruit the *Indians* call *Pacay*, and the *Spaniards Gnavas*, which grow in green Pods, of about a quarter of a Yard long, and two fingers broad; within the pod, or shell, there is a kind of hairy substance, like cotton; and so much resembles it, that some New-comers out of *Spain* have quarrelled with the *Indians* for giving them Cotton to eat; but when they tasted them, they found them sweet and pleasant; being dried in the Sun, they will keep a long time: within the Pod they have a black Seed, like small Beans, but those are not to be

The Fruit which the Spaniards call Pears, because they resemble them in the greenness of their colour and shape, the Indians call Palta, because they first grew in a Province of that name. They are two or three times bigger than the largest size of Pears in Spain; they have a fine skin, or rine, which covers them, under which is the pulp, or meat, of about a singer thick, within which there is a shell, or stone; they are of the same form as the common Pears with us; there hath been no experiment, whether they be Medicinal, or not; onely its certain, they are pleasant to the taste, and wholsome for the sick; and being eaten with Sugar, they are a rare consect.

They have also another fort of wild Fruit, which the *Indians* call *Rucma*, and the *Spaniards Lucma*; it is in no manner pleasant to the taste, though it be rather sweet, than sharp or bitter; howsoever, it is a gross kind of feeding, the Fruit being about the bigness of a common Orange; in the meat of it, it contains a kernel or seed of a Chestnut-colour, which is so bitter, that it cannot be eaten. Moreover the *Indians* had a fort of Plums which they called *Using*, which are red, and sweet; and being eaten, they turn the Urine into a colour like bloud.

Tt CHAR.

#### CHAP. XII.

Of the Tree Mulli, and of their Red Pepper.

Mongst the other Fruits of this Countrey, we may reckon that which is not A Mongit the other Fruits of this Country, we may be the wind in spin duced by the *Mulli* Tree; it grows of it felf wild in the Fields; it beat its Fruit within long and flender bunches, with Seeds as finall as Coriander, the leaf is finall, and always green: the Seeds being taken in their due feafon, at fweet, and well tasted at the top, but within are very bitter. Of these Seeds the make a fort of liquour, which preffing gently in their hands in warm water, the fiqueeze out the fiveet julce, which is at the top of the Seed; but are carefulling to prefs it over hard, left they should come to the bitterness of the Seed, and so follows. the brewing. This water being strained, and kept three or four days, untill it has done working, is very wholfome and pleafant Beverage: it is very diuretick and cleanling of the Kidnies and Reins; and being mixed with the drink which is made of Mayz, is much stronger, and more pleasant. The same water being to led up, grows thick, and becomes fiveet like Honey; and the fame water below fer in the Sun, with a certain Ingredient which they put into it, turns to very hip and ftrong Vinegar. The milky juice and rafine which sweats from this Mila Tree, as we have said in another place, is an excellent Balsam for green Wounds. The leaves of it being boiled in water, is a rare Elixivium, and wholfome to hate the body and legs in, for it fcours off the fcurf, and cures old boils and wounds: and little flicks being cut from the tender bows, are excellent Dentifrices for the Teeth. I have known the Valley of Cozco, in my time, over-firead with innume rable Trees of this fort, which were very beneficial, and of great use; and ina few years afterwards they were all cut down, and destroyed: the reason was, because they felled them to make Charcole; for though there was great trouble to kindle them, yet being once lighted, they keep their fire, untill they are out buint out.

Amongst these Fruits, the chief and principal of them all, because it agrees belt with the palate of the *Indians*, and which they put into all their Diffies and Saucs, whether boiled or roafted, is that which they call *Ochn*, and we Red Pepper; and the Spiniards Axi, which is the Language of Barlovento, though in Spain they give it the name of *Pimiento*. The people of my Countrey are fo fond of the *Ochn*, that they can eat nothing, though but crude Herbs without it; being efteemed for ich and high in the tafte, that they prohibit the use of it, at their times of Fastings and Mortification, as we have formerly mentioned. This Red Pepper is of three or four feveral forts; the most common is thick and long, without any point, called Rocot Ochu, to distinguish it from others; they eat it in its season, when it is green, and before it hath taken its perfect colour: There are other forts which are yellowith, and murry colour, though in *Spain* there is none but the red. There are other forts of this Pepper, flender and long, as the middle finger, which beig of the beft kind, is used in the Families of the *Incas*. Another fort is finall and round, about the bigness of a Cherry, the stalk not unlike it, called Chinchi Uchn, but is hotter than any of the others; and being rare, and in no great quantity, is more efteemed; and all these forts of Red Pepper have this quality, that all venemous Infects fly from them, being a great enemy to them. I have heard a Spaniard lay, that came from Mexico, that it is excellent good for the Eyes; and for that reason they always eat two Cods of this Pepper after Meals; generally all the Spaniards, that come from the Indies, make it their common Sauce in all their Diffies, and which favours better with them than all the Spices which come from the East-

#### CHAP. XIII.

Of the Tree Magucy, and the Virtues of it.

Mongst the Fruits of this Countrey, we may account that which the Spani-And call Maguey, and the Indians Chuchau, which ferves for many uses to them, as we have elsewhere mentioned. Blas Valera reckons up many Virtues of this Chuchau, on which we shall touch in brief. "He says, that it is not pleasant to fight, the Timber being of a pale-coloured Wood, with a bark upon it a that they are commonly about twenty foot long, and not bigger in compass than "a Mm's arme or leg; the Pith within is light and spungy, and such as Painters and Carvers use in their Sculptures. The leaves are thick, and half a Yard along, and grow all towards the bottom of the Tree, like Garden-Carducy: and for that reason the Spaniards give it the name of Cardamum, and may properly be so called, because it bears prickles on its leaf; the juice of them is very bitter, and serves to take spots out of Cloaths, it cures Cancers, assume and cools Inflammations, and cleanses soars of all Worms. The same sap, or " juice, being boiled with the Roots of that Tree in Rain-water, takes away all " weariness from them, who wash themselves with it, and is a most Medicinal " and wholtome Bath. Of these leaves, when they are taken in their season. " and dried at the foot of the Tree, they make Cords as strong as those made with Hemp; hereof likewise they make Soals for their Shoes, Ropes, Halters " and Head-stalls for their Horses, and other forts of strong Work: Those that " they cut, before they expose them to be dried in the Sun, they moisten and " fleep them first in water, that so the viscous humour, which makes them brittle, "may be walhed away. From this leaf also they spin a finer fort of thread than the former, with which they make the Binders for their Heads, which ferves them for Linen, where they have neither Wool nor Cotton, and fomething resembles the course cloth which is brought out of Flunders: And from this they spin likewise a finer thread than all this, wherewith they make their Nets to take finall Birds; for these being laid in certain open places between two Hills, and fastned to Trees on both fides, they drive and frighten the Birds into the Nets; which being dyed green, are not eafily differned by them. These Nets are made very long, of six, eight, twelve, fifteen and twenty Yards long. The leaves of this Magney Tree are hollow, and capable to receive great quantities of Rain-water, which is wholfome for divers dif-"eales. The Indians fave it, and brewing it with Mayz, or Quinna, or with the Seed of the Mulli Tree make a very strong liquour; likewise they make "both Vinegar and Honey of it. The leaves of the Chuchan they grind, and " make little cakes of Soap of it, with which the Indian Women washing their "heads when they ach, it takes away all their pain; it cleanses Spots and Free-"kles from the skin; it makes the Hair to grow, and Dyes them very black. Thus far are the Words of Blus Valera, onely I have added fomething of the largeness of their Nets which he had omitted. Now we shall tell you fomething more of the Virtue of this Maguey, how it makes the Hair grow, and turns it black, being done in an unufual and strange manner.

The Indian Women of Peru do all wear long and deshevelled Hair; which when it is very much and thick, they tye it up in breads about the thickness of a Man's thumb; onely the Colust living in a cold Countrey, cover their heads. The Indian Women do naturally love long and black Hair, which they wear without any covering or dress; and when they would dye it of Chesnut-colour, or when it tangles, or falls, in combing, they boil it in a Pan of water with certain Herbs; one of which fort of Herbs, as Blas Valera saith, was Chuchar, and I think it was so, to my best remembrance; for when I was a Boy, I often saw them use it, though I did not much observe or enquire concerning it. What I remember is, that I saw the Women put their Hair into a Pan of hot water, which boiled with

Tt 2

fire under it; they nied a kind of a Screen for their Necks to defend them from the fire; taking care that neither the water thould (cald, nor the fire burn their heads; and those Hairs which could not be put into the Pan of boiling water, they dipped after with the water which had by infusion received virtue, and a deep tineture from the Herbs. In this tormenting posture of holding their heads back, that their Hair might sink in the water, they would continue sometimes for the space of two hours, though I cannot precisely say the time, because that being a Boy then (as I said) I was not so curious as to observe the strict minutes; how. soever, I cannot but wonder at the pains they did take, and the torments they suffained for a non-sensical piece of folly: But then again methinks I could excuse them, when I consider the pains which the Spanish Ladies undergo, and the sime they spend in trimming and curling up their Hair; for they smoak it with Suphur, and wet it with Agaa sortis to make it shine, and then they spread it in the hot Sun, of the Dog-days, making other kinds of Elixiviums to wash it in, which are of such a nature as I know not, which is most permicious to the health either of that which the Indian Women use, or that which is so common with the Ladies in Spain. The Indian Women have also other Waters in which they base and dye their Hair, whereby they become blacker, and with a more shining laster than the Feathers of Ravens, that after moulting are new grown. This and much more can Women contrive and endure, that they may seem beautiful!

#### CHAP. XIV.

Of the Platane, the Pine-Apple, and other Fruits.

PUT to return again to our discourse about those Fruits which are produced in the Amis of Prom, which are the most hot and most parts of all those Provinces, we shall onely touch upon those which are the most remarkable, and in the first place speak of that Tree and Fruit which the Spaniards called the Planias, which in its height and leaf resembles much the Palm, being very broad and green. These Trees grow wild, and of themselves, and thrive best in a most, rainy Climate, such as the Amis; the bows of which are so large, that Acosta said, that on one branch onely there are those who have counted 300 Platane-Nus; they grow in a shell, which hath neither rine nor bark over it, but something like a husk, that is easily pilled off; it is of about a quarter of a Yard long, and about three singers in thickness.

Blue Valore, allo writing of this Tree, faith, That when the bunches of their Truit come to full growth, that they then cut them off, left the weight of them thould tear them off from the body or trunk; which being of a foft, fpungy kind of fubflance, is neither fit for timber nor fire. These bunches of Fruit they lay in Jars to ripen, strowing them over with a certain Herb, which serves to halten and force them to grow ripe and mellow: the Meat of them is tender, sweet and pleasant; and being laid in the Sun, are like a conserve, or consect: they boil them in their Broth, and serve them for Sauce in their roasted or boiled Meass and in every way they are good, having a sweetness like Honey, or Sugar, and make several Conserves of them: The bunches which hang long upon the Trees are most delicious and delightfull: the Trees are about two Yards high, some more, and some less. There is another fort of Platans which are less, which they call Dominicos, to distinguish them from others; because the shell, when it is young and tender, is white; and when the Fruit is ripe, and in its season, it is white with black spots; but this fort is not half so big as the other, but yet is much better, and therefore is not so common, nor in that plenty, as the other is.

They have another fort of Fruit which the Spaniards call Jinna, because of the likeness it hath with the Pine-nuts in Spain; but these resemble one the other in hape and form onely, being in the substance of a different nature; for these to dian Nuts being opened with a Knife, yield a white and a most pleasant Kernel to the taft, having a little kind of an acidity with it, which is very favoury, and are as big again as the Pine-nuts are in Spain. Likewise in the Anis they have a fort of Fruit which the Spaniards call Manjar blunco, (which is a meat made of the Breatts of Capons beaten up with Rose water and Sugar) and they give it this Name: because that when it is divided in the middle it looks like two foomfulls of this Manjar blanco, or white Meat; within are certain finall black Stones, which are not to be eaten. This Fruit is about the bigness of a small Mellon, the Rine of it is as thick and hard as a dried Goard; within it is contained a most excellent inicy pulp, extremely delicious and pleafant to the taft, having a gratefull sharpness with it. There are many other forts of Iruits in the Antis, which grow wild, and of themselves, such as the Spaniards call Almonds, being Nuts which relemble them in their form and likenels, but are of a different nature and tall: for the Spaniards who came first into Pern, seeing and observing the fruits of that Countrey, and wanting names to give them, called them by fuch names as were given to those Fruits, which most resembled them in Spain; and so they gave the name of Almonds to these Nuts, because they were something like them. And now leaving these Fruits and seeds of no great importance, which are produced in the Antis, let us discourse of those which are of most esteem in other parts.

#### CHAP. XV.

Of the pretious Leaf called Cuca, and of Tobacco.

B UT above all we must not omit to discourse at large of the Herb which the Indians call Cuca, and the Spaniards Coca, being that which is and hath been a considerable part of the Riches of Perse, and such as hath yielded great benefit to the Merchants. And indeed the Indians did jurly esteem it for the rare Virtues and Qualities of it, which the Spaniards have not onely approved, but have also discovered several other specifick and medicinal Qualities belonging to it. Blue Valera, who was a very curious Person, and one who had resided many Years in Perse, and came from thence thirty years after my departure, hath wrote very largely of the many Virtues of this Herb, and such as he hath sound out by his own experience. His Words are these: "The Cuca is a small tender Tree, or Bind, about the height and bigness of a Vine; it produces not many Branches, but is full of delicate Leaves, of about the breadth and length of a Man's Thumb, it is of an excellent sinell, and very fragrant; the Spaniards and Indians do both give them the name of Cuca; the which is so much esteemed by the Indians, that they prefer it before Gold, or Silver, or pretious Stones. They plant and manure them with great art and diligence, and gather them with great care, pulling them leaf by leaf, and then lay them to dry in the Sun, and so the Indians eat them dry.

"The virtue and benefit of this Cuca is plainly observable in labouring Men,

"The virtue and benefit of this Cuca is plainly observable in labouring Men, who having caten it are much refreshed, and often labour a whole day in the "ftrength of it, without other nourithment. The Cuca moreover preserves the Body from many infirmities; and our Physicians make use of it, being dried and beaten to powder, to ease and assuage the Instanumation, or swelling of any "Wound; it is good to strengthen bones which have been broken, and expell colds from the Body, and to prevent them; it is good also to cleanse great "Wounds of Worms, and heal them; nor is the Virtue of it less being taken inwardly, than it is by outward applications. Besides all which Virtues it yields "a great."

" a great benefit to the Bishop and Canons, and other Dependents on the Ca thedral Church of Cozco, the Tithes of the Leaves of Cuca being their greatest Revenue; it is also a great Commodity amongst the Merchants; norwish flanding all which good Qualities of the Cuca, there are many, who being in norant of its Virtues have wrote against it; for no other reason, than because the Gentiles in ancient times did by their Diviners and Wizards offer this Cure to their Gods in Sacrifice; and therefore having been abused to Idolatry, they conclude that it ought for ever to be effeemed abominable and prophane. This Argument might be available, if it had been the cultome to offer this Heb onely to the Devil, but in regard that both ancient and modern Idolaters have oney to the Devi, but in regard that both ancient and indicent adolaters have made their Corn, and Fruits, and whatfoever grows above or beneath the earth, their Drinks and Water, their Wool and Clothing, their Plocks and Herd, and all things elfe, the matter and subject of their Sacrifices; we may argue from the fame foundation, that all those things are defiled and rendred as abominable "and unclean as the *Gueas* but to the clean all things being clean, let us read them to abhor and forfake their fuperstitious and idolatrous Worships, and let " us, using our Christian Liberty, receive those Blessings with moderation and thanksgiving. Thus far are the Words of Blus Valera. To which we shall add thus much farther, that this little Tree is about the height of a Man, in the planting of which they cast the feed in its green shell, and when it grows up. they then hoa and open the Earth for it, as they doe for Vines, supporting the tender twigs with stakes; and in planting they take great care that the tender toos be laid streight in the Earth, for with the least doubling they dry and within. they take likewife the leaf of every forig by it felf, and holding it between their fingers, they cut it with great care till they come to the Bud, but do not touch, for then the whole branch will wither; both the outfide and infide of this Leafin the greenness and shape of it, is like the Arbuteus, onely the Leaves are so thin that three or four of them being doubled, are not fo thick as that of the Arbuteus. I am pleased to find any fort of Fruits here in Spain, to which I may compare them; though the difference between them is fo great, that they may eafily be diftinguished one from the other. When they gather the Leaves they dry them in the Sun; but care is to be taken that they be not over-dried, for them they lofe much of their Virtue, and being very thin, foon turn into powder; nor will they bear much moifture; for they foon grow mufty and rotten; but they lay them up in Başkets of flit Caues, of which many fine ones are made in the Antis. With the Leaves of those big Canes, which are about the third of a yard broad, and about half a yard long, they cover the top of the Baskets, to keep moifture from the Leaves, which is very prejudicial to them; and to confeder the great pains and care which is taken to nourish this Cuea, and the provisions of all things which are made for it, we ought rather to render thanks to God for his abundant bleffings in the variety of his Creatures, than to believe or conclude that what we write is fabulous or incredible; if these fruits were to be planted or not rithed in other Countries, the charge and labour of them would be more than the

This Herb is gathered every four months, that is three times a year, and in the manuring of it care is taken to weed it often; for the Countrey being hot and moift, the Weeds grow apace, and the Herb fometimes increases so fast, that the feason for gathering of it advances fifteen days; so that sometimes they have sow Harvests for it in a year; the which a certain covetous Tithe-gatherer observing in my time, farmed the Tithes of all the principal and rich Inheritances and Possessions about Cozco, and taking care to keep them clear and clean from Weeds, he so improved his Revenue, that the year following the Farmer of the Tithes made two thirds more than what had been made in the preceding years; which caused a Law Suit between the Farmer and the Proprietor, but what the Issue was ofit, I, that was then but a Boy, did not much remark.

Amongst many other Virtues of this Cuca, they say it corroborates the Gums, and fortifies the Teeth, and that it gives strength and vigour to any person that labours and toils, onely by carrying it in his mouth. I remember a Story which I heard in my own Countrey. That a certain Gentleman both by Bloud and Verue, called Rodrigo Panoia, journying once from Corco to Rimac, met with a poor spaniard (for there are some poor there as well as here) travelling on foot, carrying a little Girl of about two years of age in his Armes; and being an acquaintance

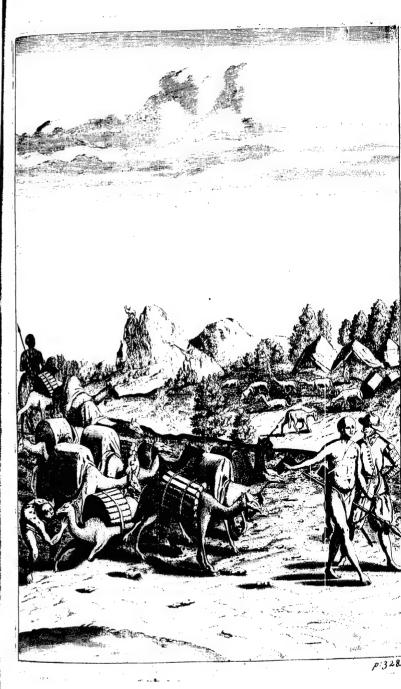
of this Pantoja, he asked him how he came to give himself the trouble of carrying that burthen; to which the person that was on foot replied, that he was poor, and had not money to hire an Indian to carry it: In this discourse with him Panion observed that his mouth was full of the Cuca; and it being at that time that the Supplied that the first shorted all things which the *Indians* did eat or drink, because they had been abused to Idolatry, and particularly they hated the Cuca, as a base and stinkning Weed, which gave cause to Pantoja to sak him farther, why he, being a Spa-niard, did use those things which the Spaniards hated; for his necessities could never be so great as to compell him to Meats or Customs unlawfull. To which the Souldier replied, that though he abhorred it as much as the Spaniards, yet necessity forced him to imitate the *Indians* therein; for that without it he could never be able to travell and carry his Burthen, for that holding it in his mouth, he found such resieshment and strength, that he was able to carry his Load, and perform his Journey with chearfulness. Pantoja wondring at this Report, related it to many others, who afterwards making the fame experiment thereof, found that the Indians made use of it rather for their refreshment and necessity, than for any pleafire in the tafte, which in it telf is not very pleafant or agreeable. Hereafter we shall discourse in what manner they carry it to Potos, and how they trade and make Merchandise of it.

As to that Plant which the Spaniards call Tobacco, and the Indians Sayri, we have already discoursed in an other place. Dr. Monardes writes many wonderfull things of it. As to Sarfa Pavilla, we need not speak much, since the Virtues and excellent Operations of it are already known both in the new and the old World, especially in the cure of the Venereal Difease, and other acute Diftempers: There are many other Herbs in Peru of those medicinal Qualities, that as Blus Valera faith, if they were well known, and fearched into by some experienced Botanist, there would be no need of bringing any Herbs or Drugs thither from other parts of the World. But our Spanish Physicians do so little addict themselves to the knowledge of Herbs growing in those Countries; that even the Virtues of those formerly known by the Indians are forgotten; which are so many, that the study of them is difficult and abstruce: the Indians know not their Virtues and Qualities, but distinguish them onely by bitter and fiveet; fometimes eating them raw, as we do Lettrice and Radishes, and fometimes they make pottage of them, and flew them with other things; and which the poorer fort make the best part of their Diet, having no flore or abundance of Fifth, or Flesh, to make their Food. The bitter Herbs, such as are the Leaves which they gather from the Bushes, called *Sunchy*, and the like, they boil in two or three feveral Waters, and afterwards dry them in the Sun, and keep them for the Winter provisions; for which also they gather all the little Snags and Cockles they can find on the Banks of Rivers, or on the Sea-Coaft.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Of their tame Cattel, and of the great Caravans, or Droves of them.

THE tame Cattel which God hath given to the Indians of Peru, are of run forts. which, as Blas Valera faith, are of a Disposition as gentle and ease as the *Indians* are themselves; being so tame, especially those which serve to carry their burthens, that a Child may be able to govern them. These are of two forts, some of a bigger kind, and some of a less; in general the *Indians* give them the name of *Llama*, and the Shepherd or Pastor of them, *Llama Michee*. Indians. flinguishing them one from the other, they call the greater Huanacullama, because it hath a likeness with that brave and fierce Creature, which is called Hanney being of the same shape with it, but different onely in the colour; the same He anacu varies as much in its colours as the Horses do in Spain, but the wild is of a dark Chefnut colour onely. This Creature is about the fize or bigness of the Hart or Stag in Spain, but resembles a Camel most of any other, the bunch upon the back onely excepted, but in proportion is but one third of its bigness; is Neck is long and finooth, the Skin of which being flead, the *Indians* used to make it gentle and supple, and being dressed after their fashion, served for soak to their Shoes; but because they had not attained to the Skill of Tanning of Leather. they always took off their Shoes when they were to pass wet, or Waters, because the moitture spoiled them, and made them like a Gut, or Tripe. The Spoiled made Reigns of them for their Horses, after the Fashion of those which come from Barbary, as also Girts and Cruppers for their Saddles. This fort of Cattelis ulefull both to the Indians and Spaniards, for carrying their Merchandise from and to what place they please; but commonly they chose such ways where the Comtrey is plain and even, as is between Cozco and Potocchi, being about two hundred Leagues; and likewise from many other parts they go and come to and from those Mines, carrying Provisions, Commodities of the Indians, Merchandizes from Spain, such as Wine, Oil, Conserves, and all other things which are consumed in that Countrey, and especially that Herb which is called Cuca. I remember that in my time they had Droves of that Cattel which carried burthens, formetimes fix a eight hundred, or a thousand in a Caravan; and that a drove of five hundred we esteemed as nothing. The burthen which one of these Beasts will carry is about three or four Aroves, (an Arove in Spain is about twenty five pounds weight) and will travel about three Leagues a day, which is about nine Miles. They are not to be driven beyond their usual pace, for if they are, they will tire, and lie down, and then all that can be done to them, cannot raise them, though they ease them of their Burthen, and take off their Saddles; for when they come to raife them up, they presently eject all they have in their Maw, or Stomach, into the Mouths, whence they cast it, if possible, into the Faces of those who disturb them; which feems to be the onely Revenge and instrument they are able to exercise, having no Horns like the Stag or Hart. Howsoever the Spaniards call them Mutton, or Sheep, though the difference between these and those be as much as we have before mentioned. And that these Creatures, nor any of them, may tire, and hinder the Travels of the whole Caravan, or Drove, they have always forty or fifty of them, which go loofe, and free of burthen in their company, and fo foon as they observe that one begins to tire, they presently each im of his Burthen, and lay it upon another, for if he once lies down, there is no temedy, though you kill him, to raife him again. The Flesh of this fort of Cattel is the best, and most savoury of any in the World, being both tender and who fome. The Physicians prescribe the Flesh of the young ones of four or five months old to their Patients, and prefer it far before Hens or Chickens.



which cause they solemnize a Festival to him every year. Though this fort of Cattel be great and large, (as we have faid) and the Journies long which they travell, yet they put their Masters to no charge, either in their Meat, or Shoeing, or Stable, nor in their Pack-faddles, or Girts, or Cruppers, or Stays, or other Utenfils which our Carriers use; for when they come to the end of their days journey, they onely throw off their burthen, and fend them to feed on the Grass which the Land affords, being at no charge, either of Straw or Corn, though they would gladly eat Corn, if their Mafters would be fo kind as to beltow it upon them. Then as to their floeing there is no need of it, for be-fides that they are cloven footed, they have a kind of a callous, or fpungy matter on their Feet, without a Hoof. Then for their Pack-faddles they have no need of them, because they have so much wood on their Backs as serves in the place of a Saddle, and keeps the burthen fast and close, which the Masters of them take care to lade in fuch manner, as that it may lie even, and well poised, and not touch fo far as to gaul the Withers; nor have they need of a Surcingle which our Carriers use, for the Beast wearing no Pack-saddle, all Girts or Cords may rub off the Flesh; howsoever many of them travelling in a Drove were tied one to the other, having 20 or 25 beafts running loofe, so as to ease and change the Burthens of those which were tired. The Merchants in travelling carried their Tents with them, which they pitched in the Fields, wheresoever they found it convenient to lodge and repose; and there unloaded their Merchandize; so that they never entred into Villages or Towns, because too much time and labour would be loft to put their Cattel to Grass, and then to go and fetch them up. In their Journey

Iourney from Cozco to Potocchi in going and returning they are commonly from months, befides the time that they are detained at the place for trafficks and pade ing up their Merchandize. One of this fort of Sheep, which was of the best kind was worth in Cozco eighteen Ducats, and one of the more ordinary twelve or thirteen. The chief Merchandize brought from that City was Cuca, and Cuc ments for the Indians. All that I have before spoken I have seen and observed with my own Eyes, but how things have been ordered fince my departure, I know not. I have traded with many of them for this commodity, as the Merchants went and came, and I am affured that some of these Travellers have sold a Basker of this Cuea for above thirty Pieces of Eight, weighty Money. And notwithlanding the value of their Commodities, and that these Caravans, or Droves of Shen. returned with thirty, forty, fifty, and an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, ye fuch was the fecurity of those Countries, and the little danger they had of Thiere or Robbers, that they lodged and flept in the open Fields, without other Guard or Defence than their own. The like fecurity and confidence did Men us in their dealings and Merchandize, as also in payment of their Rents, or Loans of Money, making no Conveyance, or Writing, or Obligation, belides their mess Word; which they kept and observed so punctually, that when a Spaniard had loft Money by Play, he would fay to the Winner, Tell fuch a one, that the Mount which he ows me he should pay to you, in satisfaction of what you won of me at Cards. The Words were esteemed as sufficient as a Bill of Exchange, for such was the Ingo. cence and the simplicity of those Countries, that no scruple was made in giving all belief and credence thereunto; and this was fo common, that whether the Pafon were a Merchant, or a Souldier, or a Lord of Indians, his Word would pak
and he was credited in every thing that he uttered; and fuch was the fecurity of
the ways, that it feemed the golden Age, wherein was no fraud nor violence
amongst Mankind. And as I understand it continues still so in those Countries.

In times of Peace, when all Wars were ceased, many Nobles and Gentlemen having no employment, thought it no diminution to their Honour, rather than to remain idle, to travell frequently to Potocchi, and trade in Cuca, and other Indian Commodities, but then it was not effeemed honourable to fell or buy them by parcek but by the whole sale; nor yet to deal in Spanish Commodities, or to sell by the yard, or open a Shop. Howsoever many of them were pleased to travell with their Commodities, it not being esteemed ignoble for Men of Quality to be Mechants; but then they did not go according to the pace of their Droves, but often went out of the way, and divertised themselves with their Hawks, and Spanies, Greyhounds, and Guns, hunting as their Cattel travelled; and then at night when they came to the place of repose, they would entertain themselves with what they had killed, perhaps with a dozen of Partridges, with a Huanacu, or Vicum, or some other fort of Venison, for the Countrey being wide and large, was full of all forts of Game: And in this manner entertaining themselves in going and w ming, their Journies feemed rather defigned for Pleasure than for Merchandile; which was an employment fo far from diminishing the Honour of the Noble Souldiers, that it was an addition to their Fortune and Reputation. Joseph Acosta in his 4th Book speaks much in praise of this bigger fort of Cattel, and of the profit which they bring. But of the leffer fort, which is of the same species with these called Pacollama, there is not much to be faid; for they are not usefull for Buthens, or in that manner serviceable: howsoever their Flesh is almost as savoury and as good as that of the bigger fort; and their Wooll is excellently good and long, with which they make three forts of Stuffs for clothing, which the Indian die with fuch excellent colours, that they never fade: But the Indians make no use of the Milk either of the bigger or leffer fort of this Cattel for making Cheele, or eating it otherwise; the truth is, they yield little Milk, and no more than suffice for the nourishment of their Young. In my time they brought Cheeses from Majorca to Peru, which were greatly effected. Milk, and the Dug, and Sucking are all called by the fame Word Numa. The Indiant have no Dogs, but fuch is are Curs, and not of that difference of Races, and Kinds, as we have in Europe. The Indian Word for a Dog is Alco.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their wild Cattel, and Vermine.

Before the time that the Spaniards came into Peru, the Indians had no other diffiction or variety of tame Cattel, but onely of the Paco and Huanacu, as we have before specified. Of their wild Cattel they had much more variety, of which they made notwithstanding the same benefit, and use, as they did of the tame, according as we have specified, in the Chapter of their Huntings, which they performed at their certain seasons. One fort of this wild Cattel was tame; the Flesh of which was very excellent and savoury, though not so good as that of the tame; in short, they resemble each other very much, both in Colour, Wool, Shape, and every thing else. The Males of these Creatures always keep watch on high Hills, whilst the Females are feeding in the lower Pastures, which so soon as they espie people coming towards them, they presently make a bleating, (which resembles the neighing of a Horse) to give warning to them to shy and save themselves; and then the Males say untill their Females come up, which they put before them, and remain themselves in the rere. The Wool of this wild Huanacus is short and course; howsoever the Indians made use of it for their clothing; and in my time the Spaniards used to take them with their Grey-hounds.

The Vicuma, which is another fort of wild Cattel, refembles the Paco; and is a neat Creature, but very lean, and yields great abundance of fine Wool. Acofta writes of the many medicinal Virtues which belong to this Creature; and as heferibes the Beafts and Fowl of all the new World, fo in reading of his Writings we ought to diffinguish those of Peru from other parts. The Vicuma is long legged, and higher than the biggeft Goat; the colour of its Wool is of a light Chefnut, or as some call it, Lion-coloured; they are so nimble and swift, that no Grey-hound can take them, and therefore they kill them with Guns, or take them in toils, as they practised in the times of the Incas. They seed commonly in the highest parts of the mountains near the Snows; the Flesh may be eaten, though it be not so shown as the Incas.

They have Fallow Deer and Stags in *Peru*, though they are much less than those in *Spain*, the *Indians* call them *Taruca*; they were in such numbers, in the times of the *Incas*, that they were common and tame, and would come into the Villages; and from all these wild Beasts they now take out the Bezar-stone, though in my time it was a thing not imagined, or sought for. They have certain forts of wild or mountain Cats, which they call *Ozcolio*, being of two or three kinds.

Their Foxes are much less than those in *Spain*, which they call *Atoc*; they have

Their Foxes are much less than those in Spain, which they call Atoc; they have also other little Animals, lesser than our House-cats, which the Indians call Annas, and the Spaniard Zorrinas; if their Smell were sweet, as it is stinking, it would surpas the Musk or Amber; but as it is fetulent, it is the most offensive smell in the World, and the stink of it is so strong, that it may be sineli at the distance of a hundred paces, and though the Doors and Windows are shut, yet the sink is so subtrieved that it will find an entrance at the Crevices: It is well that these Creatures are not in great numbers, for if they were, they were able to poison and stench up a whole Countrey. They have both tame and wild Conies, different from each other, both in colour and taste; they call them Co; some tame Conies have been brought from Spain, though the Indians will give little for them; and yet because their Countries do not abound in Flesh, they esteem them for great Delicacies, and eat them with much delight. There is another fort of Coney which they have called Viexacha, it hath a long Tail like a Cat, and is bred in the Mountains where the Snows lie. In the Reign of the Ineas, and many years after, untill the times that I remember they made great use of the Skins of these

Conies, fpinning and weaving the Wool into their fine Cloths, for variety of colours; the colour of which is a light grey, and is very gentle and foft in the touch, and so much esteemed amongst the *Indians*, that they used it onely in clothing for the Nobles.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Of their Lions, Bears, Tigers, Apes and Monkies.

THE Lions in Peru are few in number, and neither fo large nor fierce as those in Africa, which they call Pama. They have also some Bears, but not me. ny, because that the Countrey of Peru is not proper for them, not being mountain nous to that degree, as is agreeable to Beafts of that fierce nature; and, as they faid the Incas commanded in their Huntings, that they should be killed, and no quarter given to Beafts of Prev and Slaughter: The Bear is called Veumari. There are no Tigers, but onely in craggy and horrid Mountains of the Anie, where also Sepents are produced of a prodigious bigness, being of about twenty five to thirty foot long, which they call Amaru, and in compass as big as a Man's Thigh, where also are great numbers of Snakes, or lesser Serpents, called Machachuar, and poifonous Servents, and many other venemous Infects; but Peru is free of these ve nemous Creatures. A certain Spaniard, with whom I was acquainted, killeda Lioness of a prodigious bigness within the Antia, on that fide which borders to ward Cozco; which having lodged her felf in a high Tree, he shot her down with four Artóws, and ripping her up, found her with young of two Whelps, which were the Cubs of a Tiger, well known by their Spots. What the Word is for Lion in the general Tongue of Peru, I have forgot; and yet I cannot much reproach my memory, but rather lay the fault on my own neglect, not having in the space of forty two years either spoken or read in that Language, which I think is a very good excuse to any who would blame me for this forgetfulness. I think the Tiger is called Viuruncu, though Acolta calls a Bear Ocoronicos, according to the corrupt manner of the Spanish pronunciation. There is another fort of animal in the Antis, very like a Cow, but without Horns, nor yet so big'; the Hide maker a most strong fort of Leather, and, as some say, resists a Sword better than Buff, or a Coat of Mail. They have wild Boars in shape like our tame Hogs, but there are not many of this kind on that side of the *Duis*, which borders upon *Pars*: And as to matters on the other remote parts of the Antis, it is not my delign or purpose to treat. Monkies and Apes there are many, both great and small, some of them with Tails, and others without them. Of the natures of them we might fay much, but because Acosta hath wrote thereof at large, we shall use his own Words, as he fets them down in the 39th Chapter of his 4th Book, being agree able to what both the *Spaniards* and *Indians* report, and of what I my felf have been an Eye-witness: His Words follow. "There are great numbers of Man, "which are a fort of Monkies, found in all the Mountains, as well those which are on the Main land, as in the Islands in Anis; they are of the same species with " the Baboons, but differ in the length of their Tails, and in their proportion and fizes come of them being three or four times bigger than others: Some of them are all black, others grey, and others footted. Their activity and motion is fuch, that they feem to have reason, and discourse, leaping from one Tree. to another, in imitation of Birds. In Capita, as I travelled from Nombre de Dia to Panama, I faw one of these Micos spring at one leap from a Tree to another "Tree, which grew on the other fide of a Stream, which to me feemed most strange and wonderfull. Their manner is to sit on their Tails at the end of a Bough, and thence to throw themselves to what place soever they pleases " and when the diffance is so far, that they are not able to reach it, they use this

" contrivance; many of them getting together, one hangs at the Tail of ano-"ther, making a kind of a long Chain, with which fetching a long Swing, the lowermost throws himself with the help of the others, to the bough they aim at, where hanging by his fore feet, firetches out his Tail to the next companion, and so one helps the other, untill all are come over. The tricks and mimical postures which they have, are matters of great divertisement, and the actions which they perform in obedience to their Commanders. feem effects of "humane Understanding, rather than of irrational Creatures. I saw one of these " Monkies at Cartagena, in the House of the Governour, of which they related fuch strange things as to me seemed almost incredible. They faid, that they fent him often to the Tavern for Wine, with Money in one hand, and a Bottel in the other; and that when he was come to the Tavern, he would not deliver his Money untill he had received his Wine; if the Boys met with him by the way, and made a houting, or noise after him, he would set down his Bottel, and throw Stones at them, and having cleared the way, he would take up his Bottel and haften home; and that though he loved Wine exceffively, yet he would not dare to touch it, unless his Master gave him licence. They fay also, that if he saw a Woman at any time fine, and well dressed, he would presently pull her by the Cloths, and ruffle them in a strange manner. Perhaps fomething may be reported of these Creatures more than I have seen: howfoever it is most certain that there is no Animal in the World so fagacious. and so delighted with humane Society as this fort and race of Monkies: and hecause the Reports concerning the understanding of these Creatures are so strange that the Inflances thereof feem incredible to me, and would perhaps appear fabulous to others, I shall therefore omit to mention them, and onely bless and admire the Authour of all Creatures, that amongst all his works made for the use and benefit of Mankind, he hath shaped and fashioned a Creature so ridiculous in its form and postures, as serves to move laughter, and yield matter of Recreation and Divertisement to Man, whom he hath made Lord of this Universe. Some have written that Solomon brought his Monkies from the West-Indies, but I am of another opinion, and believe that they were fetched from the Eastern Parts. Thus far are the Words of Acolta, to which may be farther added, that these Apes and Monkies carry their young ones at their backs, untill they are able to shift for themselves; the young ones taking hold with their fore-feet about their necks, and class their hind legs about their middle; all which, besides their tricks and inventions before recited, ferve to demonstrate their fagacious dexterity, and shifts like experienced Souldiers in time of necessity. And because the noise they make is a Language, by which one understands the other; (as for my part I believe that all Birds and Beafts do by their feveral voices understand the meaning of their own species) therefore the Indians say, that they can speak, and that they disguise their want of speech to the Spaniards, lest they should send them to work in the Mines, and dig for Gold and Silver, and that in initiation of the *Indians* they carry their young ones at their backs. And thus much shall suffice to have spoken of Apes and Monkies.

#### CHAP. XIX.

Of their Tame and Wild-fowl both of Water and Land,

THE Indians of Peru have no tame fowl, but onely a fort of Ducks. In called by the Spaniards, because they have some kind of likeness with those in by the opaniaras, because they have some kind of includes with those in Spain: they are of an ordinary fize, neither so big, nor so tall as a Goose, nor we so little as a Duck, but something between both; the Indians call them Name, deriving their Name from Name, which is to suck, because they draw in their meat as if they were sucking; besides which they have no tame fowl in all the Countrey. As to Birds of the Air, and Water-sowl belonging to the Sea, or Rivers, they are of fuch variety, as is not possible for us to declare one one part of them; but we shall mention some of them which are most common There are Eagles of all forts, great and fmall, though not fo large as they are in Spain: They have Hawks of divers kinds, some like those in Spain, and other not; the general word which the *Indians* have for them is *Huaman*; the leffer for of Hawks have been brought thence into Spain, and are much effeemed: Those which in my Countrey are called Neblies are mettled Hawks, and long winged with large talons, and are of a blackish colour. At Cozco, in the year 1557, a certain Gentleman of Sevil, who was a great Faulconer, used all his Art to tenth and train up some of this Countrey Hawks for his pastime; in which he so far proceeded, as to make them come to hand, and to the lure readily at a far distance but could never teach them to prey upon any game, fo that he gave over his hope of doing any good with those Hawks. There are other Fowls which we may reckon with those of prey, which are of a large fize, called Cuntur, and by the Spaniards corruptedly Condor. Many of these sowls having been killed by the Spaniards niards, had their proportion taken, and from one point of their Wing to the olm measured fifteen or fixteen Foot, which being reduced to Yards, makes five Yang and a third: Nature, to temper and allay their fierceness, denied them the takes which are given to the Eagle, having their feet tipped with claws like a Hay howfoever their beak is strong enough to tear off the Hide, and rip up the Bowels of an Oxe: Two of them will attempt a Cow or Bull, and devour him; and it hath often happened, that one of them alone hath affaulted Boys of ten or twelve years of Age, and eaten them: Their colour is black and white, like a Magye; it is well that they are but few in number; for if they were many, they would very much destroy the cattel: they have on the fore-part of their heads a comb, no pointed like that of a Cock, but rather even, in the form of a Razor; who they come to alight from the Air, they make fuch a humming noise with the fluttering of their Wings, as is enough to aftonish, or make a Man deaf.

Acofta treating in his fourth Book concerning the Birds of the New World, fpeaks there particularly of the Cuntur; to which I refer those who are desirous to reade and hear of strange and wonderfull things; he there hath these words:

The Fowls which they call Cuntur are of a vast bigness, and so strong, that they are able to prey upon Sheep and Calves, and do often devour them. Acoft treating also of the little Birds which are in Peru, which the Spaniards call Towinsia, and the Indians Quenti, which are of a golden azure colour, finer and brighter than that about the Neck of a Peacock: they feed like Bees, piercing with their long sharp bill into the Flowers, and suck from thence a sweetness, and Honey, with which they are nourished: they are so little, that Acosta spreads in this manner of them: "In Peru there is a fort of Birds so little called Tomineius, that when I have seen them upon the Wing, I have much doubted whether they were Bees, or Butterstyes. And now that we have given a report of two forts of Birds, so different in the extremes, there is no person will wonder at what we shall say of those which are of a moderate proportion. There is a fort of great.

Birds which are black, called by the *Indians Fuguetu*, and by the *Spaniards Gallins-*243, they are great devourers of Fleft, and fo ravenous, that if they find any carrion dead in the Fields, they gorge themselves with it to such a degree, that they
are not able to fly; and when they find themselves in that condition pursued by
Men, they run away on their legs, helping their flight with the fluttering of their
Wings, vomiting up all their meat as they run; that it is pleasant to observe how
they spue up their prey with the same eagerness as that with which they devoured
it: Howsoever, if they are hardly pursued, they may be taken and killed; but Men
forbear to destroy them, considering that they are not good for meat; and being
a filly Bird, doth no hurt, but onely serves to devour carrion, and cleanse the streets
and wave from filthings. \*\*Acolla is of an opinion that it is a fort of Crow.

and ways from filthines. Acosta is of an opinion that it is a fort of Crow.

There is a fort of Sea-Birds which resemble these, such as the Spaniards call Aleatrates, (in English Sea-Mews) they are less than Bustards; they live upon Fish, and it is pleasant to see how they take them. At certain hours of the Morning or Evening, when the Fish usually play and rise upon the surface of the waters, which are the times also that these Birds are most hungry; they raise themselves high upon the Wing, from whence observing where the Fish move, they clap their Wings close, and fall with such a soop, like a Hawk, that they never mis of their prey; and sometimes dive with such a solity under water, following the shoals of Fish, that they attie again with their prey crossed in their beak; and then mounting in the Air, devour the Fish, and then try for others. It is very pleasant to see them stoop, and give blows upon the water, and dive into it, others to be at the same time in the Air, watching their opportunity; others having missed their stroke, or ise again: In short, to see at the same time 200 Hawks stooping, and mounting, like the Hammers of an Iron Mill. Besides these, there are slocks of Seabirds of a lesser fort; howsever, some are greater, and some are less; but in such sincedible numbers, that they will sometimes cover the Sea of Zur for two or three Leagues in length, and sly so close together, that for such a compass they even darken the Sky: And hereby we may admire the Providence of the Eternal Majesty, who hath created such a multitude of Creatures, and therewith a sufficient provision of Fish, wherewith to support and maintain them: And thus much for

ANow as to Water-fowl which belong to Rivers and Lakes in Porn, they are in great numbers; fuch as Herons, Wild-ducks, and Bran-geefe, and those which we call Shovelers; besides many others of a different kind, which we cannot exactly describe, by reason that we have not observed their variety with due attention: they have also Swans which live upon Fish, and are very white, without any mixture of black; they have long legs, very beautifull, and go always in couples,

or pairs, but are in no great number.

Book VIII.

#### CHAP. XX.

Of Partridges, Doves, and other smaller Birds.

Here are two forts of Partridges in my Countrey; one is like our Henswhid lay Eggs, and these are found in the desarts, which the Indians call Puna. the other is leffer than our Partridge in Spain, but the flesh is excellent good, and more favoury than the greater kind; they are both of a greyish colour, their bill and feet being white; they name them Turn from the found of the call which they make; the leffer fort are of the fame colour with our Quails, onely that their beskin different; to most Birds the Indians give Names according to the inarticulate voice or noise they make, as we shall hereafter declare. I know not whether the Partridges of Spain have been transported to Pern, to make a breed of them in that part of the World: They have Wood-Pigeons, or Ring-Doves of the fame or lour and bigness as they are in Spain, they call them Urpi; House-Pigeons have been brought thither from Spain, which the Indians call Castilla Urvi: They have Turtles of the fame colour and bigness as those in Spain, if not something large, they call them Cocohnay, from the noise they make, which sounds something like it. They have another fort of Turtle about the bigness of a Thrush, or Lark and of the same colour, they breed under the Eves of a House, like our Sparrows, and fome of them in the Fields, but those are few. They have a fort of small Birds of a greyish colour, which the Spaniards for the likeness of their colour, call Spaniards rows, but are different in their note, for these sing sweetly, and chirp not like the ordinary Sparrow: the Indians call them Pariapichin; they breed in the Mulwalls of Houses, or in Walls covered with Bushes, and sometimes also in the Field. They have another fort of finall Bird, which we call a Nightingale, by reason of its reddish colour, but differs in its note as much as white and blad, having that unpleasant found, that the ancient *Indians* effected it as unlucky as the croaking of a Raven. They have another fort of small Birds of a blackish to lour, which the Spaniards call Swallows, but they are rather Swifts, than Swallows, and come at their certain feafons; they commonly lodge, and make their nefts, in places where people do inhabit; for my part, I never faw either Swallows or Martens in the Hilly Countries of Pern. The Birds of the Plains are the fame with ours, but their Sea-fowl is much different. They have neither Plo ver, Heath-pouts, nor Thrushes in that Countrey, nor Cranes, nor Bustants; howsoever there may be others like them which I cannot remember.

In the Kingdom of Chili, which was within the Dominions and Em pire of the Incas; there were Offridges which the Indians call Suri, but their Teathers were not fo fine and curious as those of Africa; their colours are commonly grey: they take no high flight, but making use of their Wings and feet, flutter along, and run faster than a Horse. The Spaniards run them sometimes down with their Horses, but then two or three Horsemen chase them from one to another, untill they are tired. In Peru they have a fort of Starlings, which it in Flocks, and are of a black and grey colour; the Indians call them Chapma from the noise they make: they have also several other forts of Birds, greater and leffer, of which, for the variety of them, I am not able to give an account. remember that they have a kind of Kestrel, or Wind-hover, but of more spirit and courage than those which we have here, for those will adventure to pict upon small Birds. In the Plains of Tucay I once saw two Kestrels sly at a small Bird, which they had purfued a great way, and at last lodged her in a tall and thick Tree which is in that Plain. I left that Tree flanding when I departed from thence, which the Indians in the time of their Gentilism held, and ofteemed in Sacred, because their Kings did often fit under the shadow of it, to see the divertilements and parltimes which were represented in those Plains. These Kelteb following their natural fagacity, combined against the poor Bird; and one of

them entered into the Tree, whilst the other foared alost, being ready to take the Bird fo foon as the adventured out. When the Bird was forced out by the Kestrel in the Tree, the other without stooped at her like a Hawk which the Bird avoiding, returned again to the Tree, to shelter her self; then the Keftrel, which was on the Wing, entered in after her, whilst the other took her place in the Air; and thus they entered and fallied three or four times, untill at laft the poor Bird adventured to fly towards a building, where the sheltered her felf within the hole of a Wall, so little, that the Kestrels could not enter, and so escaped from being made a prey unto them. All this time some Spanjards with great delight and curiofity observed the many shifts of these Creatures, which nature had taught them to maintain and preferve themselves. They have wild Bees in divers manners; but such as are housed and hived at home, they have none, neither have the Spaniards taught the Indians as yet how to manage them. Their wild Bees hive themselves, and make their Honey in clefts, and hollow places of the Rocks, and hollow Trees: the Bees which are in the cold Countries make little Honey, because they want Flowers and odoriferous Herbs out of which to extract it; and that little which they do make is bitter, and the Wax black, and of no use: But in the warmer Countries, and more temperate, where the Climate yields good Herbs, and odoriferous Flowers; the Honey is excellent, and white, clean, and very fweet: This fort of Honey being carried into colder Countries, candies and turns to a Sugar; they highly efteem it, not onely because it is wholsome food, but also because it is medicinal, and very whol-

#### CHAP. XXI.

Of the divers forts of Parrots; and how talkative they are.

PArrots breed, and are found most commonly in the Mountains of Antis; they are of divers forts and fizes, some being greater, and some less: the little ones are less than Thrushes, and the great bigger than Kestrels; there are some all over of the same colour, others of great variety, being green, yellow, blew and red, especially those of the great kind, which the Spaniards call Ginacanaya, which are of all colours, especially their Tails, which are long, and the Feathers so fine, that the Indians on the days of the Festivals adorn themselves with them; from the beauty of which Feathers so me Bocacio took his subject to frame the pleasant Novel of Friar Cipolla. The Spaniards call these Parrots by divers names, according to the difference of their size and bignes: the least of all they name Periquillo, those that are bigger they call Canthillus, and such as are a size b gger, and which speak best, they name Loro; and the biggest of all, which are dull, and never speak, they call Ginacanayas, and are good for nothing but to look upon, for the beauty of their Feathers: Such as these they carry into Spain in Cages, for the delight they have in hearing them talk; but others, which are not to beautifull, nor diverting, they think not worth the care and charge of transporting so far.

In the Year 1555, and 56, there was a Parrot at Potofi, which was one of those called Loro, which was fo ready in its Tongue, that it would call the Indiana, as they passed along the Streets, by the names of their several Countries, such as Colla, Tunca, Huayrn, Quechua, &c. as if it had been acquainted with the several Sashes they wore on their Heads, to distinguish their Countries.

Upon a certain day there was a beautiful Indian Woman passing the Streets.

Upon a certain day there was a beautifull *Indian* Woman paffing the Streets very fine, and accompanied with three or four Servant-Maids, as if the had been fome great Lady, or *P.ulla* of the Bloud-Royal: So foon as the Parrot

X x

faw her, he fell into a great laughter, crying out, Huayru, Huayru, Huayru, which is a Nation the most base and contemptible of all the Indian: With which the Indian Woman was greatly ashamed, being laughed at by the people, who is great Numbers were always about the Parrot, hearing him talk; and when se came near he called her Cupay, which is Devil; the Indians which were by, approved the Saying of the Parrot, for they knew that she was an ordinary Woman disguised in the Habit of a Palla, or great Lady.

Some few years paft in Sevil, there was another Parrot of this kind, which did most horribly abuse a certain Physician, though unworthy of that name, being a mere Quack, as he passed the Streets; which he did so scurilously, and so much to the purpose, that the Doctor took it ill, and was really offended: Whereupon the Justice commanded the Master not to set the Parrot any more in the Street, upon penalty of forseiting it to the next person offended at his pass. The general word which the Indians have for Parrots, is Dritus; and when they hear a Man talk much, and obstreperously, with much noise, they call him Vitas, for the noise and chat which the Parrots make when they sly in great flocks is like the prate of a vain talking fellow, who, as the Divine Ariosso says in his twenty fifth Canto. Knows little, and talks much.

These Parrots, at the season of the year, when the Corn is ripe, shy our from the Anis, to seek their food; and being in great slocks, they spoil the Mayz, or Corn, whereseever they alight; they are very strong upon the Wing, and shy high: but the Guacamacas being a dull and heavy sort of Bird, go not out from the Anis: And all these different sorts of Parrots keep to their own kind; to make the Proverb true, that Birds of a Feather slock together.

#### CHAP. XXII.

Of the four famous Rivers, and of the Fish which is taken in those which belong to Peru.

Had almost forgot to give a Relation of the Fish which the Indians of Part have in their fresh-water Rivers of Peru; the which Rivers are many, and very great, of which, for brevity fake, we shall onely mention four. The full is that great River, which is now called the Madalena, falling into the Sealer tween Cartagena, and Santa Maria; the mouth of which, according to the Sucharts, is eight Leagues wide, having its head, or fource, from the high Mountains of Peru: The fierce swiftness of the current with which it falls into the Seas fuch, that for ten or twelve Leagues the forcible streams are fensibly perceived to reach into the Seas, the fury thereof contending with the Wayes of the Ocean The River Orellana, called fo by us, being diffinct from the Madalena, is, according to the Sea-charts, about fifty four Leagues wide at the mouth of it, though fome Authours onely reckon it for thirty, others forty, others feventy, mking their account with great variety; howfoever, for my part, I shall rather adhee to the opinion of Seamen, who are knowing and learned in Maritime affairs, and those whose business it is to fail over, and measure the Seas, and have made Sea charts and Draughts with great Art: the diversity of the opinions in the measures, is this, because some measuring just at the mouth of the River, from side to side, make it fifty Leagues; but fuch as draw their lines from the extreme points of Land, which extend into the Sea, may measure feventy Leagues, as is well known to the Pilots. The fource or head of those Fountains which make this Rives arises in the division of Cuntifuyu, being to the South-West of Cozco, and distant about eleven Leagues Westward from thence. This River, at the very head of it, is very deep, and not fordable, and is very swift and rapid, the streams there, of being contracted between very high Mountains, which from the bottom to the top, where the Snow is lodged upon them, measure thirteen, fourteen, and fisteen Leagues almost perpendicular. This River is the greatest of any in all Pern, wherefore the Indians call it Apurimac, because Apu signifies Chief, or Principal both in War and Peace: they call it also Capac Mayn. Capac signifying plentiall, rich, abundant, and Mayn a River: For as Capac was an Epithet, or Title given to their Kings, so they attributed that Title or Dignity to the Chief and Prince of all their Rivers. This River keeps its name, whilst it passes through the Countrey of Pern; but whether it loses its name afterwards or not, or that the Nations who live in the Mountains give it any other name, I am not able to

In the year 1555, by reason of the great Rains which fell that Winter, a vast part of the Mountain tumbled into the River, with fuch mighty and prodigious Rocks, as gave a ftop to the current of the water for three whole days; and fo remained till the water overflowing the ruinous Mountain which fell in, came at last to take its naturale course; at which detention, or stoppage of the water, the poor Inhabitants, which lived below, much admiring, and not knowing the reason thereof, concluded that the end of the World was come; and this floppage below caused the water to rise at fourteen Leagues distance above, being sensibly elewated as far as the Bridge, which is in the great and royal High-way leading from Cocco to Cindad Real. This River Apprimac runs North and South at leaft five hundred Leagues from the head and source of it to the Equinoctial; thence takes king a turn to the Eastward, it runs under the Equinoctial, fix hundred and fifty Leagues measured on a strait line, to the place where it falls into the Sea; but being measured by the turnings and windings of it, 'twill make fifteen hundred Leagues, as Francis de Orella reports, who failed down that River, in a Voyage he made in company with Gonçalo Piçarro, who went to make discovery of the Countrey of Canela, as we shall mention in its due place. The Chart of Navigation makes it on a strait line to be fix hundred and fifty Leagues without any doublings of the River. And though Merchants in describing the situation of places do not much meddle with in-land Countries, but those onely which lye on the Sea-coast, and those Rivers which fall into the Ocean: Yet in regard that this River is the greatest in the World, being above seventy Leagues in breadth at the mouth of it, and runs with so creat a stream and torrent, that it makes fresh water for above a hundred Leagues within the Sea; they have thought it worthy of their observation and enquiry: So that according to the Relation of Orellana (as Gomara attests) those five hundred Leagues which we mention in a strait line, will make two thousand Leagues with the turnings, and doublings of this River falling into the Sea directly under the Equinoctial; and it was called Orellana according to the name of this Gentleman, who failed over it in the year 1543.

Howfoever a discovery was made before that time of this River by the *Pinco-nu* of Sevil, in the year 1500; to which they then gave the name of the River of Amazons, because they observed that the Women sought with as much courage in defence of those parts, as the Men; the like instances whereof we have in our History of Florida. In that River there are many greater and lesser flands, and the tide flows from the Sea above an hundred Leagues up the River: And

thus much shall suffice to have said of this River.

Now as to that River which is called Marannon, it falls into the Sea about feventy Leagues to the Southward of Orellana, which is about three degrees of South-latitude, being about twenty Leagues wide at the mouth of it. This River iffues from fome great Lakes on the upper parts of Pern, which are filled by the Snow-waters that diffolve from the high Mountains which are covered with Snow. Now in regard that these two Rivers fall into the Sea, so near one unto the other, I am apt to believe that they make one River of these two, giving the name of Orellana to both these Rivers, so sar as the fresh water rons into the Sea. As to the River which the Spaniards call el rio de la plata, and the Indian Parabuay; we have in our second part given the reason, why this River was so called in Spanish, and copalained the signification of the Indian word; the Fountains of whose waters, like those of Marannon, have their head or source from the prodigious Mountains of the snowy desart, called the Corditlera, which passes through all the Countrey of Pern. This River many times overslows with rapid inundations all the Fields and Villages near the banks, and forces the people for three Months in the year, to

he ready with their Boats and Canoes, which they tye to the branches of Trees to fave themselves, untill those Flouds are over, having no other place wherein to secure themselves: It falls into the Sea about the degree of thirty five, being about thirty Leagues wide at the mouth; and yet here below it is narrower than about thirty Leagues above, where it is fifty Leagues broad; fo that joyning the breadth of these four Rivers together at the places where they fall into the Sea, we may say, that they measure one hundred and thirty Leagues in breadth, and may be reckoned amongst the Miracles and Wonders of Peru. Besides these four great Rivers, there are multitudes of other fmaller Rivers, which every-where fall into the Sea, as we may fee described in the Waggoners, and Sea-Mark to which I refer my felf; which if joyned together, would make greater Rivers than any we have hitherto mentioned.

And now in fuch vast Rivers we might rationally conclude, that great plenty of Fish were produced in them; but it is quite otherwise, namely in Peru, which is the Countrey I chiefly treat of; for with other parts I meddle not. Some antibute the cause of this scarcity of Fish in those Rivers to the rapidness of their streams, which are too violent for Fish to remain in; and there are very few places in those Rivers, where the Waters are still, or tolerably quiet. More over it is observable, that the Fish which is bred there, is of another and diffe. rent fort to that in Spain; they feem to be all of one kind, without scales the Head being broad and smooth, in fashion of a Toad, with a wide Mouth: How. foever, it is very favoury, and pleafant to eat; and the skin is fo delicate and fiveet, that it is the best Meat of all: they call them Challua, which signifies Fish Another reason why these Rivers of Pern, which fall into the Sea, are so ill stored with Fifth may be, because the Waters are shallow, as well as rapid; and vering the Winter they are too deep to be waded over.

In the great Lake of Triesca are great quantities of Filh, which though they are of the same quality and form with those in the Rivers, yet the Indians, to diffinguish them from others, give them the name of Suchi: they are so fat, that when they are fived, or flewed, they need no other greafe than their own. There's likewise in this Lake another fort of Fish, which the Spaniards call Bogus, the Isdian word for them I have forgot; it is a little small Fish, of a had taste, and a worse shape; and if I am not greatly mistaken, they have scales, and might well be called Harribuelas, or Sprats, for the smallness of them: both forts of these Fishes breed abundantly in that great Lake, having room enough to spawn in, and have fufficiency of feeding, which is brought down by the Rivers which fall into it. And thus much shall serve to have spoken of Rivers, and of the Fish which

the Waters of that Countrey afford.

CHAP.

#### XXIII. CHAP.

Of the Emeralds, Torquoises, and Pearls of that Countrev.

THE pretious Stones found in Peru, in the time of the Incas, were Torquoifes. Emeralds, and Crystal of the finest fort, though they were not acquainted with the manner how to work it: the Emeralds grow in the Mountains of the Province of Manta, which is within the Jurisdiction of Puerto Vieio; but yet the Spaniards have not been able, with all their endeavours, to find out the quarry of them, which is the reason that they are so scarce and rare; such of them as are found, are the best of that kind in all Pern: Howsoever from that. and other parts of the West-Indies, they have brought such great quantities of them into Spain, as have made them cheap, and difefteemed: howfoever the Emeralds from other parts are not to be compared with those of Puerro Viejo; the which grow in their Quarries, and take their tincture from the nature of the Soil from whence they are produced, ripening there with time, like fruit in their proper feafons: The Emerald, when it first begins, is of a palish white, partaking of a grey colour mixed with a green; then as it grows ripe, or towards its perfection, it takes at one end a tincture of green, perhaps at that end first which points towards the East, after which that pleasant colour disperses it self over all the Stone : fo that as the Stone is when it comes from its Quarry, fo it remains for ever after. I saw in Cozco, amongst many Emeralds, two especially of singular note, being of a perfect round shape, as big as ordinary Nuts, and bored through the middle; one of these Stones was complete, and in all parts perfect; the other in the middle, and at one of the corners, was perfect, and extremely beautifull; the other two parts, or corners, were not fo pleafing, being not come to their full beauty and perfection, howfoever were not much fhort of the best; but the other which was opposite to it, was foul, and little worth, having received but a faint green, and such as appeared worse, by the beautifull lustre of the others, so that it seemed a piece of green glass joyned to the Emerald. Wherefore the Master of that Stone cut off that part from the other, for which he was much blamed by curious and inquifitive Men; who were of opinion, that for proof and evidence, that the Emerald grows by degrees to perfection in the Quarry; he ought to have permitted them to remain together; and that the curiofity of the thing would have been more valuable than the Stone it felf. I then being a Boy, they gave me that part which was cut off to play with, which I still keep, not being of any value.

The Torquoise is a Stone of a blew colour, some of them of a more deep azure, and finer than the others, but not so much esteemed by the Indians as the

Emerald.

Pearls were not much used or worn in Peru, though they had a knowledge of them: the reason was, because the Incas, who were always more tender of the welfare and fafety of their people, than of their improvements in that which we call Riches, forbad them to expose themselves to that danger which is required in fishing for Pearls, which therefore were not in use amongst them. Since that time they are become to common, that Acoffa reports thus of them, which words we shall rehearse verbatim. "Since we have undertaken (saith he) to treat of the principal Riches, which are brought from the Indies, we must not omit Pearls, which the Ancients called Margarites; the value of which were at first so great, that they were esteemed Jewels fit and worthy onely for Princes and Royal Perfons: but now they are become so common, that even Neger Women wear Strings of them. Then afterwards in another part of this Chapter, he proceeds, and lays, That Pearls are found in divers parts of the *Indies*; but the place, "where they abound most, is in the South-Sea, about Panama, where those Islands are, which are called the Pearl-Islands: but the best and greatest quantity is

" found in the North-Sea, near the River called Hacha, where I understood how they fished for them, and took them; which is done with the great labour and hazard of those poor people, who will dive fix, nine, and sometimes twelve fathoms under water to gather the Oisters, which include the Pearls, and gow close to the fides of the Rocks; and having loaded themselves at the bottom of the Sea, they arife, and buoy up themselves again to the surface of the wa ter, and emptying their shells which they bring up into their Canoes, they then open them, and take out that Treasure, which good fortune hath present ted to them: the coldness of the water at the bottom of the Sea is great, and troublesome to the Divers, but much more laborious to hold their breath for quarter of an hour, and formetimes for a full half hour, during the time the they remain under water; the which cannot be performed by any, but the who have accustomed themselves to it from their infancy, and who use great abstinence, adventuring not to dive, but when they are fasting: Likewike coverousness in this people makes them the more abstemious, though it be the ver fo grievous: they drudge for Pearls in divers manners, and find them in find quantities, that they now string them in Neck-laces. In the year 1587, within my memory, there came from the *Indies*, for the King's account, 18 Mark weight of Pearl, with three other large Chefts of the fame, belides 1264 Mark weight for account of particular persons, and seven other bags full not weigh "ed: the report of which, at any other time, would have seemed incredible Thus far are the Words of Acosta, with which he concludes that Chapter.

And now hereunto I shall add two Stories about Pearls; one is, that about the vear 1 c64, they brought formany Pearls to Sevil for the King's account, that being heaped up into a hoard like feed, they were fet to fale in grofs to the higheft Bidde Out-cry being made of the fale to him that should give most, and the price agreed one of the King's Officers presently offered to him that had bought them 6000 Ducats for his bargain; and a certain Merchant called Prospero, who was skilled in that commodity, immediately laid down the Money; so the Pearls being to ken up, the first buyer remained contented with the advantage of 6000 Ducas which he had gained for one word speaking; and the other well satisfied with his bargain, hoping to get much more Money and benefit by so considerable a pared of Pearls. The other Story is this: I knew a young Man in Spain of low condition, and in great want; and though he were a Silver-finith by Trade, yet la tion, and in great want; and though he were a Silver limith by Irage, yether ving no Stock to fet up with, he worked as a Journey-man. This person lived in Madrid in the year 1562, and 63, and lodged with me at my Lodgings; and offerving him to play away all that he got by his work, I often chid him, and told him that I believed I should one day see him in very great misery: To which he replied, that his wants and miseries could not be greater than they had been, when \* Thirty fix he came on foot, and onely with 14 \* Maravedis in his pocket to Madrid. This fellow, to improve and better his fortune, resolved to go to the Indies, and dealing Pearls, for I knew he had fome skill in them: It happened that he was so success full in his Voyage, and in his profit, that he got an Estate of above thirty thou fand Ducats; and then to shew his Gallantry (for I knew both him and his Wife) he made him a large Coat of black Velvet, which he embroidered with fine Pearl before, at least fix fingers broad, and quite round the borders; which was very gallant, and agreeable to the new Mode; this Embroidery being valued at the least in four thousand Ducats. This Relation I have made, to shew the great quantities of Pearl, which have been brought from the *Indies*; besides those which we have mentioned in the third Book and sisteenth Chapter of our History of Florida, which are found in many parts of that great Kingdom, particularly in that rich Temple of the Province called Cofachiqui; the 18 Mark weight of Pearl, be fides the two Chefts which Acoff mentions to have been brought for the Kings ac. count, were all choice Pearls, and fuch as at feveral times were culled out by the Indians, and fet apart for the King's use and service, to whom a fifth part belonged of all the Pearls which were taken, and accordingly delivered into the Royal Wardrobe; from whence they were given out for adorning a Manto and Petticoat for the Image of our Lady of Guadalage; embroderying a whole Suit, fuch as the drefs of her Head, Frontlets, Surcoat, hanging Sleeves, and hem of her Garments, all with the finelt fort of Pearl fet in Diamond work: the Houle, or Chair of State made for this Image, which were usually of a darkish colour, were now covered with Rubies and Emeralds fet in Gold; by which it was apparent, by

whole command, and at whole charge those Artists worked, and to whole fervice the Catholick King did dedicate fo great a Treasure, which was immense. and beyond the abilities and magnificence of any other, than his onely who was Emperous of the Indies,

But to compute, and rightly to calculate the Riches of this Monarch, we ought to reade the fourth Book of Acofta, wherein are fuch strange discoveries of things in the New World, as are almost incredible. Amongst which I have been an evewitness my felf at Sevil, in the year 1579, where I saw a Pearl, which a Gentleman, called Don Diego de Temez, brought from Panama, and defigned for King Philip the Second: the Pearl was about the bigness of a Wallnut, and roundness of a Pigeon's Egg; it was valued in the Indies at twelve thousand Pieces of Eight, which make fourteen thousand four hundred Ducats. Jacomo de Treço of Milan, an excellent Artist and Jeweler to his Catholick Majesty, esteemed it at fourteen, thirty, fifty, and fometimes at a hundred thousand Ducats, that is, that it had no price; for in regard there was none like it in the World, and that there was none with which it might be compared, it was not capable of any estimation: In Sevil many went to see it for a fight, giving it the Name of the Foreigner. A certain Italian Gentleman at that time went about that City, and bought up all the choicest Pearls he could find for account of a Great Lord in Italy; when having purchased a String, or Chain of the best; yet being compared and laid by the Foreigner, they seemed like so many little pebles of the Brook. Those that knew, and were acquainted with Pearls, and pretious Stones, did aver, that it weighed 24 Quilats above any other that was ever known; but what that means, I am not skilfull enough to interpret. The Proprietor of this Pearl faid, that a little Neger Boy, which was not worth above a 100 Ryals, fished the shell, wherein it was contained, out of the water; which was fo cragged, and promifed fo little outwardly, that they were going to cast it again into the Sea; but yielding unexpectedly so great a profit to the Master, he was pleased in reward for the benefit to give liberty to the Slave; and in here, he was pleased in Carlot of the Master on whom sortune had bestowed so great a Treasure, the Inhabitants of *Panama* were pleased to make him their High Constable: the Pearl was never polified, because the Master would never consent that it should be touched, unless it were to bore a hole through it; for they hever attempt to alter the fathion or thaves of them, but ftring them as they come from the thells; fo that some of them come out very round, others long, others flat, others round of one fide, and flat on the other; but those which are in fashion of a Pear, are most esteemed, because they are not common: When a Merchant hath got one of this shape, he presently enquires, and makes search for another vyhich is like it; for being yvell matched, they rife double in their price; fo that when a Pearl, being fingle, is valued at a hundred Ducats; being afterwards well matched with another, doth prefently double its price, and both give a value to each other, because they are made the more fit for Chains and Neck-laces, for which they are principally defigned. Pearl is of a nature vyhich vyill admit of no polifhing, being composed of a certain shell, or tunicle, which covers it, and which decays with time, losing much of its lustre and brightness which it had at first; hovvsoever, when they take off the upper coat, or tunicle, of the decayed part, that which is under appears as oriental as it did at first, but yet with great damage to the Pearl, being confiderably leffened, at least one third of its bigness: Hovvsoever, the best fort of Pearls do never decay, and may be excepted from this general

pence.

Book VIII.

i

#### CHAP. XXIV.

Of Gold and Silver.

 $\mathbf{S}^{Pain}$  it felf is a fufficient witness of the Gold and Silver which comes from Pvv, considering that for the twenty five years last past<sub>2</sub> (besides what hath been for merly carried) there bath been every year transported twelve or thirteen Millions according to Register, besides that which hath passed without account. There is Gold found in all the parts of *Peru*, fome more, and fome less generally in every Province. It is found on the top or furface of the Earth, carried by ftreams and province. It is found on the top or furface of the Earth, carried by fifeams and currents, and washed down by great flouds of Rain, which the *Indians* gather and put into water, separating it from the Earth, as the Silver-smiths do the filing, which fall in their shops. That which is found in this manner, is called Gold in dust, because it is like filings; some of which are indifferently big, and about the falhion of a Mellon-feed, some are round, and others of an oval form; all the Gold of Peru is about eighteen or twenty Quilats, more or less, in goodness, only that which comes from the Mines of Callavaya, or Callabraya, is of the finest fortheine twenty four Quilats and better, as I have been informed by fome Gold-finishs in Spain. In the year 1556, there was digged out of the veins of a Rock in the Mines of Callahuaya, a piece of Gold Ore, of the bigness of a Man's head, in colour like the Lungs of a living creature, and indeed did fomething refemble it in the flane. having certain Perforations through it from one end to the other; in all which holes there appeared little kernels of Gold, as if melted Gold had been dropped in to them, some of them being outwardly in knobs, and others more inward: Those that understood the nature of Mines, were of opinion, that had that piece of Ore been suffered to remain, it would all with time have been turned into perfect Gold. In Cozco the Spaniards looked upon it as strange and unusual, and the Indians called it Huaco, as they did every thing which was wonderfull, and worthy of admiration; the which word also was used by them when any thing was abominable, or detectable in its kind. The Mafter of this piece of Ore determined to carry it with him into *Spain*, and prefent it to King *Philip* the Second as a curiofity greatly to be efteemed: But I was informed by those who were in the same Flort with him, that the Ship in which that person embarked was cast away, and that he was drowned, and all his treasure, with much more, perished with him.

The Silver is digged with much more labour than Gold, and refined with much

more charge and difficulty: There are many Mines in divers parts of Pern, but 1000 like those of Potosi, the which were discovered in the year 1545, being about sour teen years after the Spaniards first possessed that Countrey, as appears by the Record. The Mountain in which these Mines arise, is called Potosi; but why it is to named, I cannot tell, unless it hath some signification in the proper Language of that Countrey; for in the general Speech of Peru it hath none. It is fituated in the midft of a Plain, in form of a Sugar-loaf, is about the compass of a League at the bottom, and a quarter of a League towards the top, it is round, and very pla-fant to behold, flanding alone, and fingle in a Plain; which Nature hath adomed and beautified, having added comeline's to that fame, which its Riches hath made renowned, and efteemed in the World. Some Mornings it appears with a cap of Snow, the Climate thereabouts being fomething cold. That Mountain in the division which was first made fell to the share of Goncalo Picarro, and afterwards to Pedro Hinogofa, as we shall hereafter declare, in case we may be so fice, as to bring to light some hidden and secret practices contrived in the times of War, which Historians do often omit; fearing to disparage the Actions of great Men, and thereby create enmity and displeasure to themselves.

Acofia in his fourth Book writes at large of Gold, and Silver, and Quick-filver, of which every day there are Mines discovered in that Empire, to that I shall not need to write of them; onely I shall mention some sew remarkable things concerning those Metals, and how the Indians melted, and sounded them before the Spe

niards found out the use of Quick-filver; and refer the Reader, to satisfie his curiofity to that History of Acosta, in which he writes of all these Metals, and particularly of the Nature of Quick-filver, at large. 'Tis observable that the Mines of the Mountain Potofi were first discovered by certain Indians, who were Servants to Spaniards, called in their Language Yanacana; who under the feal of friendship, and promile of fecrecy, kept it concealed for fome time, enjoying to themselves the benefit of the first discovery; but finding the Riches immense, and difficult to be hidden, they could not, or would not, conceal the intimation thereof from their Mafters, who opening the first vein of Ore, found passage to a greater Treasure. Amongst those Spaniards, to whom this booty and fortunate lot happened, there was one called Gonçalo Bernal, who was afterwards Steward to Pedro de Hinojofa; this Man discoursing some short time after the discovery of this Mine, with Diego Centenes, a Gentleman of Quality, and other Noble persons, concerning the rich and foreading veins of this Mountain, declared it to be his opinion, that in case this Mine were digged, and the Silver melted, which it would produce, that Silver would become more common, and less valuable than Iron.

The which affertion I have feen made good in the years 1554, and 55, when in the War of Francisco Hernander Giron, an Iron Horse-shoe was worth five Pieces of Eight, or six Ducats, and a Shoe for a Mule rated at four Pieces of Eight, and two Nails for shoing vaand a Since for a system state Maravedis. I have seen a pair of Buskins, or Spatter- \* About ten lahes, fold at thirty fix Ducars; a Quire of Paper for four Ducars; an Ell of Valer-pence. the Cloths made of Sigovia Wool, their Silks, Linen, and other Merchandifes of Spain, were estimated: but the War was the cause of this dearness, because in the space of two years, that it continued, there arrived no Ships in Peru with the Commodities of Spain. Moreover, the great abundance of Silver which those Mines yielded, caused it to be cheap, and of no esteem; that a Basket of Cuea cante to be worth thirty fix Ducats, and a Bushel of Wheat valued at twenty four or twenty five Ducats; at like rates they fold their Mayz, and all their commodities for Shoes and Cloathing; and their Wine also was sold at excessive prizes, untill such time as it came to be imported in greater quantities: And though this Countrey be rich, and abounding with Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones, yet the Natives are the most poor and miserable people in all the World.

#### CHAP. XXV.

Of Quick-filver; and how they melted their Ore before they discovered that Mineral.

WE have in the foregoing part of this Hiltory fignified, that the Incan Kings had a knowledge of Quick-filver, but were unacquainted with the Nature, or Ule of it, and onely admired the lively and quick motions of it; howfoever, having observed some certain noxious qualities and effects it produced, such as stupesactions, palsies, and tremblings of the Nerves, the Kings, whose chief care was the safety of their people, (for which reason one of their Titles was, Lovers of the Poor) did absolutely sorbid their Subjects to use or meddle with it; and they being possessed with an apprehension of its noxious qualities, abhorred it to that degree, as not to think it worthy of their thought or word; so that they had no name for Quick-silver, unless they have coined one for it since the Spaniards in the year 1567, made a discovery of it; and if they had any before, they had certainly sorgot it, as Men are liable to doe, who have no knowledge or practice of letters. That which the Incas used and permitted to their Subjects, was a fort of Earth of a pure Vermilion-colour beyond expression, found in dust within the Mines of Quick-silver.

Ouick-filver; the Indians call it Tehma; that which Acofta calls Llimpi is of a Put ple-colour, and extracted from other Mines; for in those Countries they have Farth of all colours, which ferve us for Painting: But as to this curious Crimos with which the *Indians* are fo much affected, it is also forbidden to be extratal without licence. lest the people venturing themselves far into the Caverns of the Earth in the fearch of it, should prejudice their healths, and endanger their lives, and therefore the use of it is forbidden to the common people, and onely permit. ted to Ladies of the Royal Bloud; Men never use it, nor Women in years, he fuch onely as are young and handsome; who do not lay it upon their Checks our Women do in Spain, but onely draw it in streaks about the breadth of a flaw from the corners of their Eyes to their Temples; and in this manner it fermal very becoming. Other Fucus, or Painting, than this with Ychma, the Pallas of Piers Ladies did not use, nor was it their adornment of every days dress, but onely the when they would appear fine and well dreffed upon the days of the principal Feek when they always washed their Faces very clean, as also did all the common me ole. But the truth is, those Women who did much avail themselves of the beauty, and clearness of their skin, would for conservation thereof, lay a fond white stuff like Milk upon it, (of what they made it, for my part I cannot reliable but there they let it stick, and remain for the space of nine days, at the end of which being well dried, like a fourf on the skin, they would then take it off, and the complexion would remain much more bright and clear than before: But as in the Tehma, the Prohibition that was made against extracting of it, caused it tolk scarce, and of little use. And whereas a certain Authour says, that the helm did usually paint their faces in the Wars, and at their Festivals, it is a groß mistake, though perhaps some Nations might doe it, which were esteemed the mil

falvage and barbarous. And now we are to declare how they melted their Silver, before they found the use of Quick-filver: the manner was this. Near to the Mountain Porachia Potocli, (which is all one) there is another Mountain in the same form and share. but not fo great, nor fo high, called by the Indians Huayna Potocii, or the Potocii the Junior, as if they were Father and Son. The Silver, for the most part, is extraded from Hattin Potocsi, or the Elder Potocsi; in melting of which, they at first sond great difficulty, for not being able to make it run, it burnt away, or evaporated fmoak; of which the Indians could not penetrate the cause, nor discover a rend. But as necessity and coverousness make Men ingenious and contriving, so part cularly the Indians were infinitely industrious to find out some way to Meltiki Gold and Silver; at length, after many experiments, they happened to try the netting of a baser fort of Metal, which the lesser Porocli produced, consisting, for the most part, of Lead mixed with Silver; the which yielding more easily, melted, and run; and this being put into the Melting pots, together with the fine Shire and Gold, would immediately cause them to melt and dissolve; for which reson the Indians gave it the Name of Curuchec, which fignifies any thing that difform In the melting of which Metals, they observed a certain proportion of this corfer fort, for to fo much Silver they put fuch a quantity of this Curuchec, according as time and experience had informed their judgments; for all forts of Silverner not of the same fineness, though digged and extracted from the same vein; so the according to the quality and richness of the Metal, the quantity of Correction waste be applied. The Silver being thus mixed with more fulible Metal, they melted down in Earthen or Clay-pots, or Cryfobles, which they carried from place place: But in regard they had no use of Bellows to make the heat of their fix more intense, nor yet used Copper Pipes, which we have formerly mentioned wherewith to blow the fire; it often happened, that they could not possibly call their Silver to melt; of which the Indians not being able to comprehend there fon, did at length conclude, that it must be a natural blast of Wind which must doe this work: But then if the Wind were too firong, it would blow away the Coles, and cool the Metal, so that a temperate and easie gale was requisite: To procure which, their custome was to go upon the Hills by night, observing has the Winds fate, and there placed their Melting pots at such a height, highest lower, according as they perceived the force of the Wind. It was a pleafant in in those days to see eight, ten, twelve or fifteen thousand of these Fires burning at the same time, upon the sides of these Mountains ranged in order one by the ther. The first Melting of the Ore was made in this manner on the Mountains

but then the fecond time they founded it again in their Houses, blowing the fire as we have faid, with the Pipes of Copper, when they made separation of their Lead from their Silver. For in regard the Indians had not the knowledge of all those inventions, which the Spaniards have attained in the Art of separating Gold. and Silver, and Lead, performed by Aqua fortis, and other Ingredients; their way was by often Melting, to burn out the Lead, and to refine: By which we may observe, that the Indians had some knowledge of refining the Silver of Potosi, before the discovery of Quick filver; and still conserve that Art, though not so com-

monly or frequently known amongst them as formerly.

BOOK VIII.

The Mafters and Owners of the Mines, perceiving that by this way of Melting by natural Winds, their Goods and Riches were divided, and much embezelled by being dispersed into several hands; wherefore to remedy this inconvenience, they employed Day-labourers, who were Indians, to dig and extract the Metal; and then the Spaniards themselves melted down their own Silver; whereas before the Indians having extracted the Ore, for every hundred weight thereof agreed and flipulated with their Masters to return them such a quantity of Silver. By this good husbandry, and by the improvements they had made in the Art of Melting, they made great Bellows, which being placed at a diffance, would blow their fires into an extremity of flame. But this neither proving a ready way, they made an Engine with Wheels, carried about with Sails like a Wind-mill, or turned by Horses; which fanned and blowed the fire with great violence. Nor did this neither doe the work, fo that the Spaniards despairing of the success of their inventions. made use of those which the Indians had framed and contrived; and so things continued for 22 years, untill the year 1567, when by the wit and industry of a certain Portugal, named Henrique Garces, a great plenty of Quick-filver was discovered in the Province of Huanca, furnamed Villea, which fignifies Greatness.or Eminence: I know not for what reason, unless it be for the great abundance of Quick-filver which that Countrey yielded; which is so necessary in the founding of Merals. that without it there is great waste and consumption; and which hath been so usefull, that eight thousand Quintals of it have every year been spent in the service of his Majelty; and yet notwithstanding this great plenty of Quick-filver which was discovered, the Spaniards were for some time ignorant of the use which might be made thereof in the more easie extracting of their Silver; nor had they for the space of sour years after any good Assay-Master, until the year 1571, when a certain Spaniard named Fernandes, de Velasco, who had lived at Mexico, and learned the manner of extracting the Silver with Quick-filver, came to Peru, and taught the use of it to them there. As Acosta more largely and curiously relates, to whom I refer the Reader, who defires to be informed of many rarities and matters of this nature worthy to be known.

# Royal Commentaries.

# BOOK IX.

#### CHAP. I.

Huayna Capac caused a Chain of Gold to be made as big as a Cable; and his Reasons for it.

HE puissant and powerfull Haayna Capae being absolute Lord of his Empire, employed the first year of his Reign in performing the Funeral Solemnities of his deceased Father; and then afterwards, to the great joy and satisfaction of his people, made his progress in visiting divers parts of his Empire; and everywhere as he passed, the Curaeas came forth to meet and receive him, and the people strowed their ways with Flowers, and made Triumphal Arches with Canes and Rushes, covered with Roses and Flowers, and odoriferous Herbs; all places resounded with loud Acclamations of the people, repeating the August Titles of the Inca, especially the Name of Huayna Capae, Huayna Capae, which they often echoed, as that which contained most of Grandeur and Renown; the which he having deserved from his insancy, did now, as they believed, merit a greater advance of Adoration, being placed in degree of a God. Acosta writing in the 24th Chapter of his fixth Book in commendation of this Prince, hath these words: "This Huayna Capae was adored by his people in his life-time for a "God, and with that divine Worship which was never before used towards his "Ancestours, as ancient Men still living do remember, and relate of their own "knowledge. As this Huayna Capae had newly begun to make his Journey into divers parts of his Empire, news was brought him, that he had a Son and Heir born, who was afterwards called Huasser. This Child being greatly desired, filled all the Court with joy; and was so pleasing to his Father; that he returned to Cocco, to be present at the Entertainments which were made for celebrating the Festivals of his Son's Nativity, and was there received with all the evidences of joy, and cordial welcome, as could be possibly expressed. This Solemnity being past, which lasted for twenty days; the Inca, out of the abundance of joy, which he conceived for the Birth of an Heir, began to entertain thoughts of doing and contriving something extraordinary, and never fore invented against the time that his Son was to be weaned

350

who was Heir. Amongst divers other particulars of Greatness, in an extraodinary part instituted for celebration of this Festival, one was a Chain of Gold of that wonderfull bigness, as made it famous by report through the whole World, and yet was never feen by Foreigners, whose Avarice was as strong as their curiofity to fee a piece of fuch magnificence; the defign which the least had to make it, was this: In the Countries of Pern every Province or Nation had Dances properly belonging to their Countrey, different from others, by which they were diffinguished one from the other, as much as by the Dress mon their Heads; and these Dances were always constant, and the same, without any change or alteration of new Modes. The Incas had a fort of Dance which was grave and decent, without jumping, or capring, as others uled. Their Custome was for the Men to dance without admitting the Women into the Ring, and to class hands one with the other, reaching them out to the fore. most, until all were entred in, and chained as it were one to the other so that fometimes two or three hundred Men were concerned in the Dance according to the number of those present at the Festival; the which they be gan at some distance from the King, before whom they presented it. Their manner was to begin all at the fame time, and to make three fleps by rule, the first was back, and then two others forward, like the Chases and Coupes that we use in our Spanish Dances; so that giving but one step backward, and two forward, they ftill gained ground, untill they came to the middle of the place, where the *Inca* fate: as they danced they fang by turns, not to the themselves, so much as they would do, in case they all sang together; their Tunes were according to the measure of their Dances, and the subjects of their Songs were in praife of the prefent *Inca*, and his Ancestours, and those of the Bloud Royal, and of their Actions and Exploits performed in the time of Peace and War. The *Incas* also there prefent, and standing about the King. bore their part in the Confort, as those who were equally concerned in the merriment, and the King himfelf danced fometimes, to render the Fellival more folemn.

From this manner of clasping and linking hands one within another, the less Huayna Capac took his invention of making his Chain of Gold, esteeming that it would be much more stately and majestical to have these Dancers linked and fastened one to the other by this Chain, rather than by their hands. The purticulars of this Chain I did not hear from common report, but from my Old Uncle, whom I mentioned at the beginning of this Hiltory, who being a Perfon much pleafed with the remembrance of old Stories, told me that this Chain was so long, as would reach the length and breadth of the chief Market-place of Cozco, where they danced at the time of all their principal Fealts; and though it was not necessary to have it so long in respect to the Dance, only the Inca was pleafed to order it of that length, for greater State, and in honor to the Festival of his Son and Heir, in which nothing was to be deficient which might render it great and folemn. I shall not need to inform and trouble those who have feen and measured that Market-place, with an account of the length and breadth of it; howfoever to fatisfie the curiofity of fuch as have not been there, I dare to affirm, that that place North and South is two hundred common Paces in length, allowing two Foot for every Pace, and an hundred and fifty Paces East and West in breadth, taking in those Houses which the spuriands in the Year 1556, when my Master Garcitallo de la Vega was Chief Julito, had built on the side of the River; so that this Chain must have been three hundred and fifty Paces long, which make feven hundred Foot; and what I asked the fame *Indian* of the compass of this Chain, he held up his Hand. pointing to his Wrift, fignifying that every Link was of that bigness. The Accountant General Augustine Carate, in the 14th Chapter of his first Book having at any time occasion to speak of the Riches of the Royal Palaces belonging to the Incas, reckons up valt Treasures, and almost incredible, but I shall onely repeat what he fays particularly of this Golden Chain, which I have extracted verbatim.

"Gnayanawa, when he had a Son born, caused a Golden Chain of that weight to be made, (as many Indians still alive can testifie) that being fastened to the Ears or Luggs of two hundred Indians, it could scarcely be raised by them; and in memory of this remarkable Fabrick of Gold; the Child's Name was called Guasca, which in their Language signifies a Rope, or Cable, with the additional Title of Inca. And thus far are the Words of that noble Historian of Peru.

This rich and magnificent piece of Gold, together with other vast Treasures, This rich and magnificent piece of Goid, together with other variations, the Indians made away with, or concealed, so soon as the Spaniards invaded their Countrey, and so consounded them beyond all recovery, that no knowledge or intimation remains where any part of them is to be found: And in regard this rich and stately piece of Gold was compounded and framed onely for that time when the Prince an Heir was to have his Lock cut, and his Name imposed; they furnamed him Huascar, adding it to his other Names of Inti Cusi Hualpa; and because Hussea signifies a Rope or Cable, (for in the Language of Peru they have no Word for a Chain,) they, for better Grace of the Word, added R. the which took so much with his Subjects, that they for the most part called him Hualear, omitting Toti Cust Hualpa, which Word Hualpa signifies the Sun of Chearfulness. For whereas in those days the Incar became very potent, and that power for the most part raises in Men a Spirit of Pride and Vanity; so they began to be weary of those ordinary Titles, which anciently expressed their Grandeur and Majesty; and expected other Hyperbolies and Exaltations of Divine Attributes, which might raife them to the Heavens, and make their adoration equal to that of their might rate them to the Fleavels, and make their adotation equal to that in the God the Sun. So they called him Tini, which fignifies the Sun, or Phiening, Cufi Chearfulnefs, Pleafure, Contentiunent or Rejoycing. And thus much shall serve in Explanation of the Names and Titles of the Inca Huasear. Let us now return to his Father Huayna Capac, who having given order for the making of this Chain, and left sufficient directions for the fallion and fize thereof, (that so it might be ready against the time that his Child was to be weaned,) he prosecuted the Defign he had already began, of making a Visit to the remote parts of his Empire: the which having finished in the space of two Years, being about the time that his Child was to be weared, he returned to Cozco, where all things were prepared that could be contrived to make this Feast folemn, and joyfull, and full of divertilement; and then the Child received the Name of Hualcar.

#### CHAP. II.

Ten Vallies of the Coast are reduced, one after the other, as they lay in order; and Tumpiz surrenders of it felf.

Year being past after this Solemnity, Huayna Capac ordered that an Army of forty thousand Men should be raised, with which he marched into the Kingdom of Quitn, taking the Eldest Daughter of the King of that Country which he had Conquered, to be his Concubine, during the time of that Expedit which he had Conquered, to be in Solicuonic, during the time of that expedition; but first to prepare and hallow her, she was fent to remain some days in the House of the Select Virgins. By this Woman he had Atabualpa, and his Bothers, as we shall see by the sequel of this History. From Quity the brea descended into the Plains by the Sea-coast, and in prosecution of his Conquests he came to the Valley called Chimu, now Trugillo, which was the ultimate bounds to which his Grandfather the good Inca Tupanqui had proceeded, as we have already mentoned. From thence he fent his Heralds with the accustomary Summons and Offers of Peace and War to the Inhabitants of the Valley of Chacma, and Pascalman. These people having long been Borderers and Neighbours to the Subjects of the Inca. had from them been informed of the gentleness of their Kings, and the advantage of their Government, and therefore from a quick fense of so much selicity, returned answer, That they defired nothing more than to be Subjects to the Inca, to obey his Laws, and be ruled by him. All the other eight Vallies followed the Example of these two adjoining Provinces, being situate between Pr casmayu, and Tumpiz, and are these which follow, namely Canna, Collque, Ciul, Tucmi, Sayanca, Mutupi, Puchiu and Sullana; in the settlement of which Courties, and in the improvement of them with good Husbandry, and in making Acueducts to water their Glebe-lands and Pasturage, two years were spent, as ther than in the Conquest or Subjection of them, for they chearfully, and with free Will furrendred themselves to the Inca. During which time the Inca relieved his Forces three or four times, for in regard the Air of that Countrey was by and moift, and confequently unwholfome, he judged it fit for the better health of his Subjects, to change his Guards frequently, that fo the Difeases of the Countrey might not enter the Camp, before they were again relieved by an exchange of fresh Men.

The Inca having subjected these Vallies, returned to the Kingdom of Quite, where he remained for the space of two Years, that so he might adorn that Countrey with fumptuous Edifices, and flately Aqueducts, wherewith he advantaged and obliged that people. After which he commanded a levy to be made of fify thousand Souldiers, which being raised and armed, he marched with themalong the Sea-coast, untill they came to the Valley of Sullana, which is the nearest Sta to Tumpiz; from whence he fent his usual Summons, and Offers of Peace and War. The Inhabitants of Tumpiz were a fort of people more luxurious in their Diet and Habit, than all those who live on that Coast, and had already submitted to Obedience of the *Incas*; their manner was to wear a Garland on their Heads by way of diffinction, which they called Pillu. Their Caciques or Lords maintained Buffoons, Jefters, Dancers, and Singers, for their Pattime and Divertifement; but their Religion yet was vile and bafe, for they adored Tigers and Lions, and offered the Bloud and Hearts of Men in Sacrifice; they were lerved and obeyed with great Fear and Awe by their own Subjects, and feared by Strate gers; howfoever being poffeffed with dreadfull Apprehensions of the Inca, they had no heart nor courage to make opposition against him, and therefore return

ned Answer to his Heralds, that they were with all willing obedience ready to receive him for their Lord and Emperour: The like Answer was made by the Inhabitants of the Vallies upon the Coaft, and other In-land Nations called Chinana, Chintu, and Collonche, Jaquall, and others, seated on the neighbouring parts.

#### CHAP. III.

Of the punishment inflicted on those who killed the Officers of Tupac Inca Yupanqui.

THE Inca being entred into Tumpiz, raifed a strong Fortress, and put a con-siderable Carrifon into its backuit also a Tarrita Branch fiderable Garrifon into it; he built also a Temple for the Sun, to which he adjoined a House for the Select Virgins; the which Work being finished, he passed forward into the Countrey of those who had slain the Captains, Instructors, and Doctors of Religion, which his Father Tupac Tupanqui had formerly feated in that Countrey, for the better Government and Erudition of that people, as we have formerly mentioned. In memory of which treacherous Villany Huapra Capac fent his Messengers to them, commanding them immediately to repair to his Court, to render an Account of the wickedness they had perpetrated; and though they were conscious of the Fact, and trembled with the thoughts of the punishment they had deserved, yet they durst not refuse, or neglect the Summons, and therefore in due fense of their demerit they humbly approached the *Inca*, cafling themselves with all submission at his Feet. The Inca hereupon assembled all the Curacas, Ambaffadours, Counfellours, and Nobles, who were prefent at that Meeting, when his Father, at their request, sent his Officers and Instructors amongst them, the which they had treacherously murthered; and all of them appearing before him, a certain Colonel of the Army stood up, and made a Speech to them in behalf of the *Inca*; and in the first place upbraiding them with trea-chery, breach of their Faith, and cruelty, he accused them of Ingratitude, and want of Understanding; for that whereas they ought to have adored the Inca and his Officers, for withdrawing them from their brutish and bestial Life, to live like Men, with all the Comforts and Enjoyments of a rational Being; they on the contrary had barbaroufly and cruelly murthered the Authours and Instruments of their Felicity, to the great dithonour of the Sun his Father; for which offence they had deserved so severe a punishment, that if their whole Nation of both Sexes, and all ages were extirpated, and their Race extinguished, they were not able with the effusion of all their Bloud, to make expiation for this heinous crime. But in regard that Huayna Capac was an Inca to whose Nature Mercy and Clemeny were most agreeable, and whose Title it was to be a Lover of the Poor, he did freely forgive all the common people; and as to those Authours and Contrivers of this Murther, though they had all deferved Death, yet he was contented to decimate them, and every tenth Man to die, as his Lot should fall upon him, that so it might be evident, that the Inca had no Spleen or Harred to any in particular, but onely to punish Offenders, as Truth and Justice required. And farther, that a Mark and Tellimony of this Treachery might remain in the Memory of future Ages, the Inca commanded that the Curacas, and principal Personages of the Nation, Huancavillea, should have two of their Teeth drawn from above, and two from beneath, and for ever to be fo continued to them, and their Poflerity, and to remain as a Mark whereby to reproach the fallity of the Words pronounced with their Mouths, and the breach of the Promite of Fidelity and Vaffalage made to his Father Topac Yup.inqui.

BOOK IX:

These Nations received the Sentence and Execution of Justice with great Ho mility and Refignation; efteeming themselves very happy that the Institution of their punishment was no greater, fearing that it might have extended to a general Maffacre of them all who were concerned in this Treachery; for fince the time that the Empire of the Incas began to be dilated, nothing was punished with 6 much severity as Rebellion; which Crime being complicated with the vile for of Ingratitude, made the punishment inflicted seem easie, and not bear an equality with what the offence deferved; fo that when the whole Nation of Huangarith. With What the offence deterved, to that which are whose punished for all the reft, they supported the Sentence with Patience and Moderation; and their Curacus and Captains, willingly consented to have their Teeth drawn; and to shew their readiness herein, they made it the Badge and Diffinction of their Nation, drawing out the upper and nether Teeth of their Children, so soon as having shed them, they were grown again; whereby it is observable, that rude and barbarous People are as well pleased with Move ration in the Execution of Punishment, as others are in the Excesses of Re nefits.

I was once acquainted with an Indian Woman of Huaneavillea in Cozeo, who re counted unto me at large all this Story; the Men and Women, (as she said of that Countrey, did ufually boar their Noftrils, for carrying Jewels of Gold and Silver in them; and I remember when I was a Child, that a Neighbour of our called Coca, had a Horse of a Chesnut colour, which being broken winded, so his more easie breathing they flit his Nostrils, with which Novelty the Indian be ing much pleased, they called the Horse Huancavillea, in similar of one of the Nation.

#### CHAP. IV.

The Inca visits his Empire, consults the Oracles, and gains the Island of Puna.

THE Inca Huayna Capac having reduced those Provinces, punished the 0 fenders, and placed sufficient Guards and Garrisons for subjecting the prople, and keeping them in obedience, he returned to the Kingdom of Quinu, and thence taking a compass to the Southward, he proceeded to the Charcas by way of Cozco, being a Journey of above seven hundred Leagues in length. Health fent visitors to the Kingdom of Chili, from whence they brought much Gold to himfelf, as they had done to his Father; in which Travels he spent four Yeas and then resided two Years in Coeco. After which he raised fifty thousand Sol diers out of the Division of Chinchasigu, which is to the North of Cozco, commanders out of the Division of Chinchasigu, ding them to make their Rendezvous on the Frontiers of Tumpiz, whilst hein Person descended into the Plains, to visit the Temples of the Sun, of which that were many of great Devotion in those parts. In the first place he went to the rich Temple of Pachacamac, whom they adored for the unknown God; and there commanding the Priefts to confult the Oracle, who was the Devil, concerning the happiness of his Successes, answer was made, that he should proceed in his Pater prifes, for he should be prosperous in them, and in all others that he should un dertake; for that he was chosen for supreme Lord of all the four Quarters of the World. Hence he passed to the Valley of Rimac, where that famous prating Idol was feated, the which he confulted in compliance with the Capitulations which his Great-grandfather had made with the Tuncas, of which one was, that that idd should be always conferved by him in great veneration, and having received his Answer, which was full of Ambiguities and Flatteries, he proceeded forward to the Vallies which border upon Tumpie; where being arrived, he diffratched his

accustomary Summons of Peace and War to the Inhabitants of the Island of Puna: not far diffant from the Main Land is a fruitfull foil abounding with all things nereffary for humane Life. This Ifle contains about twelve Leagues in compassion the Lord of which was by Name Tumpalla, one of a proud and haughty Spirits for having neither by himself nor Ancestours acknowledged any Superiour, they domineered over their Neighbours, and thereby being at discord amongst themfelves, were the less able to make head or relistence against the Inca. Moreover this Tumpalla was vitious and luxurious in his Manners, and Way of living, for he kept many Wives, and Boys used after the fashion of Sodomites: they farefificed the Bloud and Hearts of Men to their Gods; which were Tigers and Lions, and the Fish of that Coast, which, because they yielded them Food in great abundance, were by them, as well as by the common Indians, adored for Deities. These People, when they heard the Summons of the Incu, were greatly furnised and troubled; to which, that they might return their Answer, Tumpalla affembled the principal Persons of his Island, and then with great sorrow declared unto them, faving, Here now appears at the Gates of our Honfes a certain Tyrant, who threatens to take from us all our Goods and Estates, and to destroy us all, unless we readily receive him for our Lord and Mafter; and now in case we should admit him, we must renounce our ancient Liberty, our Command and Principality, which for many Ages hath defeended to us from our Ancestours. Nor is this all, for this Foreigner not trusting to our Words and Fidelity, will compell us to labour, and creek Towers and Fortreffes, and having out Garrisons into them will force us to maintain the Charge and Expence, that so we may were he in any capacity of recovering our Liberty. He will moreover feize upon the best dour Pollellions, and take from us our Wives and Children, and the most beautifull of our Daughters; and what is most grievous, he will abolish our Laws, and ancient Customs, and in the place thereof impose new ones upon us, making us worship strange Gods, and throw down our own, with which we have been acquainted; and in short, live after their manner and pleasure, which is the worst of servitudes. Which being certainly our Case, Ileave it to you to consider, whether we had not better die, than be enslaved, desiring you to consult and advise me what course is best to be taken in this exigence.

The Indians hereupon debating the matter amongst themselves, did greatly bewail their own weakness and inability to relift so powerfull a Tyrant; and that the correspondence between them and their Neighbours being very ill, there was no hopes of making a firm and faithfull Confederacy with them; in confideration of which having no prospect of defending themselves, and that their resistence would produce nothing but Ruine and Destruction, they concluded at last, that the less evil was to be chosen, which was to submit to the Inca; and to make a Vertue of Necessity, to differable a ready Obedience until opportunity presented. which might acquit them of their fervitude. On this Resolution Tumpalla did not onely render a very favourable and gentle Answer to the Messengers fent by the Inca, but also dispeeded Ambassadours in his own Name, and in behalf of all his Dominions, to him with prefents, humbly offering himfelf, and all his People, to his Obedience; befeeching him to grace that Ifland, and his new Vaffals, with the favour of his Royal Prefence, which would be the greatest felicity that they could expect or imagine.

The Inca grationfly receiving this Address of Tumpalla, ordered conveniences to he provided for paffing his Army into the Island, that he might take possession of the Countrey; all which being prepared with great punctuality, and in such manner as the thortness of the time would permit, though not with such Pomp and Oftentation as Tumpalla did defire, the Inca passed into the Island, where he was received with Featting, and Dancing, and new Songs, purposely composed in Praise and Honour of Huayna Capac, and his mighty Actions. His Lodgings were provided in a new Palace, lately built, for the Inca was not to fleep in such a provided in a new Palace, lately built, for the *loca* was not to neep in men a Chamber where any other Person had reposed. The *loca* remaining here for some days, employed himself in giving out necessary Orders for the Government, by Laws, and the Institution of his Religion, commanding the Inhabitants thereof, and all the Neighbours of the Main Land, bordering thereabouts, which consisted of divers Nations and Languages, that leaving the Worthip of their former Gods, they should forbear to facrifice the Bloud or Flesh of Men, nor eat it,

Book IX.

nor commit any other wickedness of this nature; but that they should adore the Sun for their universal God, and live amongst Mankind with Justice and Reson. All which the Inca, whose Father was the Sun, pronounced, as Legislaw of that great Empire, from whose Words nothing was to be subtracted a diminished upon pain of Death. To which Tumpalla and his People answered, that they would comply with whatsoever the Inca should please to enjoin them.

The Solemnity of the Festival being past, which was provided for the more decent reception of the Inca, the Curacas had time to think upon what they led done, and considering more maturely of the rigour of the new Laws imposed upon them, and how contrary they were to their ancient Customs, and restrictive of those Pastimes and Divertisements they formerly enjoyed, they began already effects a foreign Subjection grievous unto them; and so being desirous to their old bestrality, the Islanders and their Neighbours conspired together to kill the Inca, and all his Army, in a treacherous manner, when the first occasion should occur. To which end they consulted their Gods, privately restorated the late aftions offered them for their Revolt and Desertion, they sacrificed to them, demanding their Counsel and Advice, whether the Enterprise they had now designed should be successfull and prosperous, or not: To this demander Devil gave them this Answer, That they should go on and be prosperous. Which these Salvages became so proud and consident, that they had immediately proceeded to the Execution of it, had they not been distinated by their Magician and Diviners, who advised them to have patience for a while, for that the Gods were willing to desert the Execution untill a better and more fecure opportunity.

#### CHAP. V.

The Islanders of Puna Massacre the People and Captains of Huaina Capac.

Hilft Huayna Capac was ordering and disposing Affairs for the better government of this People, and reducing them to a more political way of being, in the mean time the Guracas were meditating the manner how to execut their Treachery; an occasion for which seemed to offer it self, at the time when the Incas sending his Captains and Ministers with Commission and Instructions, to inform and teach the Nations of the Main-land the Laws, Doctrines, Outlons and Religion of the Incas, for he then withdrew his Forces from the Island, the Natives readily supplying Boats and Ferries to transport them into those parts which they were designed; which being performed, the Incas also returned to Tumpix, on other important occasions; for whereas these Princes employed the whole time to business for the better government of their People, they omitted nothing which might tend to their good, and to the happiness of their living, and their People.

So foon as the *Inca* was departed, his Captains and Officers prepared allo for their passage, ordering Boats and Ferries for their transportations, the which were provided by the Natives, in so simal a number, as were not sufficient to carry above half the People at a time, the which they purposely contrived, that had

being on the Water, they might be able to mafter that Party, and execute their Defign, which was to kill them all: Wherefore one half being embarked together with their Luggage, or Baggage, which was great, for it appertained for the most part to *Inoge* of the Bloud, who were near the Person of the King, and therefore carried many changes of Apparel with them, which were very fine: These Traitors which conducted the Boats being come to such a place of the Sea, where they had designed to execute their Treachery, cut the Cords and Ropes which bound the Timbers and Planks of the Boats together, which carried the beca, with which all the Captains and Souldiers being plunged in the Sea, the Affaffmares took up the Oars, and the Arms belonging to them, and therewith knocked them on the Head, not fuffering one of them to escape with his Life. And though some of them endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, for most of the Indians are very expert in that Art, yet it availed them little, for they were not suffered to come ashore by the People of the Coast, who preyed upon them in fuch manner, as the Maritime Creatures do upon those of the Land. In this manner these Islanders having gained their Victory, and made themselves Masters of the Spoils, which were very great, they with much Joy and Triumbh falued one the other from Boat to Boat, applauding the contrivance and fuccess of their Design, with which they were so elevated, being an ignorant and sottlish People, that they believed they had now not onely fecured their Liberty, but were able also to make themselves Masters of the Empire. With this vain opinion they returned to the Island, and with like Dissimulation and Wickedness of Intention, took aboard the refidue of the Captains and Souldiers, which remained for the fecond adventure, whom having brought to the fame place where the former Villany was perpetrated, they acted the like on them; and then returning home, they completed their Villany, by putting all the Governours and Mini-flers to death, whom the 1964 had left to doe Justice, and to oversee the Revenue belonging to the Sun, and to the Inca, the which they acted with incomparable Cruelty and Disdain of the Royal Person of the Inca, placing the Heads of the murthered at the Gates of their Temples, and facrificing their Hearts and Bloud to their Idols, complying hereby with the Vows they had made to their Spirits and Devils, in case they would favour and prosper their Attempt.

#### CHAP. VI.

Of the Punishment which was inflicted upon these faithless Rebels."

THE fad news of this unhappy fuccess being made known to Huayna Capac, he received it with as deep a sense of trouble, as the loss of so many Incas of the Bloud Royal, and of Men experienced in War and Peace did require, condoling much that their Bodies should be cast into the Sea, to be the Food and Prey of Fish; for which being sull of sorrow, he put himself into mourning Weeds, which amongst them is a Clothing of a greyish colour, called Vellori. But the Anger and Indignation of the Incas soon overcame his sorrow, for having affembled his People together, and provided all things necessary, he with the greatest Expedition imaginable passed into the rebellious Provinces upon the Main-land, and with great facility subjected the Inhabitants, who were a silly people, without Counsel, Policy, or Military Art, whereby to defend themicleyes,

From the Subjection of these people on the Main, the Inca passed into the Island. in his way whereunto he encountred a flight resistence on the Sea, but 6 filland, in his way whereunto he encountred a right reintence on the Sea, but so inconsiderable and weak, that the Enemy was immediately overcome, and yielded to Mercy. Whereupon the hote commanded all the principal Authours and Comfellours of this Design, together with the Captains, and Souldiers of chiefest note, who were in any wise concerned in this Treason, to be seized, and brought before his Tribunal of Justice; to whom one of the Generals made a gave Speech, representing to them the deformity of their Wickedness, aggravant with all the black circumstances that were possible; for that whilst the Inca wa studying their good, and endeavouring to reclaim them from their bestial and brutish Life, that they might enjoy a condition more agreeable to a rational Reorutin Life, that they might enjoy a condition more agreeador to a rational Being; that then they were contriving to disappoint his good Intentions by the worst and soulest Cruelties: Wherefore since Justice was to be performed, and that the *Inca* could not exercise that Clemency and Compassion which was natural to his Temper, they were to prepare themselves to receive a punishment agreeable to their demerit; upon which Sentence being passed, it was executed with divers forts of Death, according as the Inca directed; that it might have some conformity to that kind of Cruelty which they acted on the people of the Inca. they threw some into the Sea, with great weights to fink them to the bottom; other they ran through the Body with their Lances, and pitched them on Spears before the Gates of their Temples; others were quartered after their Throats were cut others they killed with their own Weapons, and others were hanged. Pedro be Cieça having at large described the particulars of this Rebellion, and the Revenue of it, writes afterwards these Words. "In this manner many thousands of his were killed and destroyed with different forts of death; the principal Ledit ders of which Councils were either drowned or empaled. And after Hungai Capute had done Justice upon these Offenders, he commanded that this diffinal from should be made the Subject of those Songs which were to be recited on their days, and times of Calamity, which they in dolefull Ditties composed in their Language and Proprieties of their Countrey. After which the hea at: tempted to make a Causey over the River Guayaquile, which certainly wasa great and magnificent work, according to those remains which to this day appear of it; but it was never finished according to the manner that he designed, being called to this day the Pass of Guayna Capa; all which being performed, " commands were given to obey the Governour who refided in the Fortreß of "Tumbez, with other matters relating to Government; and so the Inca departed from those Quarters. Thus far are the Words of Pedro de Cieça.

CHAP

#### CHAP. VII.

Of the Mutiny which arose amongst the Chachapuyas, and the Valour of Huayna Capac.

WHilft the King Huayna Capac was preparing for his return to Cozco, and to vifit feveral Kingdoms in his way, many Caciques, or Lords of those Provinces adjoining to the Goast, which were reduced to the Obedience of the Empire, presented themselves with such Gifts and Offerings as their Countries afforded; amongst which they brought a Lion and a Tyger, both Creatures most fierce in their Nature, and which the Inca very much esteeming, gave order that they should be kept and nourished with singular care; by which Creatures God was pleased to work so great a Miracle in favour of the Christians, (as we shall hereafter relate) that they were adored by the Indians for it, and esteemed like their

Incas for Children of the Sun.

The Inca Huayna Capac having provided all things necessary for government of Affairs both in War and Peace, departed from Tumpiz, intending in his Journey to visit one half of his Kingdom in length, as far as the Chicas, which is the ultimate Confines of Peru, and then taking a compals to visit the other half, which lies to the Eastward. And being in the Country of the Chichas, he employed and substituted certain Visitors to survey the Kingdom of Tucma, called by the Spaniards Tucuman, and others to visit Chile; and with them he sent many Vestments, of fuch fort as the Inca himself wore, and other Curiofities for the Goverments, of the forms the mean influent wore, and other Chronites for the Governours, Captains, and other Ministers of the King; as also for the Chrones, who were Natives of those Countries, that to they might in the Name of the mean oblige them with those Presents which were highly esteemed. In his Journey from Caeco, and his return thicher, he visited the Fortress, which was then almost finished, and the better to give Life and Encouragement to the chief Architects, and Labourers in the Work, he himself would lay his own hand to some part of the Edifice. This Visitation or Progress being made, in which four Years were spent, he commanded Souldiers to be levied, for the farther Conquest of Tumpie to the Northward, where it stretches it self along the Sea-Coast; and whilst he resided in the Province of the Cannaris, which was the way, as he thought, that did lead to Quin, that he might the better descend for Conquest of that Coast, News was brought to him, that the Inhabitants of the great Province of Chachapyar, feeing him engaged in Wars and Conquelts of great importance, took that opportunity to make a Rebellion; and confiding in the fathness of their craggy and mountainous Countrey, and in the numbers of their People, which were sturdy and flout, had made a general Massacre of all the Governours and Captains, and many of the Souldiery, which the Inca had appointed to prefide over them; and fuch of the Souldiers, whom they had spared, they made Slaves to serve them in the basest Drudgeries, and meanest Offices. So soon as this Intelligence was brought to the ears of Huayna Capac, with great anger and disdain, he countermanded all his Troops from their march on the Sea-coast, and appointed them to bend their course towards the Chachapuyas, resolving to punish them with the extremity of fevere Justice; and he in person went to the place which he had appointed for the general Rendezvous; and whilft his Army was gathering into a Body; he fent his Summons to the Chachapayas, requiring them to return to their Obedience, and declaring pardon to all such as thould voluntarily submit themselves: but these brutish people instead of returning a submissive and penitent Antiver, treated the Messengers with indignities and opprobrious words, threatning them with Death, if they did not immediately depart; the which rude treatment the Inca highly refenting, made all the speed imaginable to unite his Forces, and having affembled and fitted his Army, he marched to a great River, where they

found many Boats made of a fort of light and boyant Timber, which in the common Language of Peru are called Chuchau.

The *Inca* confidering that it was neither honourable, nor decent for his Person nor People, to pass over the water in companies of five or fix in a Boat, comman ded that all these Boats should be joined together, and linked one to one, by which means the Army might march over them in a more compact and conjoined Body as over a Bridge, the which was ordered with fo much Art and industry, that the Inca and his Army vaffed the Water in one days time; and then with all expedi tion marched in Battalia towards Cassa Marquilla, which is the principal Province of that people, intending to destroy and consume all before him; for as this Prince availed himself much in being esteemed gentle, and gratious towards his good and Joyal Subjects, so he defired no less to render himself terrible to Rebel

Traitors, and Falfifiers of their Word.

These Rebels being sensible of the just Anger of the Inca, and the power of his Army, and the punishment of their crime, which they too late repented; and all fo confidering the rude and brutish terms and treatment they had used towards the Messengers, which brought the late Summons from the Inca, with which do Dwellings, and with their Wives and Children, and fuch as were able to fee unto the Mountains. Howfoever the old people and infirm remaining behind, and being of more experience, and more confiderate than the others, recalled to mind the late generofity of this Huayna Capac, and the affurances they had, that he would never refuse the Instances and Requests made him by a Woman, did there fore address themselves to a certain Matron, named Chachapuya, a Native of Cali Marquilla, who had formerly been the Wife of Tupac Inca Yupangui the Great, be feeching her that the would with all the Prayers and Tears the was able, enderyour to divert the prefent danger, and appeale the Wrath of the *Inca*, perfunding him notwithfranding the late provocations, to receive the people to pardon and mercy, without which there could be no hopes, or other expectation than a total ruine and defolation of that Province.

This Matron confidering her felf involved with the her family in fame Define tion, readily inclined to this good Office, and fo with Women of all Ages, with out admitting one man into their company, the went forth to meet the Inca, whom finding about two Leagues distant from Cassa Marquilla, she boldly prostrated by felf at his Feet, and with great presence of mind, expostulated in this manner with him: Sir, faid the, where is it you are going? Do not you confider, that full of Rage and ledignation you are going to destroy that Province which your good Father gained, and added to be Empire? Consider I befeech you, that you are proceeding against the Rules of that Cleman and Piety which are natural to you, and that you are going to execute that Defolation and Destruction in your anger, which you will repent with much remorfe, so soon as you return to your fober and natural temper. Reflect I befeech you on your Title of Huacchacuyac, while is a Lover of the Poor, and a Deliverer of the Distressed; the which generous Quality ya cannot exercise at a more scassonable time, when you may manifestly evidence to all the Wall the compassion you have for humane frailty. Remember, Sir, that your Father conqueredits People, which, though unworthy such a Patron, are yet your own, and therefore let not year Fury fo far transport you in the punishment of this People, and in the unprofitable effusion & their Blond, which may blemish your ancient Praises, and eclipse the bright character you have of being descended from the Sun your Father. Consider that how much the greater the crime is which you pardon, fo much the more will your Clemency and Piety bee exalted and admired, and the memory of your Ancestours be rendred more Pretious and glorious by the proof and exercise of this Vertue, which they have derived unto you. It herefore my Petitus is, that you would vouchfafe to receive this People unto pardon; and if not, that at last fince I am a Native of this Province, you would went your Anger and Revenge first upon mi, and thereby doe me that grace and favour, that I may not live to behold the entire Defired tion of my People. The Matron having uttered these Words, was filent, and then all the other Women, that were with her, lifted up their Voices and Cries, repeating often the Titles of the Inca, faying, O thou Child of the Sun, thou Lover of the Diffressed, thou Great Huaina Capac, have pity on us, and pardon our Fathers, our Husbands, our Brothers and our Children.

The Inca herewith was ftruck dumb for a while, confidering the Reafons which Mamacuna had given him, which being feconded by the Cries, and Tears, and Sighs of the Indian Women, the Anger of the Inca began to moderate and affuage,

with which going towards his Mother-in-law, he raifed her from the ground : and then faid to her. Well dost thou deserve to be called Mamanchic, or the common Mother (he would have faid the Mother of me, and thy people) fince thou haft been to provident, as to forefee the Mileries which were coming, and to provide that remedy against them, which was agreeable to my Honour, and the Glory of my Father's Memory : For which I most heartily thank thee, being assured, that in case I had given way to my rage. I had to morrow repeated the actions of this day. Well half thou performed the office of a Mother towards the people, in redeeming their lives from destruction; in which, since thou half been to faccessfull, whatfoever thou half defired of me, thall be accomplished; and consider, if there be any thing elle which thou wouldst require of me, return therefore with happiness to thy people; pardon them in my name, and offer them what other grace and favour thou feelt convenient : And for the better assurance of this my pardon, take with thee the four Incas, who are your Sons, and my Brothers, without other attendance than their own Menial Servants, to whom I shall give no other Commission, than onely to settle them in peace under a good and wholsome Government. Which being said, the Inca returned with his whole Army, commanding them to march along the Coast in profecution of his

The Chachapuyas by this grations Act of Clemency being convinced of their errour, became afterwards most loyal Subjects to the Inca; and in remembrance and gratitude for fuch high and fublime generofity, they hallowed and effective that place Sacred where this discourse had passed between the *Inca* and his Motherin-law, fencing it about, that for ever after, neither Man, nor Beaft, nor vet the Fowls of the Air, should fet their foot, or tread that Sacred place: For fecurity of which they encompassed it about with three Walls; the first was of Stone rarely polified, with all its Cornifies; the fecond was of rough and ruffick Stone, for better fecurity of that within; and the third was of Clay, or Sun-burnt Bricks, for defence of the other two, being more exposed to the weather: Of which fome Reliques and Ruines still remain, and might have endured for many Ages, had not the Covetoulness of the New-come Guests overthrown those

Edifices in the Quest of Riches.

#### VIII. CHAP.

Of the Gods, and Customs of the Nation of Manta; of their Subjestion; together with many other Barbarous Nations.

H Dayma Capac having fitted and prepared his Camp in order to the Conquest he had formerly defigned along the Sea-coast, he arrived at the Confines of that Province, which was called Manta, within the jurisdiction of which lyes that Harbour, which the Spaniards do now call Puerto Viejo, or the Old Haven: the rea-fon of which Name, we have already given, at the beginning of this Hiftory. The Natives of this Countrey, and all the Inhabitants for many the gues on the Sea-fule Northward, observed the same Customs, and the same Idolatrous Religion; Worthipping the Sea and Fifh, of which there was great abundance, ferving them both for food, and for Gods: They also adored Lions, and Tygers, and Serients of incredible bigness, and other creeping creatures, as they best fansied: But above all in the Valley of *Manta*, which was the Metropolis, or chief place of all that Country; they Worshipped an Emerald of a prodigious bigness, being not much less than the Egg of an Oftrich.

At their principal Festivals they exposed it to publick view, so that the Indians came far and near to Worthip it, and offer Sacrifices to it, bringing Prefents of leffer Emeralds; the Priests and the Cacique of Manta telling the people, that the Offerings of the leffer Emeralds, which were the Children and Off-fpring of this

Воок ІХ.

great One, were the most pleasing and acceptable Sacrifice that they could make to this Goddess; the which doctrine being inculcated into the people by the m verousness of the Priests, was the occasion that vast numbers of Emeralds were amaffed together in this place, where they were afterwards found by Don Pedra Ja Alvarado, and his Companions, of which Garcilafo de la Vega, my Mafter, was one when they were employed in the Conquelt of Peru: but they being unkilling Lapidaries, were of opinion, that these Stones, if they were true, and not Glife could never be broken; and therefore in the trial of them broke the greateff me of them with Hammers upon an Anvil: But the great one, which was their God defs, was conveyed away by the Indians in fuch manner, to foon as they under flood that the Spaniards had invaded their Countrey, that with all the diligence and menaces which could be used, it could never be recovered; as also other use and immense treasures which have been lost and embezled in that Countrey

Royal Commentaries.

The Natives of Manta, and the parts adjacent, and especially those that he along the Coast (though we must exempt the Serranos, who inhabit within the Land) did use and profess openly, and without shame, that abominable vice of Sodomy, and were more addicted to it than all the other Nations we have be fore mentioned, as guilty of this fin. Their Marriages were contracted one dition that the Parents and Friends of the Bridegroom should first enjoy the Bride before the Husband. Those which they took in the War they flead, and filling their Skins with Ashes, they hanged them up at the Gates of their Temples

in fignal of Victory, or in the publick places where they danced.

To this people the Inca fent his accustomary Summons, requiring them either to submit themselves to his Empire, or prepare to defend themselves by Ams: But this people of Mana had a long time fince been well affured, that their force was not sufficient to result the power of the Inca, though they had been able to have made an Alliance with the neighbouring Nations; for confidering that the were a brutish fort of people, without Government, Ulnion, or Law, there was no possibility of reducing them within any terms of confederacy; and therefore they all with much facility submitted themselves to Huayna Capac. The Inca to ceived them very gratioufly, treating them with kindness and rewards; and he ving placed Officers and Governours over them, and Instructours to teach them their Religion, Laws and Customs, he proceeded afterwards in his Conquelt to another great Province called Caranque. In the parts adjacent there were many other Nations, all brutish, living without Law, Religion or Government. The Conquest of them was performed without any difficulty, for they never attempt ted to defend themselves; and if they had, it would have been to little purpole, being all of them, though united together, an unequal match for the power of the Inca. In the Subjection and disposal of these people, the same rules and methods were used, as with the former, over whom Governours and Instructours were less to prefide, that they might rule and teach them. Proceeding forward in the Conquests, they came at length to other Provinces more barbarous and fortilh that any as yet inhabiting along that Coast; for the Men and Women cut and stalks their faces with tharp flints, and moulded their Childrens heads into a deformed shape, different to what nature had given them: For so soon as their Infantsura born, they clapt a finooth Plate upon their foreheads, and another on the hink parts of the head; the which was straitned every day harder and harder, until they came to the Age of four or five years; by which time the head was grown broad on each fide, and confequently the forehead low, and the face contracted in the length. And to make themselves yet more deformed, they cut of the lit behind, and the the crown of the head, leaving onely locks on each fide; normed these locks of hair combed, or pleated, but frisled and frowted, to make this countenances yet more monftrous and deformed: their food was for the most part Fifh, (for Fifhery was their chief employment) likewife they are Herbs, and Roots, and fuch wild Fruits as the Woods produced; they went naked, and we hipped the Gods which their Neighbours adored. These Nations were called Apichiqui, Pichiqui, Sava, Pecllansimiqui, Pampabnaci, and the like. These peoples ing reduced, the Inca proceeded to another Nation, called Suramifu, and thento another named Pallan, which is fituated directly under the Equinoctial line; and these were yet more barbarous than the rest, for they owned no Gods, nor ed the thoughts of a God ever enter into their confideration; for they were not all ciated in any political communion, nor had they Houtes, but lived in hollow

Trees, which are very capacious in those Mountains; they had no propriety in Wives, nor Children, but mixed together as they cafually met, and uted Sodomy in an open manner: they knew not how to cultivate the Land, or doe any other thing which is conducing to humane life. Their Bodies were naked without any habit; their Lips they cut and flashed both within and without; their Faces they painted in four quarters, with divers colours; one part was yellow, another blew; another red, and another black, changing the colours as they thought fit: They never combed their heads, but fuffered their hairs to grow long and matted, being full of straw, or dust, or any thing that fell upon them; in short, they were worse than beafts. In the year 1560, when I went for Spain, I remember I faw some of these people at a place where we touched to take fresh water, and remained there for three or four days; and there these people came out to us in their Boats made of Rushes to trade with us, and fell us their great Fish, which they struck with their Fisgigs; which they performed with such dexterity, that the Spaniards took great pleasure to see them, and would bargain for them before they struck them: their price was made for Bisket and Fleft, for they had no value for Silver: their Privities they covered with leaves, or barks of Trees, not for the shame they had of them in the way of common modelty, but out of respect to the Spaniards in short, they were falvage and barbarous above imagination.

Royal Commentaries.

It is faid, when Huayna Capac observed the barrenness of those Countries, being nothing but Mountains; and the bestiality of that nasty people, which was so stupid, that he despaired of ever reducing them to a tolerable Oeconomy; that then he should say to his people, Come, and let us return again, for these descrive not the Honour of our Dominion. At which words the whole Army saced about, and returned, leaving the people of Passau in their ancient filthiness and brutality.

#### C H A P. 1X.

Of the Giants which were in that Countrey, and the de-Aruction of them.

**B**Efore we conclude our Hiftory relating to the affairs of this Countrey, we cannot omit one notable particular, which the Natives by tradition from their Forefathers have received, telling us of certain Giants which came to that Countrey by Sea, and landed at that Point, or Cape, which the Spaniards call St. Helen's, because they first discovered it upon that day; and though the Spanish Writers mention Giants, yet there is none who treats of them fo much at large as Pedro de Cieça doth, who took his information from the people of that Countrey, where these Giants resided, we shall make use of his Relation, and rehearse his words verbatim, as he fets them down; for though Joseph Acosta, and the Accountant-General Angultine de Carate touch those particulars; yet none describe them so much at large as Pedro de Cicçus, whose Words are these, in the 52d Chapter of his Book: "Seeing that there are many reports of Giants in Peru, which, according to common fame, landed at the Cape of St. Helen, which lyes near to Puerto Viejo; I have thought fit to declare my opinion in the case, without regard to the variety of common report, which often magnifies things above the truth. The Natives of this Countrey having received it by tradition from their Fathers, tell us, that many Ages paft, there was a fort of Men of an extraordinary fize, which arrived at that Countrey in great Junks; they were so large, that a Man of our ordinary flature reached but to their knees; and that their bodies being proportionable thereunto, (as we may measure the body of Heren-"les by his foot) were strange monsters to behold: their Heads were great, covered with long hair hanging to their shoulders; their Eyes were as big as Sau-Aaaa

cers; they had no Beards; some of them were cloathed with the Skins of Beafts, others were naked, and without other covering than long hair, which nature had given them. They brought no Women with them, but being actived at this Point, they landed, and seated themselves in the manner of people under Government, of which there remain some Ruines to this day: But integrared they sound no water, they set themselves to make Wells, which they die ged out of the hard living Rock, so that they may continue for many lags, and which speak the great and mighty strength of those robustious Men; and being very deep, they yield a most sweet and pleasant water, very cool, and wholsome to drink.

These great Giants, or over-grown Men, having seated themselves, and pro. vided Cifterns for their Drink, the next thing was to make a fufficient provi fion for their Victuals; for they had already almost consumed the whole Colle. trev; for one of these great Men was able to eat as much as fifty of those ordi nary people, that were Natives of the place; fo that food beginning to want they supplied themselves from the great quantities of Fish, which they took from the Sea, which yielded to them in great abundance. They lived with great abhorrence, and in ill correspondence with the people of the Countrey, for their Women, they could not use without killing them; and the Native, so " that and other causes, as much detested them; but being weaker than they, the " Indians durst not attempt, or affault them, though they often entertained Con-"fultations in what manner to take advantages upon them. Some years being passed, since these Giants resided in those parts, and having no Women firm them, with whom to couple for propagation of their race, their numbers began to diminish; and wanting the natural use of Women, by the motion and instigation of the Devil, they burned in Lust one towards the other, and used Sodomy publickly in the face of God, and the Sun, without shame or research one to the other. The which abomination being detelfable in the fight of "God, as the Natives report, it pleased his Divine and pure Majesty to punish " this unnatural Sin, with a Judgment extraordinary, and agreeable to the enomity of it: For being one day all together conjoined in this deteftable Act, there iffued a dreadfull Fire from Heaven, with great noise and thunder; and imme diately an Angel proceeded from this flame with a glittering and flaming Sword, with which, at one blow, he killed them all; and then the Fire confumed them, leaving no more than their bones and skulls, which it pleafed God to fuffer a " reliques to remain for an everlasting Memorial of this Judgment. Thus much is the Relation of the Giants; the which we have ground to believe, because the bones of Men are found there of an incredible bigness; and I have heard spain ards fay, that they have feen the piece of one hollow Tooth to weigh above half a pound of the Butcher's weight; and that they had feen one of the Shankboos of an incredible length and bigness: besides which evidences, their Wells and Cisterns are clear testimonies of the places of their habitation. But as to the parts from whence they came, I am not able to render any account.

In the year 1550, being in the City de los Reyes, when Don Antonio de Mendaça was Vice-king, and Governour of New Spain, there were certain bones of Mendigged up, which were of Giants, or Men of an extraordinary proportion; and I have heard also that at Mexico there were bones digged out of a Sepulchre, which for being of an extraordinary fize, might be the bones of Giants: By which testimony of so many persons, it plainly appears, that there were Giants, and those bones might be the reliques of those mighty Men, of which we have already stocken.

At this Cape of St. Helena, (which as I have faid is upon the Coaft of Pen, and bordering near to Puerto Viejo) there is one thing very confiderable, and that is a Mine, or Spring of Tar, of fuch excellent quality, and which iffues in that plenty, as may ferve to Tar a whole Fleet of Ships. Thus far are the Words of Pedro de Cieça, which we have faithfully transcribed out of his History, to shew the Tradition which the Indians have of these Giants; and the Spring of Tar which ifsues out about that place, which is a matter also very observable.

#### . СНАР. Х.

Of the Words which Huayna Capac uttered relating to the Sun.

THE King Huayna Capac (as we have faid) commanded his Army to return from the Province called Paffau, the which he made his extreme and frontier Countrey to the Northward; which having done, he returned again to Cozco, vifiting his Provinces in the way, doing them all the favours he was able, and administring Justice to those which did demand it of him.

Returning at length to Cozco, after this long Journey of some years, he arrived there about the time that the principal Feast of the Sun was to be celebrated, called Raymi. And the Indians tell us a story, that upon one day of the nine, that this Festival continued, the Inca took a liberty to fix his eyes upon the Sun, which was a freedom yet unknown, and esteemed a prophanation so to doe, or to behold the circle wherein he moved; on which object, whilst for sometime he continued his sight, the High Priest, who was one of his Uncles, and stood next to him, said, Inca, what is it you doe? know you not that this is not lawful?

Hereat the King withdrew his Eyes for awhile, but prefently after lifting them up again, fixed them upon the Sun; which the High Priest observing, reproved him for it, and told him, Sir, confider what it is you doe, for you not onely doe an action which is unlawfull in it felf, but you give ill example and scandal to all your Court. and the people of your Dominions, who are here present to perform that venerable adoration which they owe to your Father, as their sole and supreme Lord. Hereupon Huayna Capae turning to the High Prieft, told him, that he would ask him two Questions, which he required him to make answer unto: I being (faid he) your King and universal Lord; is there any of you so bold as to command me for your pleasure to arise from my feat, and take a fourney to those parts whereunto you shall direct me? How, replied the High Priest. can any person be so impudent and daring? Is there any Curaca ( said the Inca) the most rich and powerfull of all my Subjects, who will adventure to disober my Commands, in case I should dispeed him post from hence into the most remote parts of Chili? No, replied the High Priest, there cannot certainly be any who dares to disobey you, or refuse your commands even to death. Then (faid the King) if it be fo, there must be some other whom Our Father the Sun takes and esteems for a more supreme, and more powerfull Lord than himself; by whose Commands he every day measures the compass of the Heavens, without any intermission, or hour of repose; for if he were absolute, and at his own disposal, he would certainly allot himself some time of cessation, though it were onely to please his own humour and fancy, without other consideration than that of liberty and change. For this Speech and others of the like nature, which the Indians reported of this Prince, the Spaniards conceived fo great an opinion of his judgment and understanding, that they believed the fubtility of his wir would very eafily have comprehended, and given admission to the Doctrines of the Catholick Faith. A certain Spanish Captain, who might have heard this Story of Huayna Capae, for it was commonly discoursed in Pern, did make himself the Authour of this Saying, and recounted it to Acosta for his own. This Acofta, in the fifth Book of his History of the New World, mentions this particular Saying, which is attributed to *Huayna Capac*, but names not the person by whom it was uttered: but reports, "That there was a certain *Inca*, a person of a subtile wit, and refined understanding, who observing how his Ancestours had always adored the Sun for a God, seemed to wonder at it, and faid, that it was impossible for the Sun to be God. For God was certainly a great Lord, who formed and acted all his matters with quiet and fettlement; but that the Sun was a thing always in motion, which was contrary to the unalterable Being of God: His reason was admirably good and sound; and such as being well explained to the Indians, might effectually have convinced them of their errours and follies. Thus far are the Words of Acofta; with which

he concludes that Chapter. The *Indians*, who were very fuperfittious and ferupulous in their Idolatry, interpreted this unpractifed liberty which *Huayna Capac* took in beholding the Sun, to be an ill Omen of Iome unhappy fuccefs. But this conceit concerning the Nature of the Sun, was not (as I hear) primarily to be attributed to *Huayna Capac*, but that he received it first from his Pather *Tupac Inca Tupangui*, who uttered fomething of the like nature.

#### CHAP. XI.

Of the Rebellion of the Caranques, and their Punishment for it.

THE Inca Huayna Capac taking his Circuit through the feveral Provinces of his Empire, which was the laft Journey he made; news was brought him, that the Province of Caranque, which was one (as we have faid) that was the latest conquered in the utmost Confines of Peru, was risen into rebellion; for being a fort of barbarous and cruel people, fuch as offered the bloud, and heads, and hearts of Men, whom they had killed, in facrifice to their Gods, and ate Man's fleil ; for not being able to bear the Laws of reason and good manners, which were given them, especially that which forbad the eating of Humane flesh, they had joined with the neighbouring Countries in Alliance and League, intending to make a general Infurrection: For this reason they held many secret Meetings, and gathered people to surprize and kill the Governours and Ministers of the Inca, together with the Souldiers and Garrisons which were set over them: And whilst matters were thus preparing for execution of their delign at the time appointed, they diffembled their submiffion and treachery with the greatest demonstrations of fidelity and kindness imaginable, that the Incus being thereby become more confifidelity and kindnefs imaginable, that the *Incas* being thereby become more condent of their Loyalty, they might with the more facility, and lefs danger, find an opportunity to cut their throats. The Plot being laid, and the time come for the execution of it, they without any remorfe killed all the *Incas*, and others which prefided over them, offering their heads, hearts and bloud to their Gods in factifice, by way of acknowledgment for being freed from their fibjection to the *Incas*. They then devoured their flesh, and drank their bloud with much greedinefs, for being debarred for fome time from that food, they longed for it; and partly in revenge, and partly from a voracious appetite thereunto, they are with fpight, fatisfying both their palate and their anger. The advice of which being come to Huayna Capac, he was greatly troubled, and immediately diffeeded away his Captains with an Army to execute justice for this great offence, whilst he in person kept at some distance, observing the success of this affair: The Captains perion kept at tone diffrance, concluding the tector of the accordingly invefted the Caranques; but first, according to their usual cultome, they fent Propositions of Peace and Amnetty, in case they would return to obedience and submission of the Inca. But these barbarous Rebels were so far from accepting these terms, that they impudently rejected, and scorned them; and so ill treated the Messengers, that they hardly escaped from their hands. Of which Huayna Capae being informed, he refolved personally to assail them with his whole Army, putting all to fire and fword before him. The Rebels fought with great obfinacy, and the Incas honourably acquitted themselves to revenge the affiont to their King; fo that on one fide and the other many thousands were flain: But whereas the power of the Inca was, as to that people, invincible; they in a short time began to abate in their courage and hopes; so that not daring to fight in the open Plains, they betook themselves to the Woods and Mountains, and to defend themselves in difficult passes. But such was the Power and Military Discipline of the Incas, that they entirely defeated the Enemy, taking many thousands of

then Prifoners; the most culpable of which, and the most active in this Rebellion, to the number of two thousand, part of which were Carangues, and part Allies with them, were put to death, having their throats cut within a Lake, and their bodies sunk into the deep; the waters of which being stained with the bloud, the Lake was for ever afterwards called Tabuarcecha, or the bloudy Sea, in a perpetual Memorial of this rebellious crime, and the punishment of it. Pedro de Cicca mentioning this particular, reports, that twenty thousand of them suffered this punishment; perhaps he means, that so many might be killed in this War on both sides.

Royal Commentaries.

The Inca Huspina Capac having executed this justice in the punishment of Rebels, departed for Lairu, being much troubled, that during his Reign, such enormous wickednesses should arise, which should require his extreme severity and rigour in the just punishment; being an action as much contrary to his natural inclination, as it was to the custome and practice of his Ancestours, who most availed themselves on the Titles of Pious and Mercifull: He was moreover much concerned, that these unhappy accidents should concur in his time, and not in the Reign of his Predecessor; having no example, or precedent of so much cruelty, unless it were in the case of the Charcas, which happened in the Reign of the Inca Virace-that. Perhaps the matter being well considered, it might be a fore-runner of that grand rebellion and desection, which was the destruction of the Empire, and ruine of the Bloud-Royal, as we shall now see in the sequel of this History.

#### CHAP. XII.

Huayna Capac makes his Son Atahualpa King of Quitu.

THE Inca Huayna Capac (as we have before noted) had by the Daughter of the King of Quitu, who was Heir to that Kingdom, a Son named Atahuby, who was a person of great understanding, and of a quick wit and apprehenfion; he was also of a subtile, jealous, and cautious temper, naturally courageous, and addicted to War, of a good shape, and gentile body, with a pleasant Air in his mouth, as have commonly all the *Incas* and *Pallas*, which are Ladies. These Endowments of mind and body were so pleasing to his Father, that he loved him entirely, and would have him always in company with him; and would have made him his fole Heir and Succeffour to his Empire, but that he could not difinherit his Eldest Son Huascar, who claimed by Right of Primogeniture a title to all the Estate and Empire of his Father: Howsoever, as to the Kingdom of Quiwhere feemed fome colour of justice to dissember it from the Empire, and confer it in right of his Mother on her Son Atabuaha, the which being the define and intention of Huayna Capac, he sent for the Prince Huasear, then at Cozco, to come to him, and in a sull Assembly of his Captains and Curacas, spake to his Empire Capacital Capaci legitimate Son and Heir in this manner: It is well known, Prince, that according to the ancient Custome and Canon of our Ancestours derived to us from our first Father Manco Capac, this Kingdom of Quitu belongs to your Crown and Inheritance; having ever been maintained for a rule unto this day, that whatfoever Kingdoms or Provinces have been conquered, have ever been annexed to the Imperial Crown, of which Cozco is the chief Cuy and Metropolis: But in regard I bear fo tender an affection towards your Brother Atahualpa, that it would grieve me much to fee him poor ; I could therefore with you would confent to part with the Kingdom of Quitu, that fo I might bellow it upon him; for though the Inheritance in right be yours, yet confidering that that Kingdom was the Patrimony of

Conquest of many other Countries, which are adjacent to your Frantiers, and pay you for the release of this Kingdom by the acquisition of many more; which if you think fit to grant, I shall then depart with contentment out of this World, when I go to rest with our Father the Sun.

The Prince Hunsear answered his Father with a chearfull frankness, telling him

that he was over-joyed of this opportunity, wherein he might demonstrate his readines to obey his Father the *Inca*, in any thing which he might esteem for his service; and that if it were necessary for the better accommodation of his Brother Androdya, that he should release other Provinces, provided it may be to give his Father satisfaction he would, esteeming nothing so dear and valuable as his

pleasure and contentment.

368

Hungha Capac having received this obliging Answer from his Son Hunghar, gave him leave to return to Cozco, and then contrived the ways in what manner to lettle his Son Arabunipa in the Kingdom of Quitu, adding other Provinces to his Crovn and Dignity; he also bestowed upon him several of his Captains of best experience, and furnished him with part of his Army; and, in short, omitted nothing to render him great, though it were to the prejudice of the Prince, to whole right the whole Succession and Inheritance appertained: And being a most tender and indulgent Father; and passionate in the love of this Son, he designed to be an Assistant to him in the Administration of all the affairs of his Kingdom, during the time of his life: the which resolution was taken both out of care and favour to his Son, that so he might hay a good soundation to his Kingdom, and also that he might the better keep the new Conquests lately made upon the Sea-coast, and last and Countries, in subjection; for the people there being warlike, barbarous, and bestial, were ready upon all occassons to rebell, and rise in Arms against the Government of the Inca: For securing of which Peace, it was the custome and practice of the Inca: to transplant the people from one Province to another, which was an approved course to make them quiet and peaceable, and much more observant and submissive to their Kings, as we have at large discoursed in those places where we have treated of Colonies, called by them Mitmae.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Of the two famous and great Roads in Peru.

TT were but justice to the Life and Memory of Huayna Capac, if we mention those two great Roads which run North and South through the whole Kingdom of Peru, because the making of them is attributed unto him: One of them passes along by the Sea-coast, and the other over the Mountains to the Inland Countries, which Historians describe with high Enlargements, though, in reality, the work exceeds the common fame: And in regard I cannot pretend to lay them down with fuch exactness as some have done, I shall therefore refer my self to their Relations, and begin with Angustin Carate, who in the 13th Chapter of his first Book speaking of the Original of the Incar, hath these words: "In a due and orderly fuccession of these Incas, there was one called Guarnacava (which "fignifies a rich young Man) who came to the Government, and encreased, and greatly enlarged his Dominions; his butinets being chiefly to advance Juftice and Reafon, he fo far prevailed on the uncultivated understandings of that bar-" barous people, that he feemed to have worked Miracles in political converfa-"tion, having reduced them without the help of letters to Obedience and Rule. " and gained fo far on the affection of his Vaffals, that for his fervice they readily "applied their hands, and their hearts, to make and open a large Road in *Peru*, "which was fo famous, that we cannot in justice omit to mention, and describe "it, in regard that amongst the seven Wonders of the World, there was none "made at greater expense and labour than this. When this Guaynacava marched "with his Army from Cozeo to conquer the Province of *Quin*, which are about "five hundred Leagues diffant one from the other; he fuffered many difficulties " in his paffage, by reason of the inaccessible ways over Rocks and Mountains, "which he was to overcome: Howfoever, having paffed and subdued that "Countrey, and being now to return again victorious and triumphant, the Indians broke a convenient way through the Mountains, which they made both plain and wide, breaking the Rocks, and levelling the Ground which was ruff and uneven; so that sometimes they were forced to raise it sisteen or twenty fathom in height, and in other places to fink it as far; and in this manner they continued their work for five hundred Leagues in length. And it is reported, that when this work was finished, the way was so plain, that a Cart or "Coach might be driven over it; yet afterwards, in the time of the Wars, all this workmanship and labour was demolished by the Indians, to make the ways and paffes more difficult to the Christians. Now if we compare this work "with the short cut onely of two Leagues of Mountain, which is between Efpinar, Segovia, and Guadarrama in Spain, and confider what charge and labour hath been there employed, onely to make that way tolerably paffable for the "Kings of Caffile, when at any time they passed with their Equipage and Court from Andaluzia, or Toledo, and travelled into parts beyond those Mountains; which, as I fav. if it were confidered, what an immense and incredible work must this seem to have been? Nay farther, the *Incas* were not content with this, for this Guaynacava intending again to visit the Province of Quitu, for variety in his Travels, he refolved to take his paffage through the Plains, which the Indians, though with no less difficulty, made as convenient as that of the "Mountains; for in all those Vallies which were watered with Rivers and Fountains, and were planted with Trees, which (as we have faid elfewhere) did commonly continue for a full League, they made a way almost forty foot wide, with click Mud-walls on each fide, being four or five Frames, or Pannels, of this Mud in height. And then entring out of these Plains into the fandy ways, they drove in great Stakes into the ground on one fide and the other,
B b b

37I

" that fo Travellers might not miftake their way, or wander either on one hand or the other; and in this manner all was ordered for the space of five hundred "Leagues, being the fame diffance as over the Mountains. But now the Stakes fixed in the fandy Grounds are in many parts broken, or plucked up by the Spaniards, who in the times, as well of War as Peace, made use of them for fuel; yet the Walls which are made in the Vallies remain entire unto this "day, by which we may conjecture and judge of the greatness of this work,
"And thus did this Guaynacava go by one way, and return by another, being al-" ways covered with Boughs of Trees, and entertained with the fragrant finells "of fiveet Flowers. Thus far are the Words of Angustin de Curate,
Likewise Pedro de Cieça de Leon discoursing of this matter, and of the Road

through the Mountains, bath these words in the 37th Chapter of his Book: From Thisles you travel to a small Province called Guaca, and in the way this ther you pass that famous Road which the Incas made in those parts, and may be compared to that which Hannibal made over the Alpes, when he marched in. " to Italy; and indeed, confidering the great Chambers and Store-houses which " were made in that way, it feems a more difficult, and a more admirable view

Of which Pedro de Cieça enlarges no farther; howfoever in the 60th Chapter of his Book, speaking of the Road over the Plains; he hath these words: That I may proceed in my History with due method, I have thought it re-" quifite, before I conclude, to mention fomething relating to the Road over the " Plains, which, as I have touched in other places, is a work of fingular remark "and importance: And therefore I must here denote something of that high Road over the Plains, half of which, at leaft, is a way made by order of the Ingus; the which, though now it is in many places broken down, and demolifted, yet the Ruines of it are durable evidences of the power of those who first commanded the same to be made. The Indians attribute this work to Guaymacapa, and Topa Tupa Tupanque his Father, who descended by these Vallies to the lower Provinces; though some report, that Inga Tupangue, the Grandfather of Guanacapa, and Father of Topa Toga, was the first who discovered that Coast, and passed those Plains unto it; and that the Caciques, or chief Governours of those parts, made the Road fifteen Foot broad by command and direction of that Inga: on each fide a very strong Wall was built, adjoyning to which, were fine groves of Trees planted; the Boughs of which did fometimes " reach over the way, being laden with Fruit; and the floor, or the way under " foot, was smooth and easie; the Woods and Forests all along were inhabited " by Singing-birds, Parrots, and Fowls of all forts.

And farther, this de Cieça treating of the Store-houses, and places of entertainment and provision, faith, "That these Walls reach all along the way, excepting onely those fandy defarts which could not bear a foundation: Howsoever, as proofs of the greatness of the Founders, and as figns and marks to direct Travellers, great Timbers, in the manner of Piles, were driven into the ground at fuch a space and distance as were easily seen front one to the other. And as they were very carefull to keep the ways in the Vallies clear, and the Walls in good repair; so also the like diligence was used to keep up the Posts or Stakes, in case any of them should be blown down by the Wind, or over-"turned by any other accident: So that this Road was certainly a great piece of Workmanship, though not so laborious in the making, as that of the Mountains. In these Vallies also there were some Fortresses and Temples of the "Sun, which we shall specifie in their due places. Thus far are the Words of

Pearo de Cieça, which we have extracted verbatim.

Likewife John Botero Benes makes mention of these two Roads, and in his Obfervations denotes them for miraculous Works; and, in thort, fays thus much of them: " From the City of Cozco there are two great Roads, or King's High-" ways, running at least two thousand Miles in length, one of which goes by the " way of the Plains, and the other leads by the Mountains: And in making " these ways in the manner they now are, being twenty five Foot broad, it was " necessary to raise the Vallies, level the Mountains, and cut through the solid " and living Rocks; which is a Work fo great, as exceeds above any com-" parison, the Pyramids of Egypt, or the Roman Editices. All which is exmaded out of the Words of the three preceding Authours, who treat of these tracted one of which exalts their praises to fuch a degree, as molt pleases his fancy, though they all come short of that praise and admiration, mon please the defeathers of fo mighty a Work: For were there nothing which is the matter, than onely a continued distance of five hundred Leagues in length, it were much to be admired; but when we confider that this Road paffes over alcents on the Mountains of two, three, and four Leagues high; it is then fo france, that nothing feems to be comparable to it. Befides all which, we must note, that on the highest tops of the Hills, from whence was the best prospect, there were erected certain Lodges, or Houses of Pleasure, which were seated on each fide of the way, with Stone-stairs to go up to them, where the Chair-men which carried the Sedans did usually rest, and where the Incas did sit for some time taking the Air, and furveying in a most pleasant prospect all the high and lower parts of the Mountains, which wore their coverings of Snow, or on which the Snow was falling, which certainly was a most pleasant view; for from the the snow was failing, which certainly was a more predicting view; for nonly the tops of fome very high Mountains one might fee fixty, feventy, eighty, or an hundred Leagues round; in which variety of profpect the piques of fome very high Mountains were to be seen, that seemed to touch the Heavens, and other Chassins and Precipices so low and deep, as seemed to extend unto the centre of the Harth. Of all which Works, there is nothing remains but Ruines, and fuch as War and time have not been able to destroy. Onely in the Road by the Plains, and in the defarts of Sand, which are wide and vast, and where also are some Hills and Dales, there they have droven in their Piles, or Posts of Wood; which being placed in fight one of another, do serve for Marks to direct Travellers in their way, where there is no path, or beaten road, because it being all Sand, the track and footsteps are covered by the Sand so often as it is moved by the Wind: And therefore these Posts are so necessary to Travellers, as the Needle of the Compass is to direct a Ship through the floating Waves.

#### CHAP. XIV.

That Huayna Capac received News how the Spaniards failed along the Coast of Peru.

H Vayna Capac being bussed and employed in the forementioned affairs, and testiding in the Royal Palaces of Tunnipampa, which are the most Magnificant of any in Peru, advices were brought him, that some stranger Nations, never before seen in those Countries, sailed along that shore to make a discovery of the Land; upon which intelligence Huayna Capac was much surprized, entertaining new fears and jealoufies of an unknown people, of whom no account of their Nation, or the parts from whence they came could be given. But we are to note, that this Ship was Commanded by Basco Nunnez of Bilbo, who was the first that discovered the South-Sea, and the Seamen were Spaniards, who (as we have faid before) were the first that gave the Name of Peru unto this Empire, which happened in the year 1515, the discovery of which Countrey being two years before. There is an Hiltorian, who reports, that the Ship and Spaniards belonged to Don Francisco de Picarro, and his thirteen Companions, who were the first Discoverers of Peru; in which there was a militake between the first Discoverers, and the first Conquerours: There was also some errour as to the time, for there was filteen or fixteen years difference between one and the other; for the first discovery of Pern, and the Name given to it, happened in the year 1515; and the year when Francisco Picarro, and his four Brothers, with Don Diego de Almagro in-Vaded that Countrey was 1531, and Hanyon Capac died eight years before, being B b b 2

373

Воок ІХ.

Book IX

in the year 1523, after he had reigned forty two years, as is recorded by Rin V. lera, and found in his loofe and scattered Papers, wherein he writes as a curious Antiquary of the Original and Antiquity of those Kings.

Huavia Capac lived eight years after the News was brought him that the fire Discoverers of those Countries coasted along his shore; during which time he kept an extraordinary watch on the Coaft, and attended with greater care to prehere a restriction with the restriction of the rest thre and condition of that people, who in a Ship frequented and vilited his Ports ture and condition of that people, who in a Ship frequented and vitiged his Ports. And herein he was the more troubled upon remembrance of the Prophecy of an articient Oracle, which forefold them, that after fitch a Number of years, and after the Regin of 10 many Kings, there should arrive strange Nations, never before stern in those parts, who should take their Kingdom from them, and destroy their Government and Idolatrous Religion: the which Prophecy was fulfilled in this

Inca, as we shall see in the sequel of this History. And as a preparative hereunto, it happened out three years before this Ship was feen on the Coalt of Pern, that a prodigious and ominous fight appeared at Cocco, which greatly affected Hungna Capac, and aftonished all the Empire: the occasion was this: That whilst they were celebrating the solemn Festival, which was yearly dedicated to their God the Sun, a Royal Eagle (which they call Anca) was seen foaring in the Air, and purfued by five or fix Keltrels, and other Hobbies, and simaller Hawks; of which some, for the rarity of them, have been brought into imager Hawks; or which ione, for therathy of them, have been brought into Spain, where they are called Aleros, and in Peru Huaman; the which exchanging their blows and strokes on the Eagle, would not suffer him to escape in his slight, but killed him with the stutters of their wings. The Eagle not being able longer to defend it self; fell down in the middle of the Market place amongst the Incas, as if the had implored their defence and succour; and they willingly received her, and finding her body covered over with fourf, as with a feab, and plumed of all her finaller Feathers, nourished her with all the care imaginable; but nothing availing to doe her good, the died in a few days, not being able to raife her felf from the ground. The *Inca* and his Ministers judged this to be a bad Omen of what was to fucceed; and the Aftrologers and Diviners interpreted the matter to prefage no less than the destruction, and total ruine of their Empire and Religion; which also being followed by great Earthquakes in divers places, and such as were fo extraordinary and violent, as to overturn many high Mountains; the Prodigies feemed terrible, and fuch as were the certain fore-runners of difmal Judgments. The Indians also, who inhabited the Sea-coast, observed that the tides in their ebbines and flowings did not keep their usual course, nor did the waters contain themselves within their due bounds: Comets also, and strange Apparitions were feen in the Air; and to encrease this terrour, the Moon was observed in a clear and bright night to be encompassed with three large Haloes, or Circles; the first was of a bloudy colour; the fecond of a blackish, inclining to green; and the third was like a mift, or finoak. A certain Magician (whom the Indians call Llayer) having feen and confidered these prodigious Circles about the Moon, entred with a still and weeping countenance into the presence of Huayna Capac, and with tears in his eyes told him, and faid, To you alone, Sir, it appertains to know, that the Moon your Mother, as a pions and tender Parent, makes known unto you, that the Pachacamac, who is the Creatour and Sustainer of all things, doth threaten your Royal Family and Empire with grievous Judgments, which he designs to send upon your people: For the first blondy Circle propossioners; that after you are gone to rest with your Father the San, that them noss terms the design so you wan Line and Family, which will open so large an effusion of Royal Blond, as will be sufficient in a few years to extinguish your whole Race and Propens. Which having said, he let sall such a floud of tears, that he was careful or the said of tears, that he was not able farther to utter his words: But at length having a little recovered himfelf, he proceeded, and faid, The fecond Circle, which is black, threatens is your Subjetts with a total destruction and subversion of our Religion and Government, caused by the Wars and Diffentions of your own Family; and that then your Empire shall be alienated and translated to another people, and all your Greatness vanquish into smooth and vapour, which it the signification of the third Circle. The Inca was greatly assonished with this difinal Prediction; howfoever, not to show fear, and meanness of spirit, he bid the Magician begone, for

thefe are (faid he) but your last nights Dreams, which thou declarest to me for Revelations and Advices from my Mother the Moon. No, faid the Magician, for that you may give better credence to my words, you may be pleased to come forth, and see the truth hereof testi-sied by your own Eyes; and then if you think sit, you may be pleased to take farther informaned by your own Lies, and then if you canned it, you may be presented to take survey information from the other Diviners, or Magicians, concerning these prodigious Apparitions. The tion from the other Diothers, or Pragatiums, concerning these productions Apparations. The Inca accordingly came forth from his Chamber, and having beheld these Signs in the Heavens, he called for all the Diviners and Prognosticators which he maintain ned in his Court; amongst which there being one of the Nation of Tauyu, who ned in its court, among twitter there being one of the Fadion of Panya, who was much effeemed above the reft, and that having beheld and confidered these Circles, gave the fame judgment thereupon as the former had done. Howfoever Hugga Capac, though he entertained fad apprehenfions and fears hereof within his own Breath, yet not to discourage his People, he seemed to make small account of own preatty yet not to uncourage in Feoples, he recentled to make than account of these affrighting Stories, telling the Magicians, that unless the *Puchacamac* himself should reveal the same to him by his own Words, he would not give credit to such Sayings, For is it possible, said he, that my Father the Sun should abhor and detest nuch ornings; for some populate, taked the, time my rather the own Blonds, and so far abandon them, as to yield them up to a total destruction? And so dishifted his Prognosticators. How so ever reflecting within hufflest upon what they had faid, and confidering how it agreed with the Prophecies of an ancient Oracle. and comparing past things with the prodigious Novelties of the present times, which appeared and shewed themselves in every Element; as also the Ship which filed along the Goaft, with a fort of People never before feen in those Seas; all there things being taken together, did greatly move and diffurb the Mind of Huand Capac with inward fear and apprehention; for which reason he always kept an Army in a readiness, composed of his most experienced Souldiers and Officers, which he drew out from the Garrifons of those Provinces. He ordained also that many Sacrifices should be offered to the Sun, and that all the Diviners and Magicians in their respective Provinces should consult their familiar Demons, and particularly the great Pachacamac, and the prating Devil of Rimac, who always gave answers to all demands; and to enquire and know of them whether those strange and new Apparitions in the Heavens, and in the Sea, did portend either good or evil to the Empire. The Answers from Rimac were so dubious and obscure, that they could not promife themselves any great good, nor yet did they seem to prognoflicate any affrighting evil. Howfoever all the Diviners prefaging nothing but ill, the whole Empire remained in terrour and fear of some approaching mischief and calamity, yet in regard no confiderable misfortune befell that people for the face of three or four Years, the remembrance thereof began to wear out, every one returning to his usual quietness, and setled way of living, in which they continued for several Years, untill the death of Huayna Capac. The relations of these Prognoflications which we have mentioned, were, besides the common report, delivered particularly by two Captains, who had formerly been of the Guard to Huanna Capac, and being each of them of the age of eighty years, were both baptized; the eldest of them was called John Pechuta, his own Name remaining for a funame after Baptifin, as was common to the *Indians*; the other was called *Chau-ca Rimachi*, but his Christian Name I have forgot: These Captains, when they related the stories of these unhappy presages, with the successes of those times, they would always burst into Tears; so that it was necessary to divert them with fome other Discourse, before they would cease their Tears and Lamentations. The Testament and Death of Huayna Capac, with many other particulars which afterwards succeeded, were delivered to us by an old Inca, whose Name was Cust Huallya; but the cruelties which Atahualpa exercised upon all those of the Blond Royal, I received from the relation of my own Mother, and her Brother, who was called Don Fernando Hualipa Tupac Inca Tupanqui, who were in those days, both of them Children of ten Years of age, and lived in the fury and rage of all those troubles which continued for the space of two years and a half, untill such time as the Spamiards invaded that Countrey, as we shall relate in its due place, together with the manner how they, with fome few others of the Royal Bloud, escaped from death, which Atabualpa had defigned for them, which turned greatly to the advantage of the Enemy.

375

BOOK IX.

#### CHAP. XV.

Of the Testament and Death of Huayna Capac; and the Prophecy concerning the Invasion made by the Spaniards.

Lagra Capac residing in his Kingdom of Quitu, an humour took him in one of the last they sof his Life, to wash and bath himself in a certain Lake, onely to please and recreate himself: so soon as he came out from the Water he was taken with a cold, and shivering, (which the Indians call Chucen.) which was followed by a hot sit of a Fever; after which finding himself every day to grow worse and worse, he apprehended he should die; the which he strongly sansed from a remembrance of certain Prognosticks, which had some years before been delivered in reference thereunto; in which the Indians are very superstitious, especially in those which relate to the Royal Person of the King, which the Indians can be caused the reputation of their Idolatry call Revelations from their Father the Sun.

the reputation of their Idolatry call Revelations from their Father the Sun. Befides these various Prognosticks and Sayings delivered by their Oracles, many affrighting Comets appeared in the Air, and amongst the rest one with extraordinary Rays, of a greenish colour, very terrible to behold; and moreover a Thunderbolt sell in the Palace of the Inca himself; all which strange and ominous matters being put together, did greatly trouble and puzle the Wisedom and Art of their Magicians and Philosophers, called Inauma, who were the Sages and Priest of that Religion, who being also conversant with familiar Spirits, presaged the death of Islama Capac, with the destruction of the Royal Family, and the total Ruine and Downsall of the Empire, with many other dismal Calamities and Missortunes, which their Nations in general, and every one in particular was to sustain; howsoever these statal Stories were not vulgarly published, less they should dismay and terrifie their people with utmost despair, who were naturally supersitions, and of a melancholy tempers, ant to receive impressions of this nature.

\*Hunym Capac finding himself now sensibly to decay, and his end to approach,

fummoned all his Sons and Relations, with the Governours and Captains of the neighbouring parts to come to him, and declared to them, That he was then going to Heaven, to rest with his Father the Sun, who had some time since revealed to him, that he would shortly call him from a certain Lake, or Fountain, or River. Now in regard that I am seized, said he, with this Distemper by the chilness of the Water in which I bathed, it seems to me a certain token that I am called by my Father, and that this is the time of my Dissolution. So soon as I am dead, I would have my Body opened, as is the Custome of Kings; my Heart and Bowels I would have carried and interred in Quitu, as a Testament of my love to that Kingdom, but my Corps I would have carried to Cozco, there to be buried with my Kindred and Ancestours. In a particular manner I recommend my Son Atahualpa, whom I love with a tender Affection, bequeathing unto him my Kingdom of Quitu, with what seever additions he shall gain and acquire thereunto by his own Arms; commanding and enjoining you that are my Captains to ferve him with all Fidelity and Allegiance, as your true and natural Prince, requiring you to perform all Obedience towards him in every thing; for I (hall illuminate him with Revelations from my Father the Sun. I farther recommend unto you, and defire you to use Moderation, and exercife Justice towards our Subjects and Vassals, that so we may deservedly continue the Tule cife Inflice towards our Subjetts and Vaffalt, that so we may deservedly continue the Inte of being Lovers of the Poor, and that in every thing you behave your setues as Incas, who are the true Osft-spring of the Som. Having ended this Discourse to his Children and Kindred, he summoned all the Captains and Curnaus, who were not of the Bloud Royal, recommending to them faithfull and dutifull Allegiance to their Kings, and in the last place he told them, That there was an old Prophecy, derived by Revelation from his Father the Sun, That after the Reign of twelve Kings there should come a new Nation, never before known in those parts, that should gain and subject all those Kingdoms and Provinces, with many others, told them. Dominions, which leaves to such the state to the two they are not the true of the support of the parts. their own Dominion: which I greatly suspect to be those who now sail upon our Coust,

big a valuat People, much surpassing ours in all points of Excellency. Likewise you are no observe, that in me the number of twelve Kings is completed, and I surface made known to you, that in a sew Years after my departure out of this Life, that this new Nation will to you, that in a sew Nation will be accomplished that which our Father the San hath revealed, that they shall become your Lords and Masters. Wherefore Lencharge you to serve them as Men, for they is every thing have the advantage of you; their Law is better than yours, their Arms and military Discipline more warlike, and more inviscible than yours; and lastly, I have my Peace with you, for I am summoned by my Father the Sun to rest and repose with

m. Pedro de Cieça in the 44th Chapter of his Book, touches upon this Prophecy which Hugan Capae had delivered, concerning the Invation of the Spaniards, and which ringing coupar had derivered, concerning the invation of the Spandwar, and that after his Reign the Empire would be translated to a stranger people, which was like those that stated in the Ship. All which the Inea told his people in Trawas the those that affect in the comp. The which the open told its people in Thimpionph, which is a Countrey not far from Quith, where, it is faid, the news was first brought of the Sp. miards, who were the Discoverers of Peru. Francisco Was mit orought of the 115th Chap, of his Book, relating the Difcourfe which intervened between Huafcar and Hernando de Soto, (who was afterwards Governour of the Florida,) and Pedro del Barco, faith, that when they two travelled alone from Callanarea to Cozeo, (as we shall relate in its due place,) Huasear being then a Prifquer, amongft other Difcourfes which he recounts of him, reports farther of a Pritoner, amongit other Discourses which he recounts of min, reports farther of lim in thee Words which follow, "And laftly he affured them, that he was "the true and lawfull Lord and Heir of these Kingdoms, and that Atabaliba was "a Tyrant and Ulfurper; and that he would fee the Captain of the Christians, and inform him to much, that to be might revenge his Injuries, and reftore him to his Liberty and Kingdoms; for that his Father Gusyna Capse had at the time of his Death commanded him to be a friend to the people who were white and fair, wearing Beards, for they were to be Lords of those Countries, &c. So that this Prophecy was commonly known in all Pern, as all Historians write.

All the preceding particulars delivered by Huanna Capae, were effeemed to be his last Will and Testament, and held by the Indians in high estimation, and therefore they complied most punctually with his Gommands. I remember that one day the old Inea formerly spoken of, discoursing before my Mother, and relating thele particular matters, and of the coming in of the Spaniards, and how they gained the Countrey, 1 took an occasion to ask him, how it came to pass that this Countrey, being fo rocky and mountainous as it is, and the people warlike, fo that they could make Conquests of many Provinces, and form a mighty Empire, how, I fay, it came to pals that they fhould fubmit, and render themselves to so. fitall and fo inferiour a number as the Spaniards were? In answer unto which he repeated the old Prophecy concerning the Spaniards, telling me, that the Inca had commanded them to obey and ferve them, as a people endued with many more Exellencies than they; and having faid this, he turned to me, and with anger in his face, reproved me for having termed them Cowards, and unwife; and in answer to my demand he told me, That the last Words which our Inea uttered, whereby he commanded us to refign our Empire, and subject our selves to a stranger Nation, were much more powerfull and available than all the Force and Arms which your Father and his Companions brought into this Countrey, but this he , faid to shew the validity which the Commands of their own Kings had with them ; and how much more the Sayings and Injunctions of *Huayna Capac*, delivered at the hour of his Death, who was the dearest and most beloved Prince to them of

Hugus Capue being dead, his Servants, in compliance with his Commands, emboweled and embalmed his Body, which they carried to Cozco, but his Heart they buried in Quin. In all parts through which his Corple were carried they celebrated his Francials with extraordinary Sorrow, crying and lamenting for the lore and affection which all forts of people bore towards him; being arrived at the hoperial City, his Coscquies were celebrated in the most folemn manner, which according to the cultome of those Kings continued for the space of a whole Year. He left a numerous Race behind him of above two hundred Children, and as some lay, three hundred, which serves to aggravate the Cruelty of Arthudpa, who marthered the most part of them. And now because our design is to they what Animals were not found in Pern, until they were brought thither. We shall

make it the Subject of this following Chapter.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Of the Mares and Horses; and how they were bred at the beginning; and of the great price and value of them

FOR the better Information and Satisfaction, as well of the present as of fin. ture Ages, it will be necessary to know what things were not in Peru at the time when the Spaniards first entred into Peru; and therefore I have thought fit to make a particular Chapter thereof, to enumerate how many things these people wanted, which we efteem necessary for the wellsare and convenient living of Mankind, and yet notwithstanding they lived happily, and contented without them. In the first place we must know that they neither had Horses nor Mares for their fervice in War, or for their delight and divertisement, they had no Cows, nor had they Oxen to plow their Lands, and prepare them for the feed: neither had they Camels, nor Affes, nor Mules for their Carriages or Burthens; nor had they Sheep, as we have in Spain, which yield us both Food and Clothing: nor had they Hogs, which yield us Salt-fleft, and Bacon, and Leather to make our Bottels; nor had they Dogs of any good race, fuch as Grey-hounds, Beagles, Spannels, Water-dogs and Tumblers; nor had they Maftiffs to keep their Flocks. or Lap-dogs for pleasure of the Ladies, but onely a company of Curs of all fores

376

and fizes, which were good for nothing.

Nor had they Wheat, or Barly, or Wine, or Oil, nor Fruit, nor Pulle, as we have in *Spain*; of all which things we shall treat distinctly, and of the manner how, and when they were brought out of Spain into those parts. As to the Horses and Mares, the Spaniards brought them over with themselves, having been very ferviceable and ufefull to them in making their Conquests in the new World, of which the *Indians* had no great necessity; for being born and bred in the craggy and steep Mountains, they became naturally hardy, and nimble of foot, being very active in climbing afcents, and descending again down the steepest Precipies. All those Horses and Mares which are in the Kingdoms and Provinces of those broken dies which have been discovered by the Spaniards lince the Year 1492, untill this time, are of the race of those which were brought from Spain, and particularly from Andaluxia. The first were landed in the Isle of Cubu, and St. Domingo, and the other Islands of Barvolento, as they were discovered and subdued; where they increased, and multiplied abundantly, and thence they were transported to Mexico and Peru, for their service and use in those Conquests. At first, for want of care in the Mafters, who put their Horfes out to pafture loofe, and into places without fences they could not eafily be catched again; and fo roving in the Mountains, they became wild, flying like Deer, at the fight of a Man, and not being feized or preyed upon by any fierce Creature, they increased and multiplied in great abundance.

The Spaniards who inhabited the Islands, observing how necessary Horses were for the Conquests; and their Countries produced such as were very good, enhanted the prices of them to a considerable rate. There were certain Men who kept thirty, forty, fifty Horses in their Stables, as we have mentioned in our History of the Florida. The way of taking the Colts was in a certain Park, which they had encompassed with Pales, raised at some convenient Avenues of the Mountains, where are Coves, called Cavanu; of three or four Leagues wide, where the Horses and Colts descending towards the Evening to feed, some persons who keep watch in Trees give notice thereof; and then fourteen or fifteen Men on Horfeback, riding in amongst them, drive them within the pale, which then they enclose, and casting Halters about the Necks of those Colts which are about three or four Years old, they tie them to trees, letting the Marcs go and escape as they please; the Colts remain tied in this manner for three or four days, jumping and leaping untill being weakned with weariness, and Hunger, they yield themselves

to the Saddle and Bridle; but many, before they are thus broken, throttle themfollows with the Halter; but then on fuch as become tame, they fet Boys on their backs, leading them with the Bridle; in this manner they accustome them mornations, reating their wall the Distance in the action in the morning and evening, for fifteen or twenty days, untill fuch time as they are thoroughly broken, and then they become very gentle, and lerviceable to their Mafters; and in a few days are fo well managed, that they can throw the Dart upon them, and prove most excellent Horses. After all parts of the West-Indies were subdued there was no fuch occasion for Horses as before, nor encouragement given for breethere was no tuch occanion for Fronce as octore, flor encouragement given for breeding and managing of them, as formerly; for that the Inhabitants of those Illands turned their Traffick another way, and began to trade and deal in Hides, as we shall declare in its due place. Considering often with my self at how great a price good Horses are held in *Spain*, and what an excellent race these Islands yield, both for their fize, shapes and colour. I have much wondred at the reason why they have not been transported thence into *Spain*, though it were onely in ac-thonwledgment of those which *Spain* did first send thither, and which were the Sies and Dams of that new Race, especially fince they may be transported with on much facility and ease from the Island of Cuba, which is one great part of the way, and many Ships come empty thus far. The Horses of Pena are much more way, an interpretable in *Spain*; for the first time that I darted on Horseback in *Cocco*, was upon a Horse newly broken, and which had scarce arrived to three years of

When the Spaniards were first employed in the Conquest of Peru, no Man would spare his Horse, or set any price upon him; but in case it happened by the would pare in Fronte, or let any price upon min; out in each chappened by the Master's Death, or his departure for Spain, that a Horse was set to fale, the price was sour, sive or fix thousand pieces of Eight. In the Year 1554, when the Mateshall Dop Alons of Alvarado went in pursuit of Francisco Hermandez de Giron, which was before the Battel of Chaquinca. A Negro Boy leading a very hantome Horse in his Hand, well managed, a certain rich Gentleman casting his Eyes upon him, and being much taken with him, faid to the Owner of him, Sir, for the Boy and Hofe, as they now are, I will give you ten thousand pieces of Eight, which is as much as twelve thousand Ducats; but the Owner refused the Offer, telling him that he had occasion for the Horse to charge upon in the next Battel, which was shortly expected; the iffue of which was, that the Horse was killed, and the Master mortally vounded: But that which is observable herein is this, that he who would have bought the Horse vvas rich, having a considerable Colony of Indians in the Countrey of the Charcas; and the Oyyner vvas a famous Souldier, vvho, to fignalize himself in that day of Battel, refused to sell his Horse at any rate, though never so advantageous; I knevy them both to be Gentlemen, and Persons of Noble Quality: But fince that time the price of Florfes is much abated in Peru, because the breed is much increased; so that a good Horse may be worth three or four hundred Pieces of Eight, and an ordinary Jade may be fold at twenty or thirty. The Indians are very commonly fearfull of an Horse, for when they see him gallop, or run in any Street where they chance to meet him, they are so affighted, that they think they can never croud near enough to the Wall to avoid him, fearing let he should run over them, and trample them under foot; wherefore when they meet a Horse in the Streets, they will cross the Street three or four times from one fide to the other, and being to scared (as it were) out of their Wits, they have run blindly (as I have teen) into the very way of the Horse, whom they have endeavoured to avoid, and have never thought themselves out of danger, unless they could get a Spaniard to stand before them, nor would that guard neither acquit them from all fear; and though now by custome and converfation the dread of them is not fo great, yet never could any Indian be perfua-ded to take upon him the Trade of a Blackfmith, because he would not be concerned in shooing Horses, though in all works of Metal they are excellent Artists. And though the Spaniards have bred up some Indian Boys, and taught them to drefs and curry Horfes, yet I never knew or faw an Indian that durft adventure to mount upon their Backs; if any of them were fo bold as to lead a Horfe by the Bridle, it was some tame, gentle Jade, as quiet as a Mule; for indeed that which feared the Indians most, was to find most of the Florses wanton and skittish; for as yet the *Spaniard* did neither use them to the Martingale, nor to covers, or, as they are called. Spectacles, for their Eyes, which was a great neglect, and was the cause of much more labour and trouble to the Master in the breaking and ma-

Ccc

nagery of them: for these Horses are of that docible and tractable Nature, that nagery of them; for there riones and that doctors and that are ratine; that with good dreffing and management they will in every thing incline to the will with good drelling and management they will in every thing incline to the will and pleafure of the Mafter. At the beginning when the Conqueft was first made in Peru, the Indians believed that the Man and the Horse were all of one piece, or the same Creature, fansying, like the Poets, that they were Contaures. They tell me now, that some Indians have adventured to thoe Horses, but that there are very sew so hardy. And having said thus much concerning Horses, let us now proceed to give an account of what other things were not found in my Countrev.

#### CHAP. XVII.

Of their Cows and Oxen.

T is believed that Cows were brought into *Peru* prefently after the Conquest, which from increased, and multiplied in the Conquest. which foon increased, and multiplied in those numbers, that they supplied all the Kingdom; the same also is probable of the Hogs and Goats, for I remember to have seen numbers of them in Cozeo when I was a Child.

It cannot be expected that a price should be set for a Cow in the first beginning when the Spaniards planted themselves, they being brought over onely for breed; but afterwards by increasing they became common, and were sold at moderate rates. The first Man in Cozco that was Master of Cows, was Antonio de Altamirano, the Father of two Sons, Peter and Francis, which he had by an Indian Woman, and were my School-fellows, and both dyed young, to the great forrow of the whole City, by reason of the great hopes and expectation was of their

Understanding and Vertue.

The first Oxen that I ever saw at plough were in the Valley of Cozco, about the Year 1550, belonging to John Rodriguez de Villalobos; they were in all but three, one they called Chaparro another Naranco, and the third Castillo: I was carried to fee this fight, with great numbers of Indians, who flocked from all parts, with aftonishment and wonder, to fee this prodigious Novelty, which I amongst the rest did much admire. They said that the Spaniards who were drones, and would not work themselves, had made these great Animals labour, and doe that work not work themselves, had made there great Animais iabour, and doe man work which they ought to have performed themselves. I have reason to remember these particulars; for when I was a Boy, and plaid the Truant to see the Oxen Plough, it cost me two dozen of good stripes, one half of which I received from my Father, and the other dozen from my Schoolmaster; the piece of land which they ploughed was a very pleasant field, which is fituated a little higher than that ground where now the Convent of St. Francis is built; the which part of the Convent where the Body of the Church stands was excelled at the charge and Convent, where the Body of the Church stands, was erected at the charge and cost of the asorelaid John Rodriguez de Villatobos, and dedicated by him to St. Last. rus, to whom he was greatly devoted; the remainder of the Church the Franciscan Friars purchased with the two pieces of Land some years after; for when the Oxen ploughed there was no Houle or Buildings there, either belonging to *Spaniard* or *Indiana*, as we have at large declared in that part where we make a defcription of the City and fituation of *Cozco*. The Ploughmen that tilled the Land were *Indiana*, and the Oxen were taught and broken to the Yoke in a certain Incloftine without the City, and then when they had learned their work, they were brought to Cozes, where they had as many Spectators and Admirers that day, as had the Triumphs at Rome in its mightieft graudeur. When Cows were first brought to the Market, one might be worth two hundred Pieces of Eight, but afterwards, as they increased, and became more common, they sell by degrees to that price at which they are now valued. In the beginning of the Year 1554, a Gentleman of my acquaintance, called Rodrigo d'Esquivel, an Inhabitant of Cozco, but born at Seville, bought at Cindud de los Reyes ten Cows for a thousand Pieces of Eight, which makes one thousand two hundred Ducats; then in the Year 1559. I have seen them fold at seventeen Pieces of Eight a head; according to the same proportion them total at revenied I recess of Figure 2 hears according to the faith proportion the price of Goats and Hogs abated, as we shall mention hereafter, by which we may observe, how fruitfull this Countrey is: Since the Year 1590, they write me, that a Bullock bought fingly in the Market is not worth above fix or feven Ducats, and being bought in a Drove together, may be had cheaper.

The Cows in the Isle of Barlovento running in the Mountains. became all wild. as also the Horses and Mares, excepting onely such Cows as they kept up in their Inclosures, for the conveniences and benefit of Milk, Butter and Cheefe, which they made of them; but fuch as ran wild in the Mountains, multiplied and increafed to fuch a number, as would be incredible, did not the Hides of them, which are yearly prought thence into Spain, give us clear and demonstrative proofs thereof, as Aossa verifies in the 33d Chap. of his 4th Book, wherein he reports, That in the Year 1587, there was then brought in the Fleet from St. Domingo, onely 3444 Hides, and in the same Year, from New Spain, 64350 Cow Hides, making in all 99794. are yearly brought thence into Spain, give us clear and demonstrative proofs there-

BOOK IX.

In St. Domingo, Cuba, and the other Islands, their increase would have been much more, had they not been worried and destroyed by Greyhounds and Mafiffs, with which at first they did usually take them, which also living in the Mountains, became wild as the Cows, and so fierce, that unless ten or a dozen Men went together, there was no fecurity 3 and those that killed those Dogs received the same reward as for killing a Wolf. The manner of killing these Cows was this: They watched when they came down into the low Lands to feed, and was units they are upon them with their Horfes, and having an Iron with fharp prongs, in form of a half Moon, with which they flruck them, and then with a Cord they enfoared them about the Horns; but the Horseman who uses this sport, had need take care in what manner he goes to work; for if the Beaft be before him, he must take the right fide of him, and wound him on that fide, or else, if he be on the lest, to wound him on the lest, but not to meet just before him, but turn as beturns, left he burn and wound the Rider with his Horns, and give him no time to avoid his blow. There are fome Men fo dextrous in this Art, that in one canice of their Horfe, and twice difcharging their Gun, they will kill and knock down twenty, thirty or fourty Beafts; and therefore in these Islands which yield wherey, there of fourty bearts, and interior in the spaniffs Fleet with fufficient provisions thereof for their Voyages, unless by reason of the heat and moissure of the Countrey, which are the causes of corruption, the flesh will not easily receive the salt and pickle which are to preserve it. I hear now in these times that there are Cows in Pern, which wander about in the dispeopled Countries, and that the Bulls are so fierce, that they will assault Men as they travel in the way, and that there are almost as many wild Cattel there on the Continent, as in the Islands; which in gratefull remembrance to Spain, for the behefit they received by the Stock of Cattel fent from thence, do now, by the great numbers of Hides which yearly they fend, make their due acknowledgments and returns for

> CHAP. Ccc 2

Book IX

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Of he Camels, Asses, Goats; of the prices of them; and of their great Increase.

NOR vvere Camels in Peru at that time, and novv alfo there are very fevy; the first Man (and as I think the last) that brought them thither, vvas of the mrt Man (and as I think the latt) that brought their infifter, was 70hn de Reynaga, a Noble Perfon, born at Bilbo, I vvas vvell acquainted with him, vvlien he vvas Captain of a Foot Company againft Francis Hernandes Giron, and his followers, and did his Majefty good Service in that Action; for one Male and fix Female Camels Don Pedro Portocarrero gave him feven thousand Pieces of Eight, which make 8400 Ducats; but the Camels have made little increase there.

The first As that I ever favy vyithin the Dominions of Cozco vvas in the Year 1557, he was fold in the City of Huamanca for four hundred and eighty Ducats. and bought by my Mafter Gargiaffo de la Vega, with intention to get Mules by any many pulsary upon his Mares. In Spain fuch an Ass would not have yielded fix Ducats, for he was lean and little; but afterwards Gasper de Sotelo, with whom I had acquaintance, bought another, which cost him eight hundred and fourty Ducats; but after that time many Mules of both Sexes have been bred there, which have been spoiled

time many Mules of both Sexes have been bred there, which have been spoiled and jaded upon the sharp rocks of those ways.

At what price the Goats were valued, when they were first brought thither, I cannot tell, yet some years afterwards I remember they were sold for an hundred and an hundred and ten Ducats a Goat; but these were not commonly brought to market, but sold by one friend to another at their instance, and desire to oblige them therewith; and then they would tie ten or twelve of them in couples to gether, that they might not stray from each other. That which I speak of now was in Cozco, in the Year 1544 and --45. but since that time they have so increased, as to become of small value, unless for their Skins; for the She-goats did often bring forth three or sour Kids at a time, as I have seen; and a certain Gentleman, who lived in Huanacu, did affure me, that he had seen several that brought forth five Kids at one yearing. forth five Kids at one yeaning.

#### CHAP. XIX.

Royal Commentaries.

Of the Hogs, and their great Increase.

AT the beginning Hogs were much dearer than Goats, though there was no fet price made for them. Peter de Cieça in his 26th Chapter of the Remarks or Observations of the Provinces of Peru, saith, That the Mareshal Don Googte Rokleds bought amongst the Goods of Christopher de Ayala, a Sow and a Pig at the price of one thousand six hundred Pieces of Eight. And farther he saith, That this Sow was eaten some sew days after in the City of Cali, and was the chief Entertainment at a great Feast; and that it was ordinary to buy Pigs in the belly of the Sow at a hundred Pieces of Eight a Pig, and sometimes more.

He that is destrous to know the excessive prices which the Spaniards gave for things in those days amongst themselves, let him reade the fore-mentioned Chapter, and then he will see at how mean a rate Gold and Silver were esteemed in

ter, and then he will fee at how mean a rate Gold and Silver were efteemed in comparison with the Commodities of *Spain* which proceeded from the great affection which the *Spaniards* bore to their Native Soil, when first they planted them felves in the New World; for then they never ferupled the giving any price for the things which came from *Spain*, that they might eat them, or breed them, as if they had been so necessary to humane life, that no substitute could be without

In the year 1560, a good Hog was worth ten Pieces of Eight at Cozco, and now may be had for fix or feven; and were it not for the Lard, which, they fay, is good to cure the Scab, or Murrain, to which the Cattel in that Countrey are much fubject, they would be much cheaper: And also the Spaniards, for want of Olin those Countries, have licence to dress their Meat with it on Fridays, and in

The Sows in *Pern* are ftrangely fruitfull; for in the year 1558, I remember to lave feen in the Market of *Pern* two Sows, with thirty two Pigs, each of them having brought forth fixteen Pigs at one farrowing; and when I faw them, they might be of a Month old; and yet they were fo fat and flick, that one would wonder how it were possible for the Dams to maintain and suckle so many of them

in fuch good plight and condition.

The Indians give the Name of Cuchi to the Hogs, which is a word they have framed from Coche, Coche which the Spaniards utter, when they speak to their

#### CHAP. XX.

Of Sheep, and Tame Cats.

THE Sheep of Caffile, which we call so, to distinguish them from those of Pern, to which the Spaniards improperly give the Name of Sheep, fince they are neither like them in shape, nor colour, nor any thing else, as we have shewn in its due place: These Sheep, I say, of Castile, I know not when they were first imported into Pern, nor by whom 3 the first that I ever saw were in the Fields about Cozco, in the year 1566, and were then sold, one with another, at the rate of forty Pieces of Eight a head, and some of the prime fort at fifty; and were bought then both for love and money, as the Goats at first were.

In the year 1560, when I departed from Cozco, Mutton was not as yet sold in the Shambles by weight: but since by Letters from thence dated, in the year 1590, they write me that a Sheep was then sold in the Market for eight Ryals of Eight, or ten at most 3 and in eight years time since, Sheep are fallen to four Ducats a head, and under 3 and now at present are so common, and in such numbers, that

head, and under; and now at prefent are so common, and in such numbers, that they are worth very little; for an Ewe commonly brings forth two at a time, and often three: their Wool also is produced in that quantity, that it is of little value, and is not worth above three or four Ryals a quarter of a hundred; I know not if they have learned as yet to make Weathers of them. There are no Wolves

in those Countries, one ever were; nor will they be thought worthy to be transported thither, unless they were more profitable, and better conditioned.

Nor had the *Indians* House-Cats before the coming in of the *Spaniards*, though now they have them, and call them *Micion*, which is a word they have framed from the Spaniards, whom they have heard to call them Miz, Miz. This, I say, to rectifie the mistake of some Spaniards, who were of opinion, that the Indians had Cats before the time that the *Spaniards* came amongst them, because they had in their Language a proper Name for them: And in like manner a certain Historian rian argues, that they had Hens before the time of the Spaniards, because they gave them the Name of Gualpa: And this would feem a most convincing Argument to fuch who know not the deduction, or occasion, on which this Name of Gualpa was given, which indeed is not Gualpa, but Atahualpa; and hereon depends a most pleasant Story, which we shall recount, when we come to treat of Tame Fowl, which were not in Peru before the time of the Spaniards.

BOOK IX.

#### CHAP. XXI.

Of Conies, and Dogs of Game.

NOR had they Wild, or Tame Rabbets, as we have in *Spain*, for they have been brought thither fince I departed from *Pern*: The first that brought them to Creeq, was one of the Clergy called Andrew Lopez, born in the Effremadura, them to Cocco, was one of the Glergy caned America Lopez, both in the Effremation, but in what Village or Town I know not. This Prieft brought over a Buck and a Doe in a Cage, and in paffing over a ftream, which is about fixteen Leagues a Docana Care, and runs through the Countrey of Chinchappy, where the 13fate of my Lord and Father Garçilasso de la Vega lyes; it happened out, that whilst the Indian which carried them, had set down the Cage to rest himself, and eat a bit of bread, that the Doe escaped out through a hole of the Cage, where one of the Rods was broken, and ran out amongst the Rocks and Mountains, and amongst the Willows and Offiers which grow by the banks of the River; the Doe being then big with Young, brought forth a great many, which being conferved afterwards by the care of the Indians, have increased to that degree, that they have made a Warren, and now cover the ground with their Numbers. From thence they have flocked other Grounds in many parts; the Land being barren, and the Graß short, they have thriven so well, as to become of a larger size than ours; as have also other Conies which have been brought from Spain into other parts.

It was the fortune of that Coney to get loole in a temperate Climate, which was neither over hot, nor very cold; but as they spread farther up the River, the Countrey gows cooler, untill at length they come to places of perpetual Snows: Such as took their downwards as the stream runs, those were subject to greater heats, until they came to the River Apprimac, which is the hottest Climate of all Peru. This Story of the Conies was told me by an Indian of my Countrey, who knowing that I was writing the Hiftory of Pern, gave me this information; for the multiply which, I refer my felf to the banks of that River; which if they be to well flocked with Conies, as he relates, it may ferve for an undeniable proof. In the Kingdom of Quitu there are Conies like those in Spain, onely they are lels, and of a darker colour, having a black streak along the top of their backs, in eveny thing else they are like the Rabbets we have in Spain: they have no Hares, nor

60 I know whether they have brought any thither as yet.

The Dogs of game, or of good race, fuch as we have formerly mentioned, were not in Perm, until the Spaniards brought them thither. Mastiffs were the last of any transported to those parts, by reason, that having no Wolves, nor other bass of prey which might hunt their Cattel, they had no need of such Dogs for their delence, or guard. Howsoever, when they were come thirther, such as were Masters of great Flocks and Herds, would not want, or be without them, not that they had any need, or occasion for them, but onely because they would have their Flocks and Herds be like those in Spain: And so passionately was their fancy at the beginning inclined hereunto, that in every thing they affected the Manners and Cultoms of Spain; for which reason, and not for any need, a Spaniard carried a Malliff Whelp, that was not above a Month and a half old, in a Wallet, which he hanged at his Saddle-bow, from Coxeo to Los Reyes, which is a hundred and twenty Leagues through a mountainous and craggy Countrey, being every day troubled to find Milk for this Whelp; the which I faw, and can tellifie, having been a Companion with that Spaniard in the Journey; who told me, that he cartied that Whelp for a prefent to his Father-in-law, who was a Grafier, being Mafler of great Flocks of Cattel, and lived fifty or fixty Leagues on this fide of Cindadde los Reyes, by whom he would be esteemed as a Jewel of mighty value. These and greater pains have the Spaniards taken at the beginning to procure such Creatures as are used in Spain, which afterwards they have neglected and conserved in

282

#### CHAP. XXII.

Of Rats, and to what Multitudes they have increased.

WE must speak something of the Rats which came over with the Spaniards, for before their time there were none in the Countrey. Francis Lopes de Gomara in his General History of the Indics, (which was not very faithfully wrote) fays, that untill the time of Blaseo Namnes Vela, Rats were not known in Peru; but now they are in great numbers, and of so great a proportion and size, that Cat dares to contend or deal with them: Howsoever they are not as yet come so high as to the Hilly Countries, by reason of the cold, and Snows, nor can they find covert, or shelter, under which they may convey themselves thither.

Howsoever, they have great numbers of Mice, which they call Vencha. In

Howfoever, they have great numbers of Mice, which they call \$\mathcal{Ucnchat}\$. In Nombre de Dios, Panama, and other Cities on the Coast of Pern, they have fuch an infinite number of Rats, that they are forced to deftroy them with Poison of Rats-bane, which they lay for them at a certain time of the year by agreement of all the Neighbourhood; when proclamation is made that every House should lay its Arsnick for destruction of the Rats, that so at this notice every person should be warned to cover their Provisions of meat and drink from the Rats, and especially the water, for so so as the Rat hath taken his dose, he presently runs to the water, and therewith bursts and dyes; and then every House lays its baits of Fruits, of such things as Rats commonly eat, which being empoisoned with Associated the such that the suc

When I arrived at *Panama* from *Spain*, prefently after the time that the poison had been laid, I remember that one Evening as I walked by the Sea-side, I found just at the brink of the water such quantities of dead Rats, that they covered the ground for above a hundred Paces in length, and above three or four in breadth.

And now upon occasion of this discourse, concerning the infinite numbers of Rats, I shall adventure to tell a strange Story of this kind, upon the credit of a Noble Gentleman, call'd Herman Bravo de Laguna, one who, was Lord of Indians in Cozco, and had the honour to be mentioned in the History of Peru : the relation he made, which he attests to have seen, was this: A Ship sailing from Pamama to Los Repes, touched in the way upon the Coast at a Port called Tropillo, where the whole Ships company agreed one day to go associated and be merry, leaving onely one sick Man aboard, who, by reason of his indisposition, was not able to walk so far as from the Sea side to the City, which was two Leagues. Nor need we here to wonder, that they should leave their Ship so ill provided for in those Seas storms and tempests do seldom arise, nor was there any fear of Pyrates, or Enemies, for as yet Sir Francis Drake had not opened the Navigation into those Seas. Now so soon as the Rats perceived that the Ship was freed of its company, they all fallied out to partake freely of the spoil, where finding the sick Man upon the Deck, they all joined to give him battel, that they might kill and eat him: the which hath oftentimes happened in these Voyages, in which lick Men have over night been alive, and next morning have been found dead in their beds, with the stell of their Faces, Armes, Legs and Thighs, gnawn and torn from the bones. In this manner this hungry crew would have deal with our fick Man, against whom they formed their Army, and came to combat him, who finding himself so hardly befer, got up, and taking a Spit from the Cook-room, returned to his bed, not to sleep, but to watch, and stand upon his guard; which he did that whole day, and the night following, and the day after, untill late in the Evening, when his Companions returned to the Ship; voho having heard the Story, gave credit to it, vohen they found behind his Bed,

Book IX. Royal Commentaries.

and upon the Deck, and in corners of the Ship, fo many of his Enemies flain, which appeared upon account to be three hundred eighty, and odd, which he had killed with his Spir, befides others which had been wounded.

had killed with his Spit, bendes others which had been wounded. The fick Man, either out of fear, or joy of his victory, recovered his health, being much pleafed afterwards to recount the particulars of this fuccefs. In divers places upon the Coaft of *Peru*, and in divers years, untill 1572, and 73, there were places upon the Coaft of *Peru*, and in divers years, untill 1572, and 73, there were great Defructions, and even Plagues, caufed by the incredible multitudes of were great Defructions, and even Plagues, caufed by the incredible multitudes of their shown into the ground, as allo the Fruit-trees, which they pilled of their bark from the roots, to the very buds and fprouts; to that the Trees dying, the Inhafton were forced to make new Plantations in their places; and feared that they should have been forced to abandon their Dwellings, had not God in mercy caused that Plague to cease on a sudden, when it was just at the extremity of destruction. The particulars of which incredible damages, we shall, for brevity sake, omit.

## CHAP. XXIII.

Of their Hens and Pigeons.

WE come now, In the next place, to speak of Fowls, of which sew others have been transported into Peru, unless Poultry, such as Cocks, and Hens, and tame Pigeons, or House-doves. As for Stock-doves, or Wood-Pigeons, I know not whether any have been as yet brought thither. As to Hens, there is a certain Authour, who writes, that they were found in Peru, before the time that the Spaniards conquered it; and for proof thereof he alledges, that the time that the spaniards conquered it; and for proof thereof he alledges, that the sum have a proper Name for a Hen in their own Language, which is Gnalpa 5 and for an Egg, which is Ronto; and that the Indians have the same propriety in their speech for a Coward, whom they call a Hen, or Hen-hearted, as the Spaniards have: To which Argument we shall give this satisfactory answer.

We shall leave the Name of Gualpa until the end of this Chapter, and shall begin with the word Ronto, or Runtu; which signifies an Egg., not of a Hen in particular, but in general of any Fowl, whether tame or vivid; and when they mention an Egg. they add the Fowl or Bird from which it is produced, as of a mention and Egg.

Hen, Partridge, or Dove, cre. And so much for Runtu, or the Egg.

As to the expression of Gualpa, or Hen, to signifie a Covvard, the Indians may have deduced, or taken it up, from the Spaniards, as is ordinary for people vyho have entertained a familiarity and conversation vyith another to borrovy their have entertained a familiarity and conversation view in another to borrovy their have entertained a familiarity and conversation vyith another to borrovy their have entertained a familiarity and conversation of feen, how our Spaniphase and, that travel into Indy, France, Flanders and Germany, do frequently make use of the Proverbs and Expressions vulich they have learned from stranger Nations 5 to she Indians have taken this voord from the Spaniards to denote a Covvard, for otherwise, in their ovvn Tongue, they want not vvords more significant than this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich is Woman 5 and this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich is Woman 5 and this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich is Woman 5 and this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich is Woman 5 and this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich is Woman 5 and this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich is Woman 5 and this Spanify Saying; for they sometime call him Huarmi, vvhich I may be credited, considering that I my self am an Indian.

The word Gualpa is corrupted by contraction of the Syllables, and is inftead of Atabualpa, which doth not fignific a Hen, but was the Name of the laft Inca of Atabualpa, which doth not fignific as Hen, but was the Name of the laft Inca that reigned in Peru, whose Life was so bloudy, as we shall relate in its due place, that reigned in Peru, whose Life was so bloudy, as we shall relate in its due place, that reigned in Peru, whose Life was so bloudy, as we shall relate in its due place, that reigned in request and Basilisks in the World's for he being a Bastard by subtile artifices and contrivances, Murthered his World's for he being a Bastard by subtile artifices and contrivances, Murthered his Kingdom; and so Elder Brother Huasear, who was lawfull Heir, and Usurped his Kingdom; and so Elder Brother Huasear, who was lawfull Heir, and Usurped his Kingdom; and so Elder Brother Huasear, who was lawfull Heir, and Life was the destroyed the whole with cruel torments, never before known or invented, he destroyed the Whole Bloud.

Bloud-Royal, both Men, Women and Children, over which more tender Sex. that phonomy, or men, yrong and comment, we will be seen to be most exquisite tornens that his cruelty might triumph, he shipected them to the most exquisite tornens that his tyramical malice could invent; and not satisfy himself sufficiently with his own fleth and bloud, his unhumane rage proceeded to a destruction of all the Servants and Dependants on the Royal Court, which (as we have faid) were very numerous; for Offices were not confined to fingle persons, but to Villages and Towns, which were obliged to serve in their turns, such as Porters at the Gare Sweepers, Water-bearers, Gardiners, and the like; all which by their Villages and Communities being employed in these services, had their Habitations for the space of five, fix and seven Leagues round Cocco, whom he totally destroyed; and not being contented with a Maffacre of the Inhabitants, he demolished their Dwel lings, and put all to a miferable devastation; and yet his cruelties had proceeded farther, had not the Spaniards, who in the furious progress of his Tyrannies, entred that Country, given a ftop to his farther executions.

Now whereas the Spaniards in a short time after their coming took this Tyrant Atabraha, and in the publick Market-place putting him to the Wrack, executed manacapa, and in the publick transceptance parting into the Vitaci, executed him before the people in the most exemplary manner of punithment; which when the Indians observed, they praised their God the Sun, who had sent the Spaniards to perform justice, and revenge himself of the Tyrant, who had destroyed his Children, and all thole of his Bloud and Family: For which reason the Indians looking upon the Spaniards, as those who were sent from their God, did yield entire obedience to them, furrendring themselves absolutely to their disposal, which was a means to facilitate their Conquests; for they adored them as the Progenv which was descended from their God Viracosha, who appeared in a dream to one of their Kings, and therefore they gave the Name of Viracosha to the Spaniards.

On this false supposition they conceived this simple fancy, that when they heard the Cocks crow, which the Spaniards brought in, and were the first that were ever feen in Peru, they imagined that the Cocks pronounced the word Atahualpa in abhorrence of his deteftable tyrannies; whence contracting the word, they called Cocks and Hens by the Name of Gualpa: And whereas the Indians recounted these Fables to their Children, whereby they descended by way of tradition to after A. ges; the Boys, when they heard the Cocks crow, would answer in the same tone, crowing out, Atabaajas; and I must confess, when I was a Boy, that I uted, a mongst the other young Indians, to imitate the same tune when I ran about the Streets.

And thus we Children quavered out Atahnalpa, imitating, as near as we could the voice of the Cock: Nor did we onely tune his Name to our Song, but we brought the Names of his principal Captains into the Air of our Mulick, as Challcuchima Quillifeacha: And Ruminavi, which fignifies the Eye of a Stone, because he had a Pearl (as we call it) on one of his Eyes. Blas Valera having in his look and scattered Papers given an account of the sudden Death of Atabuaha, sather faith, that though he had been cruel to his Relations, and those of his Bloud, yet in the Government of his own people he was endued with incomparable Excelin the Government of his own people he was endued with incomparable Excelencies, endearing them to him by many obliging circumftances, and at laft in Elegant Latin uses these words: "Hence it was, that io soon as his Death was divulged amongst his Subjects, they would comfort themselves in saying, that the very Cocks which the Spaniards had brought over would not suffer the Name of fo great a Person to perish, or be forgotten, lamenting in their dolefull tone the Name of Atabuaspa; and therefore they gave the Name of Atabuaspa to all Cocks, which word the Indians of all Nations vulgarly received, as did also the "Spaniards and Preachers take up that word, when they would express the Name of a Cock to the Indians. Thus far are the Words of Blus Valera, who received this Relation in the Kingdom of Paints, from the Subjects of Atabuaspa, who were this Relation in the Kingdom of *Quint*, from the Subjects of *Atabualpa*, who were as well inclined to him, as good Subjects are to their natural King: And on the contrary, fuch as lived in *Cozco*, and were of a different faction, interpreted the crowing of the Cock with Atahualpa in his voice, to be by way of abhorrence and deteflation of the many cruelties and tyrannies of which he was guilty. By which I fuppole, that I have fufficiently now confuted the three former Conjectures; and that I have clearly proved, that there were no Cocks or Hens in Peru, before the Conquest which the Spaniards made of it.

As the Spaniards brought Hens and Pigeons first into Peru, so also they brought Peacocks thither from Mexico, for before that time none of that kind had been feen in my Countrey. It is a thing very remarkable, that Hens did not hatch their Chickens in Cozeo, nor yet in the Vallies neighbouring to it, though they fed them with the best nourithment they could contrive to give them; which defect they want me bert nonlimited they could contrive to give them; within detect they attributed to the chilness of the Air. Such as have mentioned this particular, have given for a reason hereof, that Hens were strangers in that Countrey, and their given for a reason factor, that Trens were transfers in that Commey, and their confliction and temperament not agreeable to the Climate; because in parts more continuition and temperament not agreeable to the Chimae; because in parts more warn, as *Tucay* and *Muyna*, which are not above four Leagues diffant from the City, the Hens hatch their Chickens as in other places; but in Cocco for above thirry years the Eggs proved all addle, and fo continued in the year 1560, when I denarted from that City: but some years afterwards, amongst other advices, which a certain Gentleman called Garci Sanches wrote me, I was informed that the Hens certain Generican cancer Garci Santzee, whose the, I was miornied that the Hens began to batch Chickens in Cozco, as freely and plentifully as in other places. In the year 1556, a Géntleman Native of Salamanca, call'd Don Martin de Guzman,

Royal Commentaries.

who had been in Peru; returning from Spain a fecond time thither, carried very who had been in *rern*; returning from *span* a recond time timer, tarried very fine furniture for Horfes with him, and other curiofities, amongst which he had a little Canary-bird in a Cage, which sang to admiration, and was the wonder of all, how so little a creature should be able to endure the long Voyage over two great Seas, and the Travels by Land both in Spain, and in Peru, from the Sea to Green. Thus we mention small and inconfiderable Birds, that so it may be an inducement to transport Birds and Fowl of greater benefit and use, such as Partridges, and other tame Fowl, which we breed up in our Yards, and feed at our Barn-doors.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

Of their Wheat.

From the Relation of Birds and Fowl, we are next to pass to Corn, Plants, Lentis, and such other things as were wanting in Pern: And as to this point we must note, that the first person that imported Wheat into my Countrey (for to I all the whole Empire of the Incas) was a certain noble Lady, called Mary of Escobar, who was married to Diego de Chaves, both Natives of Truxillo; I was well acquainted with her, when I lived at my own Plantation, but many years after the came to Peru, the removed to Cocco; but her Husband I did not know, for he dy-

This Lady, worthy of all good fortune, was the first that imported Wheat to the City of Rimac in Peru; for which great benefit the received no thankfull returns from my Countrey, though for a less valuable consideration the Gentiles adored Coru for a Goddess: I know not the year precisely in which it was brought; but this lam sure, the quantity was so small, not exceeding half a Bushel, that they sowed the Corn three years for its increase, dividing it into small parcels of thirty and forty Granes to a neighbour; which was given also for friendship sake, that so every

one might enjoy formething of the new Harvest. For this great benefit which this worthy Woman did to Peru, and for the many fervices performed by her Husband, who was one of the first Conquerours, a Planwheaten benormed by her Fluschild, who was one of the lift Conquerous, a Plattation of Indians was bestowed upon her in the City de los Rejes. In the year 1547, Wheaten bread was not as yet eaten in Cozco, though there was some Wheat sound in the Countrey: And I speak it upon this ground, because I do remember, that when Don Frayfolumo Dominico, Bishop of that City, sled from the Battel of Having, bequartered in my Father's house with Source or fifteen of his Companions, and my Mother extreminal them with Bread of Many, and the Source of the Companions. my Mother entertained them with Bread of Mayz; and the Spaniards were then fo familied with hunger, that they had not the patience to stay untill the Dinner was made ready, but taking whole handfulls of the raw Mayz, devoured them as if they had been sugred Almonds. It is not certainly known who was the first that important the state of the ted Barley, it is probable that some Granes of it being mixed with the Wheat, might Brow up with it, for we observe that they are never purely and entirely separated. D d d  $^{\rm 2}$  C H A CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXV.

Of the Vine, and of him who first planted Graves

HE who had the honour to be the first Importer of Nonh's Plant was Francis de Caravantes, a Nobleman of Toledo, and one of the first Conquerours of Peru, This Gentleman confidering the Countrey to be in some tolerable state of onier and repose, sent for Vines to the Camaries, as being the nearest place; from whence they brought the black fort of Grape, which produces a red Wine, but not of the deepest red, or Tent-colour; and though they have since planted several forts of Vines, such as Muscatel, and others, yet there is none of a pale or whitish co-

Bacchus was adored by the Gentiles, and worshipped for a God in reward of a lesser piece of service than this Gentleman had done for the Indians; for though Wine be now plentifull in Peru, yet the Natives thereof have so ungentile a palate. that they know not how to relift it, contenting themselves with their ancient Beverage made of Cara and Water. Moreover, I have heard in Peru, from the report of a Gentleman of good repute, that a certain Spaniard, who was very curious, and a great Virtuolo, had extracted a fort of Wine called Almacigo from Raifins which he had brought from Spain; and that having fowed fome of the Raifinftones, they produced a kind of Vines, but were to tender, that he was forced to conferve them three or four years in Almaeigo, untill fluch time as they were flrong enough to be planted; and that from thence the Grapes have taken so high a colour, that all the Wine in *Peru* became like the Tent-wine in *Spain*, though not altogether of fo deep a colour. It is probable that the Grapes of *Peru* have had their Original from both of these ways; for the *Spainards*, who were always passionate for their Countrey, and desirous to see the same Fruits growing in the *Indies*, as were in Spain, did omit no experiments or trials to bring the fame to their defined intent. Captain Bartholomen de Terraxas, who was one of the first Conquerours of Peru, and one of those who entred Chili under the Admiral Don Diego de Almagro, was the first that planted Grapes in his own Vineyard in the City of Cozco ; I was well acquainted with this Gentleman, and effectived him for a most generous perfon, and well accomplished in all points of most vertuous Endowments. He planted a Vineyard in his Lands, fituated in the Province of Cuntifuyu, which he manured by Indians, being called Achanquillo; from whence in the year 1555, as an evidence and proof of his good Husbandry, and greatness of his liberal Soul, he fent thirty Indians laden with fair and goodly Grapes to his intimate and familiar friend Garcilasso de la Vega, my honoured Lord, with order that he should divide amongst the Gentlemen of that City an equal share and proportion, that every one might enjoy the fruit of his labours. It was indeed at that time a great curiofity to have the Fruit of *Spain* growing in that Countrey, and a clear evidence of his munificent and liberal Soul; for if he would have made merchandise of those Grapes, he might have fold them for four or five thousand Ducats. For my part, I did partake of those Grapes, for my Father having made me the Messenger to carry them, attended with two Pages, I delivered to every principal House two large bunches of them.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

Royal Commentaries.

Of Wine; and of the first Man that made it in Cozco: and of the value of it.

ON the 21st of January, 1570, being upon my departure for Spain, I passed through the Plantation of Peter Lopez de Caçalla, a Native of Llerena, a place not far distant from Cozco, he had been Secretary to the President of Gasca, otherwise called Marcahnasi, about nine Leagues from the City, and there I met with a Portugal, called Allonfo Vacz, who was a great Husbandman, and skilfull in Agricolore, and a very honest Man; he shewed me all his Ground and Plantations, which were full of most rare and excellent Grapes, but would not suffer me to gather one bunch of them, which would have been very acceptable to a Traveller, as I was, and to one who loved them so well, but he was not pleased to hew me so much kindness; which when he perceived that I took notice of, to new me to maker attaches, which whether piece of discourtefie, for that his Master had encharged him not to meddle with so much as one Grape, because he intended to make Wine of them, as he afterwards did, pressing them in a trough, because he had no other convenience wherewith to tread or press them out; and as a School-fellow of mine told me afterwards in Spain, that this Peter Lopez de Caracalla, resolved to gain the Jewel which Charles the 5th commanded to be given to the full *Sp. miard*, who from any of the *Spanish* Plantations should produce, or be able to shew a certain quantity of Wheat, Barley, Wine or Oil, the which this great Emperour, and other Princes of glorious memory, were pleafed to hold forth, as an encouragement to those who should well manure their Land, that it might produce the Fruits of Spain, which did not originally belong to that

The quantity of Wheat or Barley which was required, was about a Seame, and of Wine, and Oil, about a hundred Weight of each, which is four Arrobas of Spanish Measure; and the Reward was to be of two pieces of Plate to the value of three hundred Ducats a piece; the gain and lucre of which was not the chief motive, that induced Pedro de Lopez de Gaçalla to be thus industrious in his Plan-tations, but rather the Glory and Honour he conceived of being renowned to poflerity, for being the first who made Wine from his own Vineyards near Cozco: and thus much shall serve as to the first Wines which were made in my Countrey, for other Cities of Peru, fuch as Huamanca and Arequepa, had them long before, but they were a fiveet fort of Haloca, or Muscatel Wines. Discoursing once in Cordova with a Canon or Prebend of Peru, concerning these matters which we now relate, he told me that he was acquainted in the Kingdom of Quitu, with a cettain Spaniard, who was a very curious Person, and one very skilfull in Husbandry, especially in the manuring of Vineyards; for he was the first that brought Vines from Rimac to Quitt, and had planted a spatious Vineyard along the Banks and from *tomac* to *zentu*, and had planted a spatious that it is extremely hot; This story is and for the River *Mirst*, which being under the Equinoctial Line, is extremely hot; This story is and for the greater curiofity he shewed me twelve several Apartments, one of very question-which he pruned every month in the year, and by that means had always fresh and risk frown. which he primed every month in the year, and by that means had always fresh and the grapes through all the months of the year. In all parts of Pent they water their Vines, because the Countrey is very hor, and the Weather always of the the Equinoc-fame temperature; so that when they would have their Vines produce their Fruit, that under they afford them Water, and vyhen not, and that they vyould have the Sap fall of the root, they vyith-hold the Water, and aftervyards having cast their Leaves, fall, and conference, they spring, and bud, and produce their Fruit: In the same manner Fruit be prostifully the spring, and bud, and produce their Fruit: In the same manner Fruit be prostifully spring, and bud, and produce their spring. In the same manner Fruit be prostifully spring, and bud, and produce their spring in the ear, and ready to be reaped; all vyhich is effected by the natural situation of the Climate, vyhich makes

CHAP.

39 I

Воок ІХ.

makes no difference of Seasons, and is indeed the effect of Nature, rather than of Curiofity, or any other good Husbandry.

In the Year 1560, which was about the time that I departed from Cozco, and one while after, it was not the cultome to afford Wine at the Table upon any invitation of the Neighbours, who vvere fuch as yvere Mafters of *Indiana*, and common Guelts, unless one, or so, might require it for the sake of his Health being accounted a point of Luxury and Vice for any one to drink it for other cannot than for necessity. For when the Spaniard, laid their first foundations of this Em pire, they acted it with great fobriety, and having began with hardthip and temperance, they eafily continued a moderate and frugal Table; fo that their Gueffe when invited, yould refuse Wine, though it were offered them; for they knew the price to be very dear, being worth, when cheapeft, at least thirty Ducare the Arrove. (vyhich is but tyventy five pounds vyeight) and continued at the fame price until after the Wars of Francisco Hernandez Giron. In the time of Gonçalo Piçarro, and before, it was vvorth from three hundred to five hundred Ducats the Arrove; and in the Years 1554, and 55, the Vintage so generally sailed through the vyhole Kingdom; and such scarcity there vyas of it in the City of los Royes, that there evas fearce fufficient for the Sacrament vehich is celebrated in the Maß; veherefore the Archbishop *D. feronino de Loussa*, ordered that half a Butt of Wine vehich years found in a House should be conserved for the use and service of the Maffes. In such scarcity and want of Wine they remained for several Days and Months, untill a thip arrived in that Port, belonging to two Merchants of my acquaintance, (whom, out of respect to their Noble Families, I forbear to name.) importing two thousand Barrels of Wine, part of which they fold at first for three hundred and fixty Ducats the Barrel, and the latter parcel for no less than two hundred. This account I received from a Mafter of one of the Vessels on which I embarked in my Voyage from *lot Royes* to *Panama*; for which realons Wine is not commonly drank. On a certain day a Gentleman who was Master of *Indians* invited another to dine with him, who was Master of none, and being in cheerfull conversation with five or fix Spaniards more, he defired a cup of Water to drink; upon which the Mafter of the House sent him Wine, but he refufing it, faid that he drank no Wine; whereupon the Mafter replied, that if it were fo, he should defire his company to eat with him every day; intimating that the charge of Victuals was inconsiderable, provided that the reckoning were not inflamed with Wine, which yet was not refused so much for the dearness of it, as for the total want there was fometimes of it, being brought from fo remote parts

#### CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Olive Plants, and who brought them first to Peru.

In the same Year of 1560. Don Antonio de Ribera; an Inhabitant of the City of los. Roya, who had been Procurator General of Peru, and lived some time there; and going afterwards into Spain, and returning back again, he brought with him ston Swille several Olive Plants, which he carefully saved, and put up in two great Jars, and of above a hundred which he had brought, there were but there sins onely that were alive, the which he planted in a fruitfull Soil and Valley, wherein he having also other Fruits; such as Grapes, Figgs, Pomegranats and Oranges, Limes, and the like, with Pulse, and Seeds of Spain, he sold them publickly in the Market-place of that City, which being new Fruit, were bought up at any prices, and as I am informed for certain, that he made above two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight thereos. Don Antonio de Ribera having planted these Olive Trees in his own Land, would not afford so much as one Leaf of them to be planted in any other Ground than his own; and so frecurity of them he guarded them with at least one hundred Negroes, and thirty Dogs, which watched his rich Plantations both by day and night; but it happening out that some persons, more watchfull than his Dogs, and perhaps by the connivance or consent of the Negroes, (as is to be suspected) stole away in the night time one of the three Olive Plants, the which, in some time after, was seen to flourish and grow in Chili, being above sat hundred Leagues from the City of Los Royes; and there for the space of three Years afforded many sprouts for divers Plantations, increasing with that prosperous shout me became a fair Olive Tree.

Dow Antonio de Ribera, for recovery of his Plants, having procured many Excommunications againft the Authours of this Theft; at the end of three years it came to pafs, that the fame Tree was again reftored, and replanted in the very fame place from whence it had been taken, with that fecrecy, and with that dexterity returned, that the Mafter could never detect the Perfon who had robbed him of it. The Olive-plantations have thrived better in Chili, than they have done in Pern; the reafon whereof may be, because the Climate of Chili may be more agreeable to them, being situate from thirty to forty degrees, being almost of the same temperature with Spain; and in Pern they thrive better in the Hills than inthe Plains. At first three or four Olives were a great Treat for a Stranger, but now at this time they bring Oil from Chili to Pern. And thus much shall serve to have spoken concerning the first plantations of Olives in my Countrey; let us proceed to other Plants, Pulse and Seeds, which were not originally in my Countrey.

#### CHAP. XXVIII.

Of other Fruits of Spain, and Sugar Canes.

T is most certain, that anciently in Peru there were neither Figs nor Pomegranates, nor Orangee, nor Guest or Guest Language and Artists and Artists and Peru there were neither Figs nor Pomegranates. nates, nor Oranges, nor sweet or sower Lemons, nor Apples, nor Pears, nor Quinces, nor Nectarines, nor Peaches, nor Apricocks, nor Plumbs of any fort, like those in Spain; onely they have one fort of Plumb different from ours, which the Spaniards call Melas, and the Indians Usium, nor had they Melons, or Cucumbers, nor Goards, which we drefs and flew in our Dishes. Of all these Fruits which I have named, and many others which I cannot call to mind, there was not any fort found in *Perin*, when the *Spaniards* at first entred the Countrey, and yet now the abundance of them is so great, that they are not esteemed; and like the Cattel, the number is so increased, that the *Spaniards* themselves have admired

392

When Pomegranates were first produced in the City of los Reyes, they carried one of them, of a prodigious greatness, in procession, laying it upon the Pageant of the most holy Sacrament, when that was carried in triumph on the Festival day of Corpus Christi. I dare not describe the bigness of it, lest I should be thought to tell a Traveller's Story, and offend the incredulity of ignorant People, who conceive the perfection of all worldly things to be contained within the compass of their own Village. How foever it would feem an imprudent caution, and to much nicety for a Man to forbear to relate the great Wonders of Nature, for fear of offending the ignorant fort of Mankind; and therefore I shall take the boldness or orienting the ignorant fort of Manking, and inference I mail take the boloness to report with confidence, that the Pomegranate, of which I speak, was as big as the Vessel in which they ordinarily carried Oil from Seville into the Indies; and crany bunches of Grapes have weighed eight or ten pound weight, and Citrons half a hundred, and Quinces as big as a Man's Head. And thus much for the Fruit. Now as to other Trees and Plants, we shall deliver that which is as strange and wonderfull as the former.

I should gladly know the Names and Conditions of those Persons who were fo curious and industrious as to import them into these parts, that so I might specifie and record them in this Hiftory, as worthy of due Praise and Honour. In the Year 1580. a Spaniard called Gaspar de Alcoger, who was a rich Merchant in the City of los Reyes, and had there a very fair Plantation, was the first that brought Cherries, and Mazards, into that Countrey, which, as they tell me, are all dead, by reason of the over great care they had of them, and the many experinents they tried to make them grow. Nor were there anciently Sugar-Cares in *Peru*, though now by the induftry of the *Spaniard*, and the fertility of the foil, they are increased to a loathsome plenty; that whereas formerly they were highly they efterned, are now become of no value or estimation.

The first Sugar Works of Peru were made in Huanacu by the contrivance of a Gentleman, with whom I was well acquainted; a Servant of his who was a fubtile and ingenious Person, observing the great quantities of Sugar which were imported from Mexico, by reason of which the Sugar of that Country would not ported from Mexico, by reaton of which the Sugar of that Countrey would not fell to any Account, advifed his Mafter to fend one Ship's lading of his Sugar into New Spain, that they feeing thereby the plenty of that Commodity in Peru, might forbear to fend any more thither; the project fucceseded according to expectation, and now Sugar-works are erected in many places of that Countrey.

I have been told, that fome Spaniards, who have been curious in Husbandry, have engrafted the Fruits of Spain, upon the wild Stocks of Peru, to the great admiration of the Indians, who have been aftonished to fee one of their own Trees to hear two three and four forts of Fruit in one were which before a varieties because of the control of the Indians.

bear two, three, and four forts of Fruit in one year, which being a curiofity beyond the feantling of their Understanding, they have contented themselves with the admiration of it, without farther search into the cause. I am of opinion that

Olives might be engrafted on those Trees which the Indians call Quisbuar, for both the Wood and the Leaf is much like an Olive; and I remember when I was a the Wood and the Leat is much like an Olive; and I remember when I was a Boy, that I have often heard the *Spaniards* fay, that Olives and Oil did proced from Trees like them; but the truth is, that Tree is barren, for though it cafts one a Leaf like the Olive, yet it foon withers and falls: for want of Canes we did usually in Cozco make our Darts of that Wood; for Canes will not grow in fo cold a Countrey as that.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XXIX.

Of their Garden-Herbs, and other Herbs, and of the greatnels of them.

OF all the common Herbs, and Plants, and Roots, which are eaten in Spain, there was none in Peru; that is to fay, Lettuce, Radillies, Turnips, Garlick, Onions, Beets, Spinage, Goards, Garden-Carduus, Asparagus, and the like, which grow in Spain, onely there was Pursion and Pennyroyal; nor of Seeds had they Peafe, or Beans, or Lentils, or Annifeed, or Mustard-feed, or Carroways, or Rice, or Lavander, nor many other Herbs and Plants, nor had they Roses, or Gillyflowers of various forts, as we have in Spain, nor Jasmines, nor other odori-

ferous Flowers.

BOOK IX.

Of all these Herbs and Flowers which we have already named, and many others, which I cannot now call to mind, there are now fuch great quantities, and which do now abound to that degree, that they are cumberfore and pernitious one ground, having to forcad and rooted themselves in some Vallies, that they cannot be eradicated and destroyed by the Art and Industry of Mankind; and having so over-run some Vallies, that they have rooted out the ancient name, and called them to take that of the prevailing Weed, witness that of Rucma, which is now called the Valley of good Herbs upon the Coaft. In the City of los Roos the first Spinage and Endive which they sowed grew to that prodigious height, that a Man could not reach the top of it with his Hand, and so thick, that a Horse could not pass through them; and all other Herbs grew to the like rankness and asseness at the beginning; in like manner Wheat in many parts yields three hun-

In the Valley of Huaren, lately peopled by a Colony which the Vice-king Don Hursado de Mendoça sent thither, the like abundance was observable; for in the Year 1560, being upon my Voyage into Spain, one of the Inhabitants of that Colony, called Garci Vazquez, who had been a Servant to my Father, carried me to his House, where at Supper he gave me some Bread, and told me, that it was of that Corn which had yielded him three hundred for one; and so much I tell you, faid he, that you may report it of a truth in Spain; which when I feemed to admire, Garci Vazquez affured me that I might believe it, for that upon the Faith of a Christian he had sowed no more than two Bushels and a half of Wheat, and that they had produced 680 Bulhels, which were heaped in his Granary, and that he thought he had loft as much more for want of people to gather it in.

Once I remember, that telling this story to Gonçalo Silvestre, of whom we have made mention in our History of Florida, and shall have farther occasion to name him, when we shall have deduced our matter to his time, he confirmed the fame, and farther affured me, that in the Province of Chaquifaca, which is near to the River of Pilleumayu, and where he hath some Lands, that the first Year he sowed Wheat, it yielded him four hundred Bushels for one. In the Year 1556, when Don Garçia de Mendoça went Governour into Chili, and taking the Port of Arics in his way, it was told him, that in a certain Valley, near to that place, called Cu-

capa, there was a Turnip to be feen of that prodigious bigness, that five Horses might be tied to the top branches of it, and that if he pleased, they would cany thin to fee it. Garçia willingly accepted the profer, and went thither purposely that he might say he had seen such a tight, which when he saw, he found the report true, for the Turnip was so big, that a Man could scarce encompass it with both his Armes; and fo tender, that being brought to Don Garçia's quarters, many people are of it. In the valley which is called the Vale of good Herbs, there are some Herbs of two Yards and a half long, for I keep the measures of some of

them, and upon that affurance I give this Relation.

394

In the Year 1595, and in the Month of May, being in the Cathedral Church of Cordova, and there discoursing with Don Martin de Contreras, and telling him. that being now to write these particulars in my History, I was a little scrupplone to deliver the truth of the strange increases of Corn, and the prodigious growth of Herbs in my Countrey, lest to many, who had never gone out of their own. it should seem incredible, or that I took the privilege of a Traveller, which is to lve; but he defired me not to forbear to give a true account on fuch confiderations, leaving to them to believe what they pleased; for my part, I can testifie that I was an Eye-witness of the great Turnip in the Valley of Cucapa, where I was that day with Don Garcia de Mendoza, and upon the Faith of a Gentleman I faw the five Horfes tied to the tops of the Turnip, and that afterwards I are fome of it with feveral others; and farther I can add, that the fame day I faw in the Valley of  $x_0$  a Melon which weighed an hundred and three pounds weight, the truth of which was attefted before a publick Notary; and in the Valley of Tues I atte of one Root of Lettuce, which weighed seven pounds and an half. Many other things of the like kind concerning Corn, Fruit and Herbs, this Gentleman related to me, which I omit to mention, that I may not feem tedious to the

Acofta, in the 19th Chapter of his 4th Book, where he treats of the Greens. Herbs and Fruits of Peru, hath these very Words, which I have extracted verba-tim: "I have never heard, said he, that the Indians ever had Gardens for Herbs, "Onely that they disease for herbs," "onely that they digged fome little pieces of ground to fow Herbs, Peafe, Beans and Fitches, nor have I learned, that ever any kind of these several forts of Pulse which grow in Europe were found in Pern, until they were first imported by the Spaniard, which since have grown and increased in a wonderfull manner; for the fertility of those Countries far exceeds the foil of Spain, as we have given an example of the Melons which grow in the Valley of *Tea* in *Peru*, which are not fown every year like ours, but take a root which produces Melons for many Years, and are cut and pruned at the Seasons like a Tree, which is a thing "that never happened in any part of Spain, &c. Thus far are the World Acofta, upon whose Authority I adventure with much confidence to report the great fruitfulness of this Countrey; and how wonderfully at the beginning the Fruits of Spain thrived and increased to an incredible greatness; to which also I shall add another Excellency which Acofta mentions, which is, that the Melons did all prove good, provided that time were given them to ripen, which gives a farther indication of the fertility of this Soil. And in regard the first Melons which were feen in the parts adjacent to los Reyes, gave occasion to a pleasant story which we shall not omit in this place, because it is a farther evidence of the ancient simplicity of the Indians, which is this: A certain Inhabitant of the City of los Reyes, who was one of the first Conquerours, and a Person of Noble Bloud, named Antonio Solar, having a Plantation in Pachacamac, about four Leagues diflant from the City, maintained a Spaniard for his Baily, to overfee and manue his land; who fent two Indians, laden with five Melons apiece, being ten in all, to his Master, that he might taste the fruit of his ground; and therewith sent a Letter in one of the Baskets, telling them, that in case they are any of them, that Paper would discover it. With this charge they departed, and being half a days Journey on their way, they fate down to rest, and repose themselves; during which stay, one said to the other, Let us taste of this Fruit which we carry to our Masser, but the other made some scruple, saying, The Paper will discover all, as our Steward tast ms; but the other replied, that if they threw the Paper behind the Hedge, it could be the made since the theory against the stay and the stay against the stay a out the out replied that it they dried the which the recige, it could not fee them, nor arife up in witness against them; which contrivance pleased the Companion, and the Paper being laid aside, they cut the Melon, and devoured it. For the *Indians* at first not understanding the Mystery of Letters, imagined that Papers were Meffengers, to whom the Spaniards had declared their minds, that rapers were interioringers, to which were delivered to them, and that they were as and fpoken those words which were delivered to them, and that they were as and more than the way where they travelled; and therefore when they fell to their treat, they laid the Paper behind a bank, that it might not fee them. As they travelled on their Journey, he that carried the five Melors faid to him that had the four, if we go with this odd number, our Mafter will fuspect that we have eaten one, and therefore let us eat another, to make them equal; this witty Counfel pleafed well, and fo by agreement they fate down and ate the other: And being now come to their Mafter, they presented down and are the other. That being how come to then whater, they prefented him with eight Melons onely, who reading the Letter, asked them what was become of the other two Mellons, for that the Letter specified ten. No Sir, said they, the Steward gave us but eight. Why do you lie, faid Antonio Solar, for the Paper freaks of ten: Wherewith the poor Fellows became fo affrighted and confuted, that they knew not what to reply, but onely to confess the truth, saying, that that they knew not what to reply, out onely to comes the thuth, laying, that with great reason the *Spaniards* were called *Viracocha*, fince they were able to penetre into such hidden Secrets. A Story of the like nature *Gomara* relates to have happened in the Island of Cuba, when it was at first possessed by the Spaniards: and indeed it is no wonder that the fame ignorance should be common in all parts of the new World; for the simplicity of the Indians was such, as that what soever was new, and not feen to them before, could never enter into their capacities. and onely ferved to fill them with wonder and admiration; for whatfoever they observed to be extraordinary in the Spaniards, such as running on Horseback. breaking Oxen to the Yoke, and ploughing the ground with them, making Mills. and building Arches for Bridges, shooting with Guns, and killing at an hundred and two hundred paces, and the like, were all fuch miracles to them, as could not be effected by other means, than some Divine Power; and for that reason they called the Spaniards Gods, as they did in the evidence which the Paper gave against them.

#### XXX. CHAP.

Of Flax, Asparagus, Visnagas, with which they cleanse Teeth; and Anniseeds.

NOR was there Flax in Peru at first, but Donna Catalina de Retes, who was a Native of St. Lucar, and Mother-in-law to Francis de Villasuerte, a noble and religious Lady, and one of the first Nuns of the Convent of St. Clare in Coco, expected in the Year 1560. to receive some Flax Seed from Spain, to sow in that Countrey, together with Looms and Instruments to spin and weave Linen for their Houses; but in the Year that I departed from Pern, I cannot say that those things were as yet brought; but fince I came from thence, I have heard that confiderable quantities of Linen are made there, though I cannot avouch how great Spinfters the *Spaniffy* Women have been, nor how good Hufwives my Countrey Women are, for I did never fee them fpin Linen, though I have feen them fow, and weave Cotton and fine Wool, which the *Indian* Women fipan with the spinfter or the spinfter of the spinft great curiofity, though they combed it with their Fingers, for want of Cards wherewith to card it, and therefore they may be excused, if they be not as yet become fuch excellent Spinsters of Linen as our Spanish Houswives are.

But to return to our former Discourse, relating to the great esteem which the Fruits and Commodities of Spain had gained in the Indies at first, when the Spa-Eee 2

Book IX.

niards had newly planted themselves in Peru; I remember that in the Year 1500 or --- 56 Garcia de Melo, who was then Treasurer for his Majesty in Cozco, fent m my Lord Garcitaffo de la Vega a prefent of three Asparagus, where he had then, or where they grew, is not known; onely he defired him to accept and eat that curiofity of Spanish Fruit; the Alparagus were very fair ones, two of which were as big as a middle Finger, and the third of a yard long; the other was thicker, but shorter, but all of them so tender, that they were easily broken. My Father. that he might doe the greater honour to this Spanish Plant, ordered that the Asia ragus should be boiled on a Pan of Coals in his own Chamber, in presence of ragus mond be solded on a ran of Coas in his own Chainber, in prefere of feven or eight Gentlemen, who were at Supper with him. When the Afparagus were boiled, and a fauce for them made with Oil and Vinegar, Garcitaff divided the two largest among the Guests at his Table, and the third he took wholly to himself, desiring them to pardon him for that time, if he carved himself the largest portion of the Spanish Fruits. In this manner the Asparagus were eaten with great chear and mirth, as if the Phenix had been to be divided amongstthem; and though I ferved then at the Table, yet nothing thereof fell to my fhare

About that time also Captain Bartholomen of Ferrazas sent my Father three Visnaga stalks, (which grow like our Fennel Seeds, and are for picking the Teeth.) the which being brought from Spain, were accepted with much thankfulness, and were ferved at the Table to a Stranger after Dinner, one of the Straws being gi-

ven him with much Ceremony.

About this time also Anniseeds were produced in Cozco, and strewed in all their Bread, which was of greater efteem than all the Nectar or Ambrofia which the Poets mention; at this rate the inconsiderable things of Spain were esteemed in Peru at the first, which may serve to please the curiosity of after Ages, when they reade the History of the first actions and humours of their Forefathers. Howfoever I do not find that either Afparagus have thrived, or that Vifnagas have been produced in that Countrey, though other Plants, Corn, Herbs and Cattel have multiplied in exceeding abundance.

In like manner they have planted Mulberry Trees, and brought over Silk-Worms, which before that time were not in Peru; but the Silk which they produce will not hold Winding, or Spinning, by reason of some great defect

396

CHAP

## CHAP. XXXI.

Of the new Names given to distinguish their several Tribes. or Generations.

 ${\bf B}^{\, {
m IIT}}$  the best and most to be esteemed of all those things which were transported into the *Indies*, were the *Spaniards* themselves, and the *Negros* which are their Slaves and Servants. From these two Nations others have been derived, which are a compound of these, and different mixtures which are distinguished by divers Names. And though in our Hiftory of Florida we have mentioned this particular, vet it being to our prefent purpole, it may be convenient to repeat it pantinar, yet it being to our prefent purpose, it may be convenient to repeat it again in this place: the matter is this: A Spanish Man, or Woman, born in Spain, again in this place: the matter is this: A spampa is tail, or vy ofinan, born in spam, and come into that Countrey, is there called a Spaniard, or a Castilian; but the Children born in the Indies from Spaniards, are called Criollos, which fignifies one born in that Countrey; which word was made by the Negros, for so also they call their own Children born in those parts, and thereby diftinguish them from those of Guin, who are of more efteem for having been born free in the Countrey of their Fathers, than those who were born in the land of Bondage; so that the Name of Criollos is common to the race of the Spaniards, and of the Negros: the bloud of a Negro, and an Indian, being mixed together, is called a Muluta, or Mo-lata: To the Children of this kind of mixture they give the Name of Cholo, which is a word framed in the Isles of Barlovento, which is as much as a Dog, and not a Dog neither of the best kind or race, but of a Cur, or Mongril, giving them the most detestable, and most villanous Name they could invent; but the Children between a Spaniard and an Indian they call Mestizos, which fignifies such as come of Spanish and Indian bloud, which is a word formed and framed by our Foresattes the Spaniards, who first conquered this Countrey; and for this reason I am not ashamed to own that honourable denomination, and with a full mouth pronounce my felf to be one of them; though in the Indies they take it for a great disparagement for any Man to say to one of them, Thou art a Messizo, or he is a Melio, and for that reason they take it to be a more honourable Name to be called a Mountanier, which at first was given them for an affront or disparagement, in regard that Mountanier is one born and bred in the Mountains: But afterwards in confideration that those who live in the Mountains of Biscay and Asturia, do under the Title of Mountainers affirme to themselves great Honours and Privileges, the Meftizor were pleased with that Appellation, though indeed it is onely honourable to those who are Natives of those Provinces of Spain, and not to those who are born in the Mountains of Peru; as Antonio de Lebrixa attests, to whom Spain owes much for the Eloquence of his Latine Tongue. In the vulgar Language of Pern, Sacharuna fignifies a Mountainer, and which more properly is a Salvage; and so when they called them Mountainers, it implied that they were a kind of Beafts, or wild Men; though our filly Parents not understanding the true Ropriety of the word, were pleafed, and gloried in their own ignominy: the Children of Meflizor they call Quarraluos, which is to fay, that they are three parts Paulls, and but one Indian; but the Children of a Meflizo, with an Indian Woman they call Tieffich with its three parts Indian and but one Children of the Meflizor, with an Indian Woman they call Tieffich with its three parts Indian and but one Smith. man they call Tresatorus, which is three parts Indian, and but one Spanish. All thefe Names, and many others, which for brevity fake I omit, were framed in my Countrey for diffinction of the feveral generations, and mixtures of bloud, which have been compounded fince the time of the Spaniards, and who were the Authours of them, as they were of many other particulars which we have formenly noted. And so let us return again to our History of the Incas, who were descended from Huayna Capac the Great, whose memorable Actions require our

#### CHAP. XXXII.

Huafcar Inca requires his Brother Atahualpa to doe him Homage.

H Cama Capac being dead, the two Brothers reigned peaceably together for four or five years in quiet possession of their respective Jurisdictions, with out invading the Rights, or Limits, of each other, or attempting new Conquests. For the King Huafear had his Territories bounded to the North with the Kingdom of Quita, which belonged to his Brother; and all the other three quarters were already subjected to his Dominion, as far as from the losty Mountains of the Antis, to the Sea-coast, which extend East, West and South, comprehending the Anis, to the Sea-coait, which extend rait, we it and South, comprehending therein the Kingdom of Chili. The Inca Arabnalpa on the other fide lived peaceably, not affiring to new Conquefts, but onely inclined to enjoy himfelf, and confult the good and benefit of his people, but Dominion and Rule can admit no Rival or Equal; so this Tranquillity continued not for above five years before that Huascar repenting, of his easie assent to the desire of his Father, imagined that he had, to his own great damage quitted his Right to the Kingdom of 2010 unto his Brother Atabualpa; for befides the prejudice he fuffered by having to confiderable a branch lopped off from his Empire, he also found himself dienacontideration a branch lopped on from his Empire, he allo found himself difena-bled from farther progress in his Conquests, or making additions to his Domini-ons, being shut up on that side by his Brother, where onely there was way to say ther Conquests; the glory of which were now onely belonging to the fortune of Atabualya: And in regard, that as by such acquisitions he was in a possibility of making his Empire greater than his, so it was probable he might become equal, if not superjour to him: And seeing that this his Brother was of an ambitious, and an apparatus Spirit. Be had just could not see the facility of the second an unquier Spirit, he had just cause to suspect, that finding himself strong and powerfully he would attempt to take the Diadem from his own Head.

These melancholy Considerations increasing daily in the breast of Hunser, he grew so sad and pensive, that not being able to support longer the burthen of his jealousie, he dispatched a Messenger to his Brother Atahusha; giving him to unjealoutie, the dispatched a vienenger to ins distinct annuture; giving mill to understand, that, according to the ancient Constitution and Canon of the First beat Manco Capec, which had been observed by all generations descended from him, the Kingdom of Lyin, and all the dependencies belonging to it, were properly, and of right inherent in the Crown, and Imperial Seat of Cozco. And though he had quitted his claim, thereunto, in respect to that forced obedience he owed to had quitted his claim thereunto, in respect to that rorced openience ne owed to his Father, yet by the first Rules of Justice he was not obliged thereinto, nor was any such Resignation lawfull, being to the damage of his Crown, and to the right of his Successor, which his Father had neither power to enjoin, nor he to perform: But in regard his Father had so commanded it, and he assented, he was willing to confirm the fame Grant to him on two Conditions: First, that he do not add one Foot of Land to his prefent Dominions, for that all his Conquels do of right belong to the Empire; and, fecondly, that as a Feudatory he perform towards him Homage and Vaffalage.

This Meffage Arahualpa received with all the submission and humility imaginable; and having taken three days time to return his Answer, he with all the feigned affection, and fubrile diffirmulation, he could contrive, made this Reply: That he had always in his heart entertained obedient thoughts towards his Lord and Sovereign the Capac Inca; and that as an evidence thereof, he would never attempt to encrease, and enlarge his Dominions of Quim, but by the order, and with the consent of his Majesty, to whose pleasure he was so entirely devoted. that in case he should think sit to dispose otherwise of his Kingdom, he would willingly refign all to his command, and live as privately in his Court, as any of his Uncles and Kindred, ferving him both in Peace and War with faithfulness and diligence.

diligence. This joyfull Answer from Atahnalpa, the Messenger returned with all diligence. This joyuun Amwer from Attanuapa, the interneger returned with all expedition by the Poft, remaining still at the Court of Atahuapa in expectation of Instructions from the Inca of what farther to act and negotiate therein. The Inca teceiving this foft Answer with great joy and satisfaction, replied again, That he did not in the least repine at the Possessions which his Father had bestowed on he did not in the least repine at the Possessinon which his Father had bestowed on he didnot in the least repine at the Possessinon which his Father had bestowed on he didnot in the least repair constantly to \$Cozco\$, and perform the Homage he had agreed. 'To which Atabuasa returned answer, That he was very happy to know the Will and Pleasure of his Lord the Inca, but much more to perform it; which that he might doe, he would speedily repair to the place appointed, to take the Oath of Allegiance; and for the doing thereof in the most clemm manner, he desired his Majesties licence and permission, that all the Provinces of his State might attend him thither, to join with him in the solemn celebration of the suneral Obsequies of his Father Huapna Capaa, according to the custome observed by the Kingdom of \$2aiia, and the Provinces depending on it; and that having accomplished that ceremony, both he, and all his Subjects, would take the Oath of Allegiance and Fealty. Huasar Inca easily consented to this gratefull Proposition, which his Brother had made to him, giving him to understand, that he might take his time of coming to Cozeo, when it seemed most congratefull Proposition, which his Brother had made to him, giving him to under-land, that he might take his time of coming to Cozco, when it feemed most con-venient, and that he gave him leave to celebrate the rites of his Father's Fune-ral according to the custome of his Countrey: And so both the Brothers ap-peared fatisfied; the one rejoycing at the good correspondence he had with his Brother, little suspecting the malitious design that lay concealed under it of be-reaving him of his Life and Empire; and the other pleased himself with the thoughts and contrivance of his damnable Plot, which he had laid to make himfelf Master both of one and the other.

#### CHAP. XXXIII.

The Subtilties which Atahualpa used to take suspicion from the mind of his Brother.

Things being thus prepared, the King Atahualpa published a Decree through all his Kingdom and Provinces, that all people who were able to travel unto Cocco, should within the space of so many days prepare themselves to take a Journey thither, that they might according to the ancient custome of their Nation celebrate the Funeral Rites of the Great Huayna Capac his Father, and take the Oaths of Homage and Allegiance to their Supreme Monarch Huasear Inca; and that for the greater glory and splendour, every one should appear in his best Onaments and Garments bestitting such a Solemnity; but secretly he intimated his instructions to his Captains, that in their respective Divisions they should take care to chuse such select Men as were Souldiers, and better armed for War, than accounted for performance of the Obsequies; and that they should march in discounted for performance of the Obsequies; vers Divisions of five and six hundred in a Squadron, and so disguise the matter as to appear in the outward shew, rather like Servants and Attendants, than like Souldiers; and that every Division should march at two or three Leagues distance each from the other.

And moreover, he gave Orders to the Captains, who led the Van, that when they were come within ten or twelve days March of Cozco, that then they should shorten their pace, that the Rere might come up to them, who were commanded to double their March, that so they might overtake those in the Van. In this order the Troops of Atabualpa, confifting of above thirty thousand select Men, most being old veterane Souldiers, proceeded in their March; who also were

Book IX.

Commanded by those famous and experienced Captains which his Father had left, and recommended to him 5 two of which Officers were especially famous above the rest, one of which was called Challebneima, and the other Quagna, and Atahualpa gave out, that he would himself in Person bring up the Rerc.

Huafar placing great confidence in the words of his Brother, and much more in that untainted Loyalty which the hadam had ever been to their huas; a tellimony of which faithfulness is given by Acofa, in these words, taken out of the twelfth Chapter of his fixth Book: "Without doubt, faid he, great was the "reverence and affection which this people thewed to their huas, it having new to been known that any one of them was ever guilty of High-Treason, &c. For which reason Hanfar inspecting nothing lefs than such a faithless and treatonable design, did with all freedom and generous liberty give order, that they should be supplied with all Provisions in their way, and all kind treatment shewed them, as befitted Boothers, who were travelling to perform the Funeral Rites of their Futher, and to take the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance. Thus both Parties moved on different considerations, that of Huasam with all the simplicity and sincerity imaginable, and the other of Andmatps, with all the supplicity and sunning that could be contrived and learned in the Schools of Malice.

For Arabaalpa being inferiour in Power and Strength to his Brother Hualcar, durft not adventure on an open War; but covertly managing his deligns, made fure of his game, which he had certainly loft, had he professed an open en-

mity.

#### CHAP. XXXIV.

Huascar being advised of the Treason, assembles his Forces.

In this order the people of Quitn marched for the space of sour hundred Leagues, untill they came within a hundred Leagues of Cozco: In which March, several experienced Governours of Provinces through which they passed, bosserving that the order which these people kept, looked more like the Dissipation of an Army, than the Rule of Mourners going to a Funeral, or of Vasses going to take the Oaths of Fealty and Allegiance; for that on either of these occasions sive or six thousand Men were sufficient; and that for giving Fealty, the intercourse of Captains and great Men was onely requisite and necessary, the than such a croud and multitude of common Souldiers: And farther reflecting on the turbulent and unquiet temper of Atabuaspa, which was always false, and his humour Martial, they could not but suspect, that there was something more intended by this warlike Preparation, than what tended to Peace, and the professions of a Brother and a Subject; on which suspicion and jealousse they dispatched secret intelligence to Hunsear, beseching him not to trust to his Brother Atabuaspa, who certainly came with other designs than what he outwardly pretended.

Upon this information Huafear awakening himself from that dream of security in which he slept, dispatched Messengers with all diligence possible to the Governours of the Provinces of Antifina and Collaspan, commanding them immediately to march to Cozco with what Forces they were able to levy: But to the Division of Chinchessian, which was of the greatest extent, and which was the most war-like Nation of all the others, he omitted to send his Orders, because they were already joined with the Enemies Army as they passed through their Country. The people of Anahuaspa growing consident, and emboldned by this negligence and security of Huasear, and his Subjects, arrived within forty Leagues of Cozco; and

then those in the Van shortning their days Marches, as the others enlarged them, they came at length, in a few days, to make a body of twenty thousand Men, and to pitch their Camp at the bank of the River Appurimac, which they passed without any opposition; and thence began to proceed like declared Enemies, with open Arms in their hands, and their Colours stying: And thus they marched fair and fostly in two Divisions or Squadrons, being the Vanguard of the Army, untill the Rere guard over-took them, consisting of ten thousand Men more, and then proceeded in a body untill they came to the top of the Hill of Villa camea, being but six Leagues distant from the City; but Atabualpa kept himself within the Confines of his own Kingdom, not daring to adventure his Person sarther, untill he had proved the success of the first Battel, in which he had placed all his hopes, availing himself much on the security and negligence of his Enemies, and on the Provess and good Conduct of his experienced Captains.

Prowes and good Conduct of his experienced Capitalis.

The Enemy being thus near approached, Huascar made all the Levies of Souldiers, which the shortness of the time would admit; but the greatest number of his Army being to be setched from the remote parts of Collassyn, which was at least two hundred Leagues distant, could not possibly be brought together in time to make any resistence; and those of Antisyn were but sew in number, by reason that that Countrey being mountainous, is very ill peopled; but Cuntisyn being a Province more compact, was very populous, so that the Curacas came in in great numbers, forming a Body of thirty thousand Men: But these being all new raised Men, and by reason of the long Peace unexperienced in War, they were timorous, and unable to fight and contend with an Army of veterane Souldiers. The Inca Huascar, with his Brethren and Relations, and as many as he could assemble, consisting in all of about ten thousand Men, marched forth to join the other Body of his Army, which came from parts lying Westward from the City; and having met them, they staid together in expectation of farther recruits.

#### CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Battel fought between the Incas, the Victory of Atahualpa, and his Cruelties.

THE Atabuahians, who were the best Souldiers, considering that delays were dangerous, and might hazard the fuccess which quick execution would seare, marched with resolution to meet Huascar, and give him battel before his other Troops were joined with him; and finding him encamped in an open Plain, about two or three Leagues to the Westward of Cozco, they assailed him with all their power; against which he on the other side made such stout resistence, that fortune seemed doubtfull unto which she should give the victory; the Atahualpian excited with the glory of taking Huascar Prisoner, fought with spight and malice; and his own Subjects being great Lovers of their King, contended with equal courage to defend and preferve him, fo that the Battel continued that whole day with great flaughter on both fides: Howfoever, at length for want of the Colla, and by reason that the people of Huascar were a raw Militia, and unexperienced in War, so that one Souldier of Arahualpa's was worth more than ten of those of the other party; it came to pass that the Atahualpians gained the victory: In the pursuit of which, aiming above all things to take Huascar, for that their victory would fignifie little, in case his Person escaped their hands, they attacked his Lifeguard of about a thousand Men, which surrounded his Person, and fighting in defence thereof, were all cut to pieces in his presence, most being slain by the Enemy, and others feeing their Inca Prisoner, killed themselves: besides whom, many other Curacas and Sovereign Lords were taken with great numbers of Captains

and Orlicers; the multitudes of common people which remained alive, fled, and flrayed abroad like fleep without a thepherd; and many of them wandring about, and not knowing where to go, intrendred themfelves to the Enemy, not being willing to enjoy their freedom when their beau was a Prifoner.

being willing to enjoy their freedom when their *Inea* was a Prifoner.

With this victory and fuccefs, and with fo great a Trophy of it, as the Perfon of *Haafear*, the *Andmalpians* were highly exalted; and for fecurity of the prize, they committed him to the cuftody and charge of four Captains, and other Souldiers of great fidelity, who so narrowly watched him, left he thould make an escape, that he never was out of their light either by night or day.

And now *Haafear* being in their bands, it was thought necessary to publish and blaze his Imprisonment through the whole Empire, that so in case any People or Armies should be coming to his affistence, or succour, they might upon such advices be diverted from their proceedings; but principally the news hereof was dispatched with all diligence to the King *Atabustpa*.

This was the sum of the most material pallaces of this War between the sum

unpatteried with an emigence to the King anomalya.

This was the fum of the most material passages of this War between the two Brothers, who were the last Kings of Peru; as to other Battels which the Spanish Historians relate, they were but Skirmishes which passed on the Confines of one Kingdom and the other, on occasion of Incursions, which the Captains and Go. Kingdom and the other, on occasion of incurrious, which the Captains and Governours of Garrifons made: And as to the Imprifonment of Arahualpa, it was a sham, or a falle report, which he bimfelf had given out to amule his Brother Hugler and his Subjects, as was also that which he had divulged in saying, that when he was in Prison, his Father the Sun had turned him into a Serpent, that 6. when he was an eration, his rather the sun had under thin into a sergent, that to he might escape by creeping through a hole, which was in the Chamber: which was onely the Story of a Miracle broached and framed to introduce his Father the Sun for an Authour and Favourer of his Tyrannies; the which report easily gained belief in the simple minds of that people, who were credulous of any thing which was mentioned in favour of that concernment which the Sun had towards his own Off-spring. The use which Arabualpa made of this victory, was with all the cruelty and treachery imaginable; for publishing in all places, that his intentions were to restore *Huascar* again to the Government of his Empire; but yet under certain cautions and restrictions, which were to be agreed and capitulated between them he funmoned all the Ineas of the whole Empire, together with the Governous, Major-Generals, Captains and Souldiers, to appear at Cozco at fuch a certain time, that so they might be Witnesses to those Articles which should be conserved. with these fair pretences and allurements all the *Incar* of the Bloud-Royal being with thete fair pretences and allumements all the *Incat* of the Blouch (oyal being deceived, failed not to make their appearance; which they performed with that readiness of mind, that neither fickness, nor old age, nor far distance did debar, or hinder their coming; nay, even those who might have excused themselves by reason of the remoteness of their Countrey, and which might have retarded their Journey by slow and dilatory Travels; and which were suspicious and jealous of what afterwards succeeded; yet even these against their own sears and inclinations. fuffered themselves to be taken in the open and appearing snare: For so soon as Atabasha had gotten them into his power, he commanded, that they should all be put to death; which Sentence was executed by various forts of cruelty, which feved to fecure his Empire from all Infurrections, or Plots against him.



The Causes which moved Atahualpa to exercise all his Cruelities, and the satal essets of them.

But he fore we proceed farther; we are first to enquire into the Reason which his own Bloud and Family. To understand which, we must know, that according to the ancient Laws and Statutes of that Kingdom, observed from the time of the First hich Manto Capac, untill the end of the Reign of Huagna Capac the Great; Andropa his Son was as uncapable of inheriting the Kingdom of Quita, which, like all the other Conquests, appertained to the Imperial Crown, as he was of the Kingdom of Cozco; for that the Inheritance of both indispensably appertained to such an Heir, as was descended from a lawfull Wise, who was to be Sister to the King; for that the Title to that Kingdom came as well by the Woman, as the Man's side: And if in case this strictness were not observed; yet to gain him some tolerable pretension, he ought at least to have been the Son of a Succession; but those who had any mixtures of Foreign Bloud, could never, without prophanation of all their holy Sanctions, be entitled to any share, or part, of the Entitle

the Empire.

Now Atamatpa being confcious to himfelf, that he wanted all the qualifications which might render him truly and legitimately an Inca; for he was neither the Son of a Copa, which fignifies a Queen, nor yet of a Palla, which is a Lady of the Royal Bloud; but the Son onely of a Whore, that was a Native of Quint; the which Kingdom neither, could not of right be difficulties, and that though at prefet the were victorious, yet when with time that things were quieted and appeafed, matters would return again to their ancient courfe, and the people fet up one of the legitimate Line and Race in delpight of him, or his pofferity: For the opinion of legal Succeffion being fixed in the minds of the Indians, by their ancient Idolatry, and vain Religion, and taught and preached to them by that Dottine which the Inca Mance Capae first instituted, and had ever since, to all Ags, been maintained; he concluded impossible to be unriverted from them, but by an utter extingation of that whole Race; which therefore he resolved upon, and not onely to destroy and extinguish the true and legitimate Issue, but even those of Bastard Families, less they standing in the same capacity of Inheritance with him, should be induced by his example to become Rivals with him for the Impire.

To prevent which, no other remedy appeared, than that onely which Tyrants and Ulurpers have commonly used, which is to cut off all such who can have a Title, or lawfull Pretention, to the Crown; so that neither the People can cast their eyes upon any other Prince, nor yet the Usurper himself have obligations in conscience or justice to make resitutions: With many examples and testimonies of which, in the like nature, both ancient and modern Histories surnish us, which, to avoid testiousness, we omit; it being sufficient to use that single instance of the Ottoma Family, whose common custome it is to secure the Empire to themselves and their posterity, by the Death of their Brothers, and their other near Relations.

But greater, and more thirfty of the Bloud of his own Family, than any exercifed by the Ottomar Kings, was the cruelty of Atabualpa, who not being fufficiently fatiated with the Bloud of two hundred of his Brethren, who were the Sons of the Great Iluapus Capue, he proceeded to wade through deeper ftreams of all the Bloud, thed from the Veins of his Uncles, Coulins, Parents and Relations, who were descended by the direct, or indirect, Lines, even to the fourth degree;

F f f z

fo that not one, whether Legitimate, or Bastard, escaped the cruelty of his Executioners; for he killed and destroyed them by various kinds of Deaths: of some he cut the Throats, others he Hanged, others he threw into Rivers and Lakes with weights about their Necks, that they might not save themselves by swimning, others were thrown down Rocks and Precipices; all which was acted with the greatest dispatch and diligence imaginable by the Executioners; for this Tyrant could never think himself secure, untill he had seen them all destroyed, or heard that they were dead; for notwithstanding all his Victory, he durst not untill then pass beyond Saussa, which the Spaniards call Xauswa, being ninery Leagues distant from Cozco: But as to the poor Huascar, they kept him still alive, reserving him for the suppression of insurrections, or tumults, which might arise against that hundry, if or they well knew that the Word and Command of Huascar was so prevalent, and of that authority with his Subjects, that it was able to quell and calm any mutinies, or disturbances, amongst them: Howsoever, for his greater mortification, they would often bring this unfortunate Prince from his confinement, to be a Spectatour of the slughter and massacre of his Kindred, which afflicting sight was a more sensible torment to him than Death it self.

Nor did his Cruelty contain it felf within these bounds, but extended to all the Prisoners, lest they being Curacas, and Men of interest in the Empire, and assectionate to the cause of Huaseas, should contrive means for his delivery: Wherefore bringing them all forth with their hands tied into an open Plain in the Valley of Sacfahhanna (where the Battel was afterwards sought between the President Gasea and Gonçalo Piçarro) they were ranged in order on each side, and the poor Huaseas cloathed in Mourning with his hands tied behind him, was made to pass between them, with a Rope about his Neck; which when the miserable Captives saw, and their Prince in that despicable condition, they listed up their cries to Heaven, and prosserate their bodies on the Earth, adored and worshipped him, which was all the honour they could estifice, or help they could give him in that unhappy state: In punishment for which respect they killed them all, either with Pole-axes, or short Clubs, which they call Champi; for a bigger for of Clubs and Pole-axes they use in Fight, which they wield with both hands. In this manner they killed all the Curacas and Captains in presence of the King, that scarce any Noble Person escaped their Tyranny and Cruelty.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Cruelty which Atahualpa used towards the Women and Children of the Bloud-Royal.

A Tabualpa having destroyed all the Men of the Royal Family, together with all the Curacas, Commanders and Subjects, of any note belonging to Hudler; his Cruelties, which were never fatiated with humane flesh and bloud, proceeded with new thirst and appetite to devour the Children and Women, being the unhappy Relicts of the Royal Race; and though the tenderness of their Sex and Age was sufficient to move compassion, and plead in their behalf; yet so obdurate were the Bowels of this Tyrant; that he made search in all places for the Women and Children of the Royal Race, (excepting onely the Wives of the Sun, which conserved themselves within the Walls of their Convent) and having gathered them together without the City, they practised such torments upon them, that they died with lingring deaths. After which these damnable Ministers of Gruelty made the strictest search they could through all the Dominions, for those of the Royal Bloud, that so not any of them might escape their hands; so that in all parts they had collected great numbers both of Men and Women, as well illegisimate, as legitimate; for that the Ineas having a greater liberty and licence granted them in the free use of Women, than any others, their Family became the most numerous and extensive of any in the whole Empire. And having thus collected these people, they ranged them in a Plain, which lyes about a League distant to the Northward of the City; which Field hath been called Tahnarpampa, or the liveld of Bloud, ever since the Fight which happened in that place between the Chameas, and the people of Cozeo, as we have declared formerly in its due place.

These poor wretches being in this manner Prisoners in the Field, they encompalled them with three Files; the first was of Souldiers, who were to be a guard about them, and to oppose any Insurrection in case the City of Cozco should attempt it, and ferve to bridle and fubject their Enemies, and then the other two Files were Sentinels and Guards, left any should escape, or any others enter in amongst them to bring them relief. Upon these fad wretches they practised their Cuelties in several manners; to some they gave onely a little raw Mayz to eat, and a few crude Herbs, making them to continue the strictness of such a Fast as their Religion enjoyned them for a few days; the Wives, Sifters, Aunts, Coufin-Germans, and Mothers in-law of Atabualpa they hanged upon Trees, the tallest and most lofty that they could find; some they hanged up by the hairs of the head, others under the armes, and others in that unhandsome manner, as becomes not our modesty to report; to some of them they delivered their Infants to hold in their armes, which when they fell from them, they knocked them on the head with Clubs; fome they hanged by one arme, fome by both, and others by the wafte, that fo they might be long in dying, for to kill them at once, feemed too much mercy, and which these poor wretches implored with their last cries and groans. The Boys and Girls they killed by degrees, bringing our a number to death at every quarter of the Moon, using them with no less cruelty than they had exercised towards their Parents; and amongst their other torments, starving was one way of killing. Diego Fernandez in his Hiftory of Porn, touching briefly on the Cruelties which Atabathpa, there happened a great dispute and controlling, and his Brother Atabathpa, there happened a great dispute and controlling, and his Brother Atabathpa, there happened a great dispute and controlling the Government, and him who was to be the Supreme Wingston Conference. "Monarch. Guafear Inga refiding in Cozco, and his Brother Atabalipa in Caxa Malca. Atabalipa dispeeded two of his principal Captains, called Chalcuchinan, "and Quizquiz, who being valiant and flour Men, raifed a great Army, and therewith marched againft Guafcar, with defign, that having overcome and ta"ken him Prifoner, Atabalipa should be declared King. In this March they sub-

dued many Caciques and Indians, reducing them all to the obedience of Atabalipa; of which, when Guafear received intelligence, and of what they had acted, he prefently put himself into a posture of desence, and with what sorce he
could assemble in so short a time, he marched from Cozco to Quipappan, which
is about a League distant from thence, where joyning Battel with Atabalipa,
Guasear was overthrown, and taken Prisoner. The Fight (as is said) was so
bloudy, that a hundred and fifty thousand Indians were slain in the Battel; and bloudy, that a nuncred and fifty thousand majors were train in the Battel; and afterwards Arabalipa entring victorious into Cozeo, they killed Man, Woman, and Child, figaring none who declared themselves for Guafear, and most especially made search for the Children of Guafear, and his Wives and Women, who were with Child by him: Howfoever one of his Wives called *Mana Vaccay* made an escape with her Daughter *Copa Caxi Vaccay*, who is now Married to *Xigre Topa luga*, of whom we have made mention in this History, &c. Thus far are Words of this Authour; and then afterwards in the fequel of this Story. he recounts the cruel treatment and hard usage of poor Huascar, during the time of his imprisonment, together with the dolefull complaints he uttered, which we This Coya Cuci Varcay, which he fays, was the Wife of Xoya Top, was called Cufi Huarque, of whom we shall discourse hereaf. ter. The Field where this Battel was fought was called *Quipoppa* by corruption, though properly it had the Name of *Quepappa*, which fignifies a Trumpet, as if from thence the Triumph of Atabualpa was trumpeted, and fent its found into all parts of the Empire. I remember, that when I was a Boy, I went three or four times into those Fields with other Boys, who were my School-fellows, where we enjoyed the recreation of Hawking with some Hawks, which the Indian Faulco. ners managed for us.

Royal Commentaries.

In this manner, as we have related, was all the Bloud-Royal, and Family of the Inc.11, extinguished and extirpated in the space of two years and a half; and though they might in a much shorter time have exhausted the veins of Royal Bloud vet to prolong their pleafure in Cruelty, they referved some on which their appetites might feed, and still be delighted in new exercises of torment. The Indians say that the Field where the great effusion of this Bloud was made, was called Tahuarpampa, or the Field of Bloud; and that it rather took its denomination from the Bloud of the Incas, than from that of the Chancas; for though the quantity of the Bloud of the Chinese was greater, yet the quality of the heas made theirs much more estimable; and the death of Women and Children being of tender sex and age, rendered the many Murthers more tragical and execrable.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How some of the Bloud-Royal escaped the Cruelty of Atahualpa.

 $S^{Ome, notwithstanding}$  all this, escaped out of the City, some came not within their power, and others by the connivance of the people of Arabualpa. who being fatiated with this flaughter, and touched with fome remorfe to fee that bloud to plentifully shed, which they once adored for Divine, connived at the ehave which fome of them made out of the circle in which they were encompassed; and not onely so, but some gave them opportunity to change their Apparel, which was the badge and diffinction of an *Inca*, for difguifes after the Habit of common *Indians*: For, as we have faid before, the *Incas* were diffinguified by their Garments; but those whom they permitted to make an escape were Infants, and Children under the Age of ten or eleven years, amongst which my Mother was one, together with her Brother Don Francisco Hualipa Tupaa Inca Yupanqui, with whom I was acquainted, and who, fince my abode in Spain, hath wrote me several Let-I was acquanted, and who, fince my about in Spann, hard whole the level Level ters: befides which I knew very few who escaped from this miserable Outrage, from whom I received the Relation of all that I report concerning this exectable laughter. I knew also two Anguis who were Princes, being Sons of Huayan Caput, the one called *Paullu*, who was one of those who escaped, as we have mentioned; the other was called *Titu*, and being a Child then, was afterwards baptized, whose Christian Name we have formerly fignified. Paullu lest a Son which descended from Spanish Bloud, whose Name was Don Carlos Inca, he was my Shool fellow, and afterwards Married with a Noble Lady born in that Countrey, and from Spanish Parents, by whom he had Don Melchior Carlos Inca, who in the last year, which was 1602, came into Spain to see that Court, but chiefly by the advice of some friends, who persuaded him, that he should receive great rewards for the Services which his Grandfather had performed towards the Conquest and Seulement of Peru, and afterwards for the refiftence he made against those Usurpers and Tyrants, of whom we shall speak in our History of the Empire: but a more especial respect was due to him, for being the Great Nephew of *Huanna Guest*, and descended by the Male line, so that he is the Head, and chief Family of thole few which remain of the Bloud-Royal. He now at prefent refides at Valladid in expectation of rewards; which though they may be great and confiderable, yet can scarce be such as may equal his merit.

I know not whether Tim had any Issue is but I remember two Nustas, or Princelles, which were the lawfull Daughters of Huana Capac, one of which was called not be the control of the contr led Beatrie Coya, and was afterwards Married to Martin de Mustincia, a Noble Perlon, who was Accountant of the Revenue of the Emperour Charles the Fifth in Pens; they had three Sons which were called the Bustineius, and another called John Sierra de Leguizano, who was a fellow Student with me at School; the other Neffa was called Donna Leonor Coya; the first time she Married was with a Spaniand called John Balfa, with whom I was not acquainted, being then young; they had a Son of the fame Name, who went also to School with me: But her second Marriage was with Francis de Villacastin, who was one of the first Conquerours of Peru, as also of Panama, and other Countries. There is a Story which goes of him, worthy to be noted, which I found in the Hiltory of Francis Lopez de Gomara, which is, "That this Villacastin was the first that planted Colonies in Pedrarias,"
Nombre de Dios and Panama; that he opened a pallage, and made a Road from one Town to another, with great pains and charge, through Rocks and Mountains, in which were infinite numbers of Lions, and Tygers, and Bears; and such multitudes of Monkies of all forts and sizes, that being disturbed, they " would make fuch a hideous noile, as was fufficient to make Travellers deaf, and "would climb up Trees with great Stones, to let them fall on the heads of fuch

409

"as came within their reach. Thus far are the Words of Gomara. But I have feen fome Marginal Notes in a Book wrote by one of the Conquerours of Perus; in which is this passage: "That a Monky threw a stone at a person armed "with a Cross-bow, named Villacassim, and beat out two of his Teeth; he was a strewards one of the Conquerours of Peru, and Lord of a great Countrey, called Japavin; but being taken Prisoner, he dyed in Cozco; he was one who took part with Piparo in Xaquixaguana, where one that owed him a displeassure gave him a cut over the face after he yielded to quarter: He was an honest Man, and did good to all, though he dyed poor, after he was despoiled of his had."

"ans, and of his Estate. This Villacassim killed the Monky with his Cross-bow, he chancing to shoot at the same time that the Monky threv his stone. Thus star are the Remarks of the Conquerour; the which I can in part confirm, because I knew the person, and save that he voanted two Teeth in the upper row of his Mouth; and it was the common report in Peru, that they were beaten out by a Monky. I have thought fit to insert this Story as I do others of like nature, for the truth of which I refer my self to divers Witnesses. Other Incas and Pallas I knew, to the number of two hundred, which were all of the Royal Bloud, but of less note than those which I formerly mentioned, who were the immediate Sons of Huayan Capac. My Mother was his Brothers Daughter, whose Name was Hualba Tupac Inca Tupanagui.

I was acquainted with one Son and two Daughters of King Atahualaa, one of them yvas called Angelina, of vyhom the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro begat a Son. called Francisco, vyho vyhen vve vvere of the Age of eight or nine years, vvasa great Antagonist and Competitor with me for running and leaving, his Uncle yvas Goncalo Picarro. This Marquis had also a Daughter called Francisca, vividi vyas very beautifull, and Married aftervyards to his Uncle Hernando Picarro; her Father begat her upon a Daughter of Huayna Gapac, called Thes Huallas Nusta, vyho yuas afterwards Married to Martin de Ampuero, an Inhabitant of the City of los Reges. The Son of the Marquis, and another of Gonçalo Picarro, coming into Spain, dyed young, to the great grief of those who knew them, being the hope full Off-spring of such renovened Fathers: But as to the other Daughter of dishualpa, I may mistake her Name, vvhich vvas either Beariz or Isabel, she Married vyith a Spaniard called Blus Gomera; and Wedded a second time vyith a Gentleman, who was of Spanish and Edian Bloud, called Sanco de Rojas, but his on was called Francisco Arabuaspa, he was a very handsome Youth, well shaped, and of a lovely countenance, as were all the other Incas and Pallas, but he dved vount. We shall shortly mention him on occasion of a Story which my old Uncle, the Brother of my Mother, told me, when he related the Cruelties of Atahualpa, There was another Son of Huana Capac remaining, with whom I was not acquainted, he was called Manco Inca, and was the lawfull Heir to the Empire, for Husley dved without Issue Male, of whom we shall make mention hereaster.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of what farther Cruelty was used towards the Servants of the Court.

But to return to the Cruelties of Atahualpa, who not content with the death and flaughter of all the Royal Family, together with the Lords, Captains and Nobility, proceeded to Maffacre all the Servants of the Court, who were Domelicks within the Houle; of whose Function and several Ministeries we have given a particular in its place, for these were not particular persons, but whole Villags, to whose care it belonged to provide Servants for the Court, and to change and after them according to their times of waiting; with these also Atahualpa had and are them according to their times of watting; with their and Ziaomapa had a quariel for the Relation they had to the Court, as also because they bore the Name of Inca, which was conferred on them by that privilege and favour which the first Inca Manco Capac conferred on them. Upon these Atabualpa vented his Cruelties, but with more exquisite torment on such who were more near Attendants on the Person of the King, such as Porters, Keepers of the Wardrobe, and lewels, Butlers, Cooks, and the like; with whose lives not contenting himself, together with the bloud of their Wives and Children, he proceeded to burn and defroy their Houses and Villages which they inhabited; but such as were Servants at a farther distance, such as Cleavers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, were more gently treated; for some of those they decimated, killing every tenth or fifth Man, in some places every third Man; so that all the Villages within fix or feven Leagues of Cozco suffered a particular and extraordinary Persecution, befides the general calamity in which the whole Empire was involved, being filled in all places with Slaughter, Fire, Robberies, Rapes and Violences, with what other mileries and devaltation the licence of an unbridled Souldiery can exercise upon a Nation. Nor were the Cities and Towns which were remote from Cozco exempt from the like calamities; for fo foon as Arahualpa heard of the Imprisonment of Huascar, he entred all the Countries which were bordering on his Fronment or *thagear*, he chited an the Countries which is called *Cannaria*, because its with Fire and Sword, and particularly that which is called *Cannaria*, because at the beginning they refused to yield him Obedience: In revenge for which, so some as he gained power he treated them with all the severity imaginable; which deputin Carate in the 15th Chapter of his Book, expresses in these Words: "Coming into the Province of Cannaris he affassinated fixty thousand Men, being "they had made opposition against him, and putting all to Fire and Sword, he lid wholly waste the Plantation of Timibamba, which is situate in a Plain, and "watered with three streams; and thence proceeding in his Conquests, left not one Man alive of all those who defended themselves, &c. the like Francisco Lofre reports almost in the same Words. But Peter de Cieça is more large in his Relation, faying that the want of Men, and the abundance of Women in his time soun, laying that the want of then, and the abundance or votinen in his time belonging to the Province of Comparis, was the cause, that in the Wars of the Spatiards, the Writers thereof mentioned Indian Men for Indian Women, for to them they gave Commands in the Army. And in giving the reason for it, he useth these Words in the 44th Chapter of his Book. "Some Indians tell us, saith he, "that by reason of the great numbers of Women which remained, after that altabuling had deferoyed all the Men of this Province, whom he unhumanely "buckered and deservated butchered; and after he had routed and destroyed in the Countrey of Ambaro, the Brother of Gusters, called Above, who was the Captain General of that people; and had put to death all the Menand Children of that Province, coming with green Boughs and Palms in their hands to implore his Mercy; yet not being moved with fuch a spectacle of compassion, he with a cruel and severe countenance commanded his Caprains and Souldiers to fall upon them, and flay them "all, by which a miferable flaughter was made of multitudes of Males, as we have related in the third Part of this Hiftory; fo those who are now living

" fay, that there are fifteen Women in that Countrey to one Man. Thus far are the Words of Peter de Cieça; with which we shall end this unpleasing Story of the Cruelties of Atabaalpa for the prefent, and reaffume the particulars again in their proper places. And now occasionally upon these Cruelties, I was put in their proper places. And now occanonary upon their Cauchies, I was put in mind of a Story of *Don Francisco*, the Son of *Atabualpa*, who dyed some Months before I went for *Spain*, which is this: The day after his Death, very early in the Morning before his Burial, those few *Incas*, who were remaining, made a vibr to my Mother; and amongst the rest came the Old Inca, whom I have formerly mentioned; who inflead of condoling and faying, I am forry for your loss, because the party deceased was my Mothers Brothers Son; he said to my Mother, I am glad that the party acceased was my evolucies protected out in the late of the Oriverse, hath conserved you unto this day, in which you have seen the end and destruction of all your Enemies; adding many other expreffions full of joy and contentment on this occasion: But I not well understanding the meaning of this Drollery, replied to him, and faid, Uncle, why should we revoice for the Death of Don Francisco, since he was our Kinsman and Acquaintance? With which turning towards me with great anger and passion, and taking the end of his Mantle, and biting it with his Teeth, as the manner is amongst the Indiana. when they are in a rage, retorted upon me, and faid, What, you have a mind to be a Kinsman to an Auca, the Son of another Auca (which signifies a Tyrant and Trastour) who destroyed our Empire, and killed our Inca; who exhausted our Blond, and extirpated our Family; who committed so many outrages unnatural to our Kindred, unknown and abborred by our Forefathers : Give me but this dead Rascal into my hand, and you shall see me eat him raw without Pepper or Salt. Oh that Traytor his Father was furely no Son of Hu. ayna Capac our Inca, but some mean Bastard of an Indian of Quitu, with whom his Mother plaid the Whore, and abused our King; for if he had been an Inca, he could never have been guilty of those horrid Crucities and Abominations he committed, nor could such execusble designs have entred into his imagination; for considering that it was a fundamental Dectrine of our Ancestours never to doe hurt or damage unto any, no not so much as to their Eucmies : What Monster then of iniquity must this Man be, who violating all the Rules of Humanity, hath imbrued his hands in the bloud of all his Relations? Then do not far, that this person can be descended from our Lineage, whose disposition was unnatural, and dissern to the temper and constitution of our Foresathers. Consider what an injury you doe to them, to 14. nay to your felf, in styling 14 the Kinsmen of a most cruel Tyrant, who from the degree of Kings reduced those few of us, who escaped his outrageous hands to the condition of servinde and flavery. All this and much more this Inca uttered with fuch rage, moved by a fensible remembrance of those detestable cruelties which Atabualpa had committed, that the fatisfaction they received by the Death of Don Francisco was changed into woe and lamentations. And indeed this Francisco, during the time of his Life, was fo fensible of the commentated of Mankind towards him, which avoided his conversation, flying from him, as from the Pestilence, that he with shame abfconded himfelf, and lived retired within his own doors: the like also did his two Sifters, who hearing all places refound with Auca, which properly fignifies Cruelties, Tyrannies, and Misfortunes, were filled with shame and confusion.

Royal Commentaries.

CHAR

#### CHAP. XL.

What remains survived of the Incan Family.

A Long time after I had finished this ninth Book, I received Advices from Pers (out of which I have framed this Chapter) concerning the Reliques of the Incan Bloud, which being greater than I thought, I have added as pertinent to this Hiltory. For in the year 1603, they all joined in a Letter directed to Don Melchior Carlos Inca, Son of Don Alonso de Mesa, who lived near Cozco, and likewife to my felf, defiring us that we would intercede in their behalf with his Maielly, that he would be pleased to exempt them from Tribute, and from those grievous Exactions with which they were charged in common with other Indians; for performance of which, they delegated all and every of us with full Power and Authority from them particularly named, descended from such and such a King: and for better proof of their Lineage, they fent a Royal Tree of their Pedigree, drawn out upon a Yard and half of white Taffity, made of the Bark of the China Tree, descending from Manco Capac to Huayna Capac, and his Son Pauliu; the Chief Incar being all curiously painted in their ancient Habits; upon their Heads they wore the coloured Twist or Wreath, in their Ears their great Earings with Parteans in their hands in the place of Sceptres, being painted from their Breafts upwards. The Papers were directed to me, which I addressed to Don Melchior Car-In Inca, and Don Alonfo de Mefa, then reliding in the Court at Valladolid, because my other affairs would not permit me to attend this cause, in which I should o-therwise have gladly employed both my time and life. This Letter which was infibrribed by the Incas, was wrote by one of them in a very fair Character; the plusie, or flyle, was partly Indian, and in part Castillian, they being all now much conformed to the Spanish Mode, and it was dated the 16th of April 1603. I did not think fit to infert a Copy thereof here, because it is too sad and tragical, recounting the dolefull effate into which they were fallen. The Address is penn'd with fuch affurance of his Majesty's favour, that (as we all believe) when foever his Catholick Majesty shall be informed, and made sensible thereof, he will not onely ease them of their burthens, but bestow such privileges on them as are de-tent and becoming the Royal Off-spring of Kings.

The Scheme vyhich they drevy of their Pedigree vvas exactly framed, for the Kings who vvere Incas vvere painted in their several Figures, denoting on each fee the descendencies from them, vith this Inscription, Capac Influt, vithich is the Royal Off-spring, and is the Title in common to all, signifying thereby, how all of them vvere derived from the first Inca Manco Capac; then the Pedigree of every King hath its particular distinction vith different Names; by which appears, how every one descended from such and such a King. The Issue, or Progray, of Manco Capac they call Chima Panaca, from vwhich forty Incas are successively descended. That of Sinchi Rocca they call Raurava Panaca, from vwhence proceeded fixty four Incas. That of Lloque Tupanqui the third Inca, they call Habrawita Aplus, from whence are fifty three Incas. That of Capac Tupanqui they call Apu Mana, from whence are fifty ix. That of Mana Capac the fifth King, they call Use Mana, from whence are fifty five. That of Inca Roca they call Vicaquitan, from whence are fifty. That of Tabuar Haacac the seventh King, they call Apu Mana, because the fifth. That of Tabuar Haacac, and his Son Inca Tupanqui, being joined together, are called Inca Panaca, and make up a double number of ninety nine. The Off-spring descended from Tupace Inca Tupanqui, they call Capac Milu, which signifies no more than the Royal Progeny, which confirms what we have declared before concerning that Title; and of this banch there are onely eighteen. The Off-spring of Huana Capac they call Tumipana, in remembrance of that solemn Festival which he instituted in honour of the Sun, and celebrated, in that wide and open Field, which is situate in the Province of Camavir, where he erected Royal Palaces, and Store-houses, for support

Ggg 2

and accommodation of the Souldiery, together with a Monastery for the Select Virgins, and a Temple of the Sun; all which were so magnificent and stately, and fo full of Riches, and replenished with Provisions, that *Pedro de Cicça* in the 44th Chapter of his Book, commends them above the Skies; and searing left he should short in his commendations, concludes, that it was impossible for him to express the wonderfull Riches, which were contained within these Royal Palaces of the *Incat*.

In memory of the aforefaid Feftival, Huayna Capac determined to flyle his Off. In memory of the Name of Tumipampa, that to that Solemnity might give a Name to spring with the Name of Tumipampa, that to that Solemnity might give a Name to shis Off-spring, of which there were no more remaining than twenty two. And whereas Huayna Capac, and his Father Tupac Inca Tupanqui were nearest allied in the whereas Huayna Capac, and his Father Tupac Inca Tupanqui were nearest allied in the others; by which means very sew of them escapate and destroy them than the others; by which means very sew of them escapate and destroy them than the others; by which means very sew of them escapate and self-top them than the others; by which means very sew of them escapate his malitious cruelty, as appears by the List of such as survived; all which being summed up together, make the number of 567 persons; and it is observable, that they were all descended by the Male, and not by the Female line; for, as we have said before, the Ineas made little esteem of the Female race, unless they were ennobled by the Bloud of the Spaniards, who had been the first Conquever ennobled by the Bloud of the Spaniards, who had been the first Conquever ennobled by the Bloud of the Spaniards, who had been the first Conquever ennobled by the Bloud of the Spaniards, who had been the first Conquever ennobled by the Bloud of the Spaniards, who had been the single sole summers of their himself, and those of his Lineage, by their Christian Names and Surnames of their himself, and those of his Lineage, by their Christian Names and Surnames of their himself, and those of his Lineage, by their Christian Names and Surnames of their himself, and those of his Lineage, by their Christian Names and Surnames of their himself, and those of his Lineage, by their Christian Names and Surnames of their himself, and those of his himself the search of the Menal Menal Menal Menal Menal Menal Report of the Menal Menal

The End of the First Tome.

# SECOND PART OF THE General History OF PERU.

### Wherein is Treated

Of the Manner how that new World was discovered. How it was conquered by the Spaniards. Of the Civil Wars between the Piçarrists and the Almagrians, occasioned by Quarrels arising about the Division of that Land. Of the Rise and Fall of Tyrants; and other Particulars contained in that History.

Written in Spanish, by Garçilasso de la Vega.

# Royal Commentaries.

# BOOK I.

#### · CHAP. I.

of the three Spaniards of Noble Quality, who undertook the Conquest of Peru.

N the 9th Book of the first part of these our Royal Commentaries, we have shewed how the resolute Atahnalpa pleased himself with the thoughts of having by Tyranny and Cruelty secured to himself the Empire, little dreaming that a strange and an unknown Nation (who were the Spaniard) should in the most calm and prosperous time of his Enjoyments knock at his Gate, and by the same methods of cruelty cast him from his Throne, and deprive him of his Life and Empire. That we may prosecute this History with the most even thread; it is necessary for us to look some years back, and take our matters from their suff source and beginning.

The Spaniards therefore, after they had discovered this new World, were still they had already notified were rich and prosperous the net being contented with

The Spaniards therefore, after they had discovered this new World, were still the Spaniards therefore, after they had discovered this new World, were still desirous more and more of new and farther discoveries, and though the Countries they had already possesses, nor wearied with their Labours, and Travails, nor distinct present Enjoyments, nor wearied with their Labours, and Travails, nor distinct present Enjoyments, nor wearied with their Labours, and Travails, nor distinct bad Days, and worse Nights, which they had endured both by Sea and Land, the bad Days, and worse Nights, which they had endured both by Sea and Land, the lad Days, and worse Nights, which they had endured both by Sea and Land, the lad Days, and worse Nights, which they had endured both by Sea and Land, the lad Days, and worse Nights, and great Enterprises, they arrived at length to that pitch of greatness, which hath for ever eternized their Fame and length to that pitch of greatness, which have it) of the Town of Almago, go, a Native of Travaila, living at Pontana, one of a Noble Family, and Diego de Almago, go, a Native of Malaga, or (as Carate will have it) of the Town of Almago, go, a Native of Malaga, or (as Carate will have it) of the Town of Almago, which is most probable, a Person (as we may believe) of like noble Extraction; which is most probable, a Person (as we may believe) of like noble Extraction; which is most probable, a Person (as we may believe) of like noble Extraction; which is most probable, a Person (as we may have the Tree by its Fruit, for though his Family be unknown, yet if we may know the Tree by its Fruit, for though his Family be unknown, yet if we may know the Tree by its Fruit, for though his Family be unknown, yet if we may know the Tree by its Fruit, for though his Family be unknown of his Enterprises have rendred his Birit, had been Lieutenant Governour of the City of Univa, of which he was afterwards made Lieutenant Governour of the City of Univa, of which he was afterwards made Lieutenant Governour of th

Воок І.

"tenant Governour, and of which he was afterwards made Governour and "Marquifs; and living in the City of Vrava with the Indians, he endured much "Famine and Sickness, for which Services his memory will ever be efteemed. Thus far are the Words of de Cieça. He was also in company with the famous Captain Rafeo Novoce, when discovery was made of the South Sea, and when Nowore de Dior and Panamas were subclued, he was then with the Governour Peter-Aria de Avila, as Gomara reports in his History of the Indies.

But neither Picarro nor Almagro being fatiated with their former Glories, this The fill after greater Actions, and incited with the report they had received of the simple and mean condition of the People of Pern; these two great Heros made an agreement together for the Conquest of it; joining with them Hernando de Luque, a Schoolmaster in Panama, who was Lord of Taboga. These three so. lemnly fwore in publick, and entred into Articles under Hand and Seal, never to forfishe each other in any Dahgers or Difocuragements whatfoever, that should happen untill they had made an entire Conquest of fern; and that what Riches or Booty they should gain, should be friendly and amicably divided between them. It was agreed, that Hernando de Luque should remain, and be their Agent at Panama, to order and provide for their Affairs, so as to yield them succoursthat Picarro should be employed in the Discovery, and that Almagro should go and come with supplies of Men, and Horse, and Ammunition, for relief of their Companions, who were immediately employed in the Conquest. This School-Master they called Hernando the Fool, or Coxcomb, and the same might be said of all the three; for who cannot but blame fuch Men as these, who having enduor an the three; for who cannot out plante fuch them as there, who having endured great Travails and Labours in the World, and already entred into years, to that the youngeft of them taffed fifty, and all of them tich and commodious in the World, yet that Men under these circumstances should engage themselves in new Adventures, full of uncertainty, without knowledge of the Country, when ther it were rich or poor, and without confideration of the hazards and difficulties of it, feems the Work and Defign of rash and adventurous Fools. But the good fortune of those who now enjoy the Benefit of their Labours, was that which called them to this Enterprise; or rather the Mercy and Providence of God to wards those Gentiles, who was pleased to make use of those means for propaga-tion of the Gospel in those parts, which he confirmed by such figns and Wonders, as very much conduced to the easiness of the Conquest.

CHAP.

# CHAP. II.

Of the excellent Fruit and Advantages which have resulted from the Union and Agreement of these three Spanish Canalies.

This triple accord which these three Spaniards made at Panama, puts me in mind of that consederacy which the three Roman Emperours made at Las-1 mind of that confederacy which the three Roman Emperours made at Layma, a place near Bologna; but yet in comparing them one with the other, they are fo different in their feveral circumftances, that they feem to hold no agreeable comparison or similitude; for on the one side those were Emperours, and these but private and poor Persons; those treated of the Division of the old World, which had been the Prize and Conquest of their Roman Ancestours, and which they defired to enjoy with peace and plenty; but these engosed themselves into Toils and Labours, to gain the Empire of a new World, which was so unknown to them, that they were ignorant both of the difficulties they were to sustain in the Conquests, and of the value of their Victories when acquired. If also we consider the intentions and effects of one and the other, we shall find the same divestive, for that Triumvirate. Composed of three Turants, was concluded and confider the intentions and effects of one and the other, we mail find the fame diverfity, for that Triumvirate, composed of three Tyrants, was concluded and established on no other ground, than to exercise a tyrannical Power over all the World, and to afflict and destroy; but this was a design of three generous Gentlemen, each of which deserved an Imperial Crown, having no other end than to nemen, each of which deterved an imperial Crown, naving no other end than to earich the World with unknown Treafures, as every days experience proves, and as will be made manifest in the following Chapters. Moreover the intention of that Triumvirate was to betray their Allies, Friends and Parents into the hands of their Enemies, but this was to facrifice themselves for the advantage of others, that they might acquire a benefit equally profitable to Enemies, as well as Friends; all which appears by those immense Riches which daily iffue from the Bowels of theunknown World, and are communicated not onely to Christians, but even to the Gentiles, Jews, Moors, Turks and Hereticks, who enjoy the benefit of these generous Labours. But that which we ought primarily to consider, that by our Triumvirate Christianity was first introduced into the great Empire of Peru, and a Gate opened to the preaching of the Gospel, by which many faithfull Souls have been gathered into the bosome of the Church; so that who is it that can fufficiently admire or express the greatness of this Enterprise. Oh thou great Name and Family of the Picarros, how much are all the Nations and Inhabitants of the old World indebted unto thee, for those vast Riches they have extracted from the new; and how much more do those two Empires of Mexico and Peru owe to hee, for those thy two Sons Hernando Cortes, and Francis Picarro, and for thy Brothers, Hernando Picarro, John Picarro, and Gonçalo Picarro, by whose indefatigable labours those poor Indians have been drawn from the darkness of obscure Ignothree to the true light and knowledge of the Gospel. How much therefore is this Triumvirate to be approved, and applauded above that of the three Roman Emperours; of which Guichiardin, in his History of Florence, gives this Censure. Lai-193, a place famous for the League contracted between Marcus Antonius, Lepidus and Otacianus, who under the term and notion of a Triumvirate contrived, and executed fuch abominable pieces of Tyranny, as had never before been practifed, or named at Rome; but our Triumvirate deserves a quite different Character, as the Writings of Lopez de Gomer, Augustin de Carate, and other modern Historians will abundantly prove, whose Books and Relations we shall as often quote, as our subject matter on which we treat shall require a confirmation from their Autho-

Thirty fix Maravedis

make fix pence.

### CHAP. III.

Of the little Money which was in Spain before the Conquet of Peru.

TO make more evidently appear the great Riches which this Triumvirate porchased to the World, we must make a large digression from our design in hand, and for the more clear elucidation hereof, we must make use of the Authority of some Historians, who have noted and described the Revenue of certain Kingdoms, which before the Conquest of Peru were vastly short of that Income which they yield at present. Bodinus in his Book of Commonwealths shews both in general, and particularly specifies the Revenues of some Commonwealths and Princes, to have been of inconfiderable value before the Conquest of Peru, incomparison of their present improvements, and instances in several Estates which were mortgaged, or fold at mean prices; he tells us how fmall was the pay of Souldiers. and the wages which Princes gave to their Servants, and at how cheap a rate all things were fold; and in thort, that what was formerly valued at an hundred Crowns a year, is now worth a thousand; and that all Lands and Houses are risen twenty times in the value of their rent. Farther he inftances in the ranfome which Lewis the 9th, King of France, paid for his own Person to the Soldan of Eem; which he favs amounted to no more than five hundred thousand Florins, and this he compares with the ransome of three Millions, which Charles the first of France paid to the Emperour, Charles the 5th. for his ransome. Farther he adds. that in the Reign of Charles the 6th, which was about the Year 1449, the yearly Revenue of the whole Crown of France did not amount to above four hundred thoufand Franks, and yet in the Year 1574. When Charles the 9th dyed, the same Revenue was improved to fourteen Millions, and the like proportion of increase was advanced in all other Kingdoms and Governments, which Examples serve sufficiently to demonstrate in what manner all the World hath been enriched by the Treasures of Perm. And in regard that Our Spain hath been especially obliged to that Countrey, by the vast estillates of its Wealth from thence, we need not seek or borrovy proofs hereof from other Countries, but onely confider our oven, nor need vve to look many Ages back, but onely from the time of King Ferdinand, furnamed the Saint, vvho regained Cordova and Seville, of vvhom the General Hiflory of Spain, written by Don Alonfo the wife, makes mention; and tells us, that Don Alonfo the 9th. King of Leon, who was Father of King Fernand the Saint, made War upon him; and that his Son wrote him word, that as an obedient Child he was refolved never to refift him, and that he would gladly appeale his Anger with any fatisfaction that he should require of him; to which Don Alonfo replied, That he required of him the payment of ten thousand Maravedis, which he owed him, which when he had performed, he would then cease his Wars, and enter into Amity with him. The whole Copy of the Letter, written at large, we have omitted to recite for brevity sake; onely we have thought fit to repeat the Answer, which was wrote in this manner: That the cause of his War was for the recovery of ten thousand Maravedis, which the King Don Enriques owed for the high way which he had made to Santivannez de la Mota, and that paying this Money, the Quarrel should end; whereupon the King Fernando not being willing to wage War with his Father for ten thousand Maravedis, presently made him latisfaction; the which is related in the general Chronicle of Spain, and in the particular Life of King Fernando.

About the same time a certain Knight, who wore the red Cross as a badge of his Pilgrimage unto the Holy Land, named Ruy Dias, began to commit many infolences before his departure; for which Offences divers complaints coming againt him, he was cited to appear before the Courts of Justice, to make answer to those Accusations which were laid against him; upon which summons Diss making his

appearance at Villadolid, where the Court then refided; but being informed of the appearance at manager, which were there formed against him, he in a rage and fury demany complaints which were there formed against him, he in a rage and fury demany companies which were there formed against min, he in a tage and tury departed thence, without giving any Answer thereunto: At which the King Fernando being highly displeased, immediately by process of Law banished him the Country; howfoever Diss maintained himfelf within his Castles and Fortresses, untill fuch time, that by Agreement with the King, to pay him fourteen thousand Managedis, all matters were compounded, and the Fortreffes were configned into the hands of the noble King Don Fernando. The fame History also makes mention of this following paffage, namely, That when King Fernando had possessing of one part onely, and not of the entire Kingdom of Leon, he left Manfilla, and went to Low, which was the principal City of that Countrey, where he was received with great joy and magnificent entertainment, and there crowned King of Leon by the Bishop of that City, and being in the presence of all the Nobles and Citizens, feated in the Regal Throne, Te Deum was folemnly fung, with the common fatiskaellon and rejoycing of the people, and from that time he had the Title of King of Cashile and Leon, both which Kingdoms were his lawfull Inheritance, defrended to him from Father and Mother; for these two Kingdoms had formerly ben divided, and bestowed by the Emperour to his two Sons, that is Castile to D. Sancho, and Leon to Fernando, and afterwards came to be again united together in the Noble Person of Don Fernando the third. After this the Queen Teresa the Mother of Tancha and Dulce, the Sisters of D. Fernando, seeing that her Son was become Master of the whole Kingdom, and that the was not able to make farther reliftence against him, she dispatched an Ambassadour to D. Fernando, demanding fome hare and convenient (abfiftence; which being granted, was much displeafing to some degenerate Spirits, who were in hopes of making a benefit to themfelves by the Wars between Cafile and Leon; of which Embaffy the Noble Lady Berengaria, Mother of Fernando, being informed, the laboured much to bring matters to an accommodation, being very apprehensive of the many Troubles and infinite Ruines which are caused by a Civil and intestine War; and for that reafon labouring on both fides, fine at length produced a Peace between her Son the King Fernando, and his Sifters the Ladies Sancha and Dulce, and prevailed with the King to flay at Leon, whilft she made a visit to the Queen Terefa, and her Daughters, then residing at Valontia. And then it was that Berengaria prevailed with Tom/a, and her Daughters, to quit all their Title and Interest to the Kingdom of Long in consideration of which King Fornando did oblige himself to give a yearly Annuity to each of these Sisters of thirty thousand Maravedis of Gold. To confirm this Agreement the King came to Benevente, where he met his Sisters, and there figned and fealed a Writing to them, to pay them the thirty thousand Maraveds of Annuity, making them Affigument on the places where to receive their Money, which was afterwards the Foundation of a happy Peace.

Royal Commentaries.

After this King Pernando being married to Queen Joan, he went in Progress to visit several parts of his Kingdom, and being at Toledo, he understood that Cordova. and other remote Cities of his Kingdom, were in great penury and diffress for want of Provisions; for supply of which he sent them twenty five thousand Maravalit to Cordova, and the like fum, to other Garrisons. All which fin Il sums are particularly recorded in the Chronicles which write of the Life of Don Fernando

the Saint.

CHAP.

# CHAP. IV.

The Authour proceeds in his Discourse concerning the small quantity of Money which was in ancient days, and how much there is now in these.

THE which Treatife being of the same nature with the preceding Chapter, to avoid tediousness to the Reader, we have thought fit to omit. And so proceed unto the next Chapter.

### CHAP. V.

Shewing how little the Conquest of the new World cost unto the Kings of Castile.

Being come now to our ultimate Argument to prove the small quantity of Money which was then in Spain, before the time that the Conquest of my Countrey was effected; we cannot give a more pregnant instance, than by demonstrating how little the most rich Empire of Pern, and all the new World, not before known, cost the Kings of Castile. Francis Lopez in his General History of the Indies, having recounted many remarkable passages, we shall saithfully recise such of them as are most pertinent to our purpose; as namely, That Chrispher Columbus treated with Henry the 7th, King of England, about the Discovery of the Indies, as also with Associated the strength of England, about the Discovery of the Indies, as also with Associated the strength of England, which last was the King's Cosinographer, encouraged him to make his Applications to the Court of Spain, where they believed his Propositions might find a gratious reception: By these means Cosumbus was introduced into the Court of Castile, in the Year 1486, where he delivered his Proposals and Petition to Fernanda and Islabella, King and Queen of Spain, but they being embroiled at that time in their Wars against the Moors in the Gountrey of Granda, had little leisure to convert their thoughts to Projects of this nature. And Columbus being but a stranger, and poor in labit, and without other Credit or Interest than that of a poor Iriar, whom they would neither vouchfase to lend an Ear unto, much less to believe, was the cause of great Discouragement and Assistance in the stranger of Spainavilla, who was Auditor General, gave him his Diet at his Caterie's House, taking great pleasure to be a him hopes one day to prevail with his Catholick Majesty in his behalf; the which he accordingly effected for him, by introducing him first to the knowledge of Cardinal de Mendaça, Archbissino of Toleda, who had a great power and authority both with the King and Queen of Spain. This Noble Person having maturely examined and considered of the Proposals which Columbus made, procured hi

feemed vain Projects, and without foundation, howfoever he received good Words, and hopes of a favourable dispatch, so soon as the War with Grandla should be concluded. With this Answer Columbus conceived some statisfaction and began to be esteemed in the Court, for untill that time the Courtiers turned all his Project into ridicule, and derided it as a Dream, or a melancholy sand, and a Commission of the project into ridicule, and derided it as a Dream, or a melancholy sand, of the cold, Silvet, Pretious Stones, and other rich and valuable Commodities, and to receive and take unto himself the twelsth part of all such Riches, Royalties and Rents, which he should discover and acquire in those unknown Countries, without Damage or Prejudice howsoever to the Right which the king of Forngal pretends to those parts. All which Articles of Agreement were made, granted and concluded at Granda on the 30th of April, in the year when that City was taken and subclued, and confirmed in virtue of the holy Faith, and with all the Privileges and Graces of the Royal Favour; but in regard the King had moment where we then the state of the state thouland Ducats. And now here are two things particularly observable, one of which is, that with so small a sum as this all the Riches of the Indian accused to the Royal Crown of Castile. That so soon as the Conquest over the Moos was perfected, the Wars with whom had continued for the space of eight hundred years, the Conquest over the Indians was begun, that so it may appear how zealous the Spaniards have ever been to exercise, and employ their Arms against the Enemies of the Faith of Christ. By which it appears, that by the continued and constant solicitations which Columbus used at the Court for the space of seven or eight years before he could procure his dispatch, together with the help of sixteen thousand Ducats, all Spain, and the whole World hath been winched. And having now treated of the Royal Assen, we shall descend to more womon and particular matters, to evidence the truth of

### CHAP. VI.

The Value of common things before the Conquest of Peru.

WHerein the Authour enlarging himself by particular instances, at how cheap a rate all things were valued in Spain, in the same manner as in the 2d, 3d, and 4th Chapters, we have, for brevity sake, thought sit to omit, and for betardient to the Reader we proceed to

CHAP.

## KI BOOK I.

# CHAP. VII.

Wherein two Opinions are declared concerning the Riches of Peru, and the beginning of that Conquest.

HAving already described to what sum the Revenue of Spain did amount in former times, it would now be very Grick Garden count to what a value it is amounted and improved in these days; but I must confess, that that would prove too difficult a work for me, who have no interest or communication with the Officers of the Royal Exchequer, nor fuch intimacy with them, as to obtain to great a favour from any of them; and indeed I amperfuaded, that if I had, yet the vast quantities of Riches which pass through their Hands are almost incomprehensible, and such as they cannot number, how much Wealth, or, as I may use our own Saying, who know not what colour Flower or Meal bears. Onely this we may aver, as a matter clear and manifeft, that all the charge and expence for equipping out the Fleet against England, in the Year 1588, was all charged on the Wealth of Peru; besides which Philip the 2d. King of Carlot State Control of the Wealth of Peru; besides which Philip the 2d. King of Carlot State Control of the Wealth of Peru; file, received eight Millions of Ducats from thence in the fixee of fix years, befides all other branches of his Royal Revenue; the which fum was commanded afterwards to be paid in the term of every three years. It is farther manifelt and apparent, that foon after *Philip* the third came to the Crown, that the Kingdom offered another increase of his Revenue to eighteen Millions, payable in the space of fix years, the which continues to these times, besides all other Rents and Duties paid to the Crown: By these, and other particular instances before mentioned, we may collect and imagine the great improvement hath been in the Kings Revenue; the several branches of which being much more various than those of rable advance and improvement; the fum thereof is become fo prodigious and vaft, as can fcarce be valued by the Skill of our Arithmetick. By which we may valt, as can learge be valued by the skin of our Arithmetick. By which we had conclude, that if that Man is to be effected poor, who can value his Richs, *P.unperis oft numerare pecus*, how much muft we be plunged in our account, when we come to reckon, and fum up the Revenue of that Monarch, in the circumference of whose Territories (as Colmographers describe) the Sun never fets? All which Riches and Grandeur are to be attributed to the fuccess and labours of this our Triumvirate.

And though it be true what we have faid before, that we had little acquain tance or communication with the Officers of His Majesties Royal Exchequer; yet at length, by the friendship which I gained with John de Morales, a Native of Ma drid, who was a very honeft and intelligent Gentleman; I procured some account of the King's Revenue, with which he was pleafed to oblige me, for the better advance of this Hiflory, which I now write; the which was fo difficult a work to him, that he kept me three months before he could fatisfie me therein; and at last he delivered me this following account, which I have extracted verbains from his own Paper. "Your Worthip was pleafed to defire of me, that to fewer particular occasion of yours, I would let down in writing the rents and value of all his Majesties Revenue; the which is a business so difficult, that I cannot fumm within any tolerable compass of certainty. And indeed, though the "King hath defired it, and commanded it to be given in, for the better direction and measures of his Council of the Treasury, and ordered all to be put into a "Book, yet that work is not as yet begun, nor do we know when it will be begun, much less when it will be ended, for there are such vast Rises and Falls, fuch Advances and Abatements, that nothing can be delivered with any certainty, every thing running in such different chanels, as is impossible to reduce them to any coherence of method; but in the bulk or lump, we may affirm, that "the Revenue of the King is a prodigious Maß of Wealth and Treasure. Thus farage the Words of Morales, which we have willingly alledged in confirmation of the truth of what we have said, being desirous not to write any thing but that which we san avouch on good ground and authority. And for farther proof of this dissolity, and how hard a thing it is to summy the Revenue of this King of Spain, now Emperour of the new World, I shall produce the Testimony of John Botero, a great and an universal Historian, who, after he had made a calculate of the Revenue of the King of China, and of the Rents which Galizia, Assurias and Portugal anciently yielded to the Roman Empire; with what was the Revenue of the Kings of Navarre, France, the Emperour, Poland, England, Duke of Lorrain, King of Scotland, Swedeland and Gobband; as also what was the Income of the House of Ansfria, of the King of Navarre, yet coming to the Revenue of our King of Spain, he is there silent; for which I can render no other reason, than because this Authour coming to this Account, he sound himself so plunged and immersed therein, that he durst not adventure to fathom the same; not having, as I imagine, numbers sufficient to sum up the Tribute of his many Kingdoms, and with them the immense Riches imported from Pern.

Royal Commentaries.

And in confirmation of the great Treasure with which Peru hath enriched all the World, I have this sarther Testimony to offer from the most Reverend Father Don Panlo de Laguna, who was President of the Council of his Majesty's Exchequer, and afterwards President of the Council of the Indies, and Vice-king of the New World, and in the Year 1603. was elected Bishop of Cordova; this great Person discoursing one day with his Confessor, and others, concerning the immense Riches of Peru, did considently affirm, that from one Mountain onely of Peru, there had been transported into Spain, untill the Year 1602. two hundred Millions of Pieces of Eight, which had been registred; and that at least one hundred Millions more had been imported without Register; And I can farther add, (laid he) that twenty sive Millions in Gold and Silver have been brought into Spain by one Fleat in my time. The Standers-by hearing this, answered, We could never believe it, my Lord, but that we receive it from so authentick an Authour as your Lordship. What I say In that we receive it from so authentick an Authour as your Lordship. What I say so Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pelayo to these times, have not been Master of Spain, joined together from King Pe

But fuch as look on the Riches of Pern with more than a common Eye, are of opinion, that they have rather been hurtfull than good or beneficial to Mankind: for that Riches have been the cause of Vice, and not of Vertue, having inclined the Nature of Men to Pride and Ambition, to Gluttony and Luxury; for enjoying an affluence of Fortune, they have given themselves up to Sloth, and Effeminacy, becoming neither fit for Government in the times of Peace, nor yet for Hardship and Labour in the times of War, employing their whole thoughts and time in contriving new Diffies, and Liquours, to please their Appetite, and fantastical Fashions for their Clothing; in which they are arrived to that height of extravasince, that they fearce know what to wear, and are come to that undecency of Des, that their Habit is more correspondent to Women than to Men. And as the Rents of the Rich have been railed to maintain the Lusts and riotous Living of great Persons, so have the Poor been oppressed, and reduced to Rags, and Famine, to support the Pride and Luxury of their Landlords. And the truth is, the Poor are become much more poor than formerly; for the quantity of Money being increased, which is all accumulated into the Cosfers of the Rich, hath enhanded the price of Provisions and Commodities to that degree, that the Poor starve by the abundance of the Rich; and though the Rich have a plenty of Money, and may out of their great stores enlarge their Charities towards the Poor; yet their Alms do not answer the price of Provisions which the plenty of Money hathraifed in the World; fo in thort they conclude, that the Riches of the new World not having increased the Provisions necessary for the support of humane Life, but rather ferved to make them dear, and Men effeminate, having enfeebled them in their Bodies and Understandings, and debauched them in their Habits and Cultoms of living, the generality of Mankind is become much worfe, and less contented, and having been formidable, and dreaded in ancient times by all the World, are now rendred mean and effeminate by the corruption of their Riches, Now

Воок І.

Now as to these two Opinions, I leave every one free to follow that which seems best to him. For I being a party, and biassed by affection to my own Countrey, dare neither pretend to savour that which applauds the grandeur and glory which Pern hath brought to Spain, nor yet oppose the other, less I should seem partial, and too affectionate to my own Caule. And so we shall proceed and take the thread of our History, passing by divine savour through the beginning, middle and end of this samous Triumwirate.

We say then, that these three great Men having entred into an Agreement and Society together, and affigned to each other his several and distinct Charge and Office. The first thing they did was to build two Ships, upon one of which Franch's Picarro, in the Yeat 1525 departed from Pannan with an hundred and four even Men, by license and permission of the Governour Peter Arias de Avila, and having sailed about an hundred Leagues, they arrived at a Countrey very mountainous, and subject to Rains: The Natives were as sierce and rugged as the Countrey they inhabited, and in great numbers sallied forth to join Battel with the Spaniards, of which they killed some 3 and in four Skitmissines Picaro received seven wounds with Arrows, but he being well armed, none of them proved mortal; howsover they were forced to leave the Countrey, to their great discouragement, repenting now of the design they had undertaken. Assay of on alterwards departed from Pannas, in quest of Picarro, and coming to the same Land which was appointed for their Rendervous, were entertained with the like treatment; for the Indians being stelled by the success of the late Skirmishes, sallied out against the Spaniards with like courage, and having killed many of them, and beaten out one of the Eyes of Assay, he was stored likewise to leave the Countrey; but what land or part this was, the Spanish Historians do not tell us: At length Assay going in search of Picarro, joined with him at Chinesama, where they agreed again to land their Men, but this Countrey proving as mountainous, and as subject to Rain as the other, and the People no less serves and wariske, sallying out upon them in great numbers, forced them again to retreat unto their Ships, bestowing on them a thousand Curses and Reproaches at their departure. All which is related at large by Lopez de Gomara, to whom I refer the Reader, in case he desires to know more particulars of that Expedition.

### CHAP. VIII.

How Almagro returned twice to Panama for Succour and Recruits.

A Fter this ill fucces Almagro returned to Panama for new Recruits, and brought with him eighty Men; and yet for all this force the two Captains durft not attempt the Conquest of any Countrey, by reason that the Natives made a bold and shout resistence; howsoever sailing along by the Sea Coast, they came at length to a Countrey called Catamers, which was plain and level, without mountains, and abounding with such quantities of Provisions, that they furnished themselves with all things necessary for humane sustenance; and there observing that the Indians wore great Studs and Plates of Gold on their Faces, with sine Emeralds and Turquoises, the Spaniards became again elevated in their hopes, not doubting now but to make a good Voyage, and to gain Riches and Wealth to their full satisfaction. But soon after the Spaniards lost the hopes and expectation of all their imaginary Wealth, so soon as they saw the Indians come down upon them in great numbers, with good Orders, and with desire and courage to fight, with which the Spaniards became so discouraged, that they durst not engage with them; and though they were at least two hundred and fifty Men, yet by common

confent they departed, and landed at a certain Island, called the Cock Island; where having remained for several days, sometimes in hopes, and again depressed with fear, as their different Rencounters and Successes were promising, or adverse, they began for the most part to despond, and wish they had never adventured on the betterprise; onely the Captains and Commanders remained firm and constant to their first Design, resolving either to overcome, or due in their Enterprise; with this determination they agreed that Picarro should continue in the Island, and that Almage of should return to Panama, to serch Provisions, and more Recruits, but many of the Souldiers growing weary and timorous, desired to return with him, which Almagro resused to admit, or to carry Letters, lest the Souldiers advising the dangers and hazards they had sustained to their Friends at Panama, should bring a Discountation and Discouragement on their whole Design, which they had formerly magnified, having cried up the vast Treasures of those unknown Countries: In pursuit of which the resolute Constancy which these Chiefs had should be estimate of those hidden Riches.

But whatever the Captains could doe to hinder the Intelligence which the Soulders might give of their Difaftures to Panama, they could not prevent or difaption the Advices, which Men in Diffres contrived to send for their Relief; for a certain Person, who was a Native of Trustillo, and for being of the same Country with Picarro, had greater Obligations to follow the Fortune of his Leader, found out a way to fold up a Paper within a bottom of Cotton Yarn, made up in the bigness of an Egg, in which Writing all the Disastures, and ill Successo of their adventure were related, being directed to a certain Friend, subscribed by many of the Souldiers, giving an account of such as were dead, and slain, and of the present straits and necessities they were in, as also of their Consinement, not being suffered to return to Panama; at the soot of which Advice, or Intelligence,

these four Verses were written,

Good Mr. Governour, We pray you confider, That there goes the Fetcher, And here frays the Butcher.

I remember, that when I was a Child I often heard these Verses repeated, whenfever Discourses occasionally were made concerning the Conquest of the New World, which became afterwards like a Proverb, or old Saying, frequent in the Mouth of every one; and in reality they proved very prejudicial to these Chiefs, whose Design was wholly lost, and all the Money they had spent, and Labours they sufficiently came all to nothing: When afterwards I came into Spain, and sound those Verses inserted in the History of Lopez de Gomara, I was much pleased to see them there recorded, because I remembred to have heard them in the times when I was in the Indies.

BOOK L

428

Piçarro is forsaken by all his Souldiers, onely thirteen Companions remain with him.

Hen Almagro returned to Panama, it was then about a year fince this Enterprife was first begun, at which time he found a new Governour, called Pedro de los Rios, a Gentleman of Cordova, who having received and perused the Petition of the Souldiers, he sent a certain Judge, called Taspr, to the Cock Island, with Commission to free all such as should be desirous to return unto Panama. This Report being rumoured abroad, such as before had engaged themselves to go with Almagro, began to withdraw themselves, saying, that since those who were alterdy on the place, were weary of their Employment, and desirous to return home, it would be to little purpose for them to take up the Cudgels which the other had laid down; the which missortune Almagro, greatly lamented, having lost all his hopes, and Picarro, when he sound himself abandoned, and forsaken of all his Men, without regard to that Faith and Engagement of Articles by which they had affociated themselves with him, he remained perplexed, and distracted with great consusting of Mind; at length plucking up his courage, that he might distinguish who were for him, and who were against him; he laid his hand upon his Sword, and drew it, and with the point thereof he drew a Line on the ground, towards Pern, and turning to his Men, said to them:

"Fellow Souldiers, This Line fignifies the Labours, Hunger, Thirft, Wearines, Wounds, Sickneffes, and all other Dangers and Hazards which are to be fultained to procure this great Conqueft, even to the lofs perhaps of Life itelf: Whofoever finds himfelf endued with Courage fufficient to undergo this great Trial, and whofe Heroick Soul is capable of the generous Thoughts of this Noble Conqueft, let him, in token, and for evidence of his brave Spirit, pass on the other fide of this Line, which shall ferve for a Testimony between me and them of their Faith and Refolution; and let such as find in themselves a Cowardly Spirit, and a Soul too mean for so sublime an Action, let them return to Panama; for my part, I will force no Man, being resolved to remain here my self with those sew that will be my Companions, not doubting but that God, for the Glory and Honour of his most holy Name, will so affish us with his Divine Providence, that we shall find no want of those who out of Fear and Cowardise forsake us.

The Spaniards having heard the conclusion of this Speech, immediately hasted aboard with all speed imaginable, left any unlucky accident should prevent their return to Panamas; for as the difficulty and sear of Labour is always more prevalent in mean and poor Spirits, than the thoughts of Honour, or hopes of Riches, so these vile and abject Souls forsook their generous Captain, who would have conducted them to the height of eternal Fame, to return ignominiously with their Judge. Howsoever thirteen remained for Companions with Picarro, who could not be corrupted or discouraged by the ill examples of the Fugitives, but rather having their Hearts and Spirits more enslamed with Disdain against the cowardly and base, they courageously passed the Line which Picarro had drawn with his Sword, and there renewed their Vows and Protestations, of Constancy and Faith, promising to live and dye with their Captain and generous Leader.

Picarro having returned them Thanks, and promifed them the Prizes and Rewards of their Conquests, they passed over in a Boat to another Island, called the Gorgona, where they endured great want of all Provisions, living for several months and days on no other fullenance than with Sea-weeds, and great Serpents, and other creeping Creatures, of which that Island yields great abundance; and is miserably insested with Rains, and subject to terrible Liestnings and Thunders

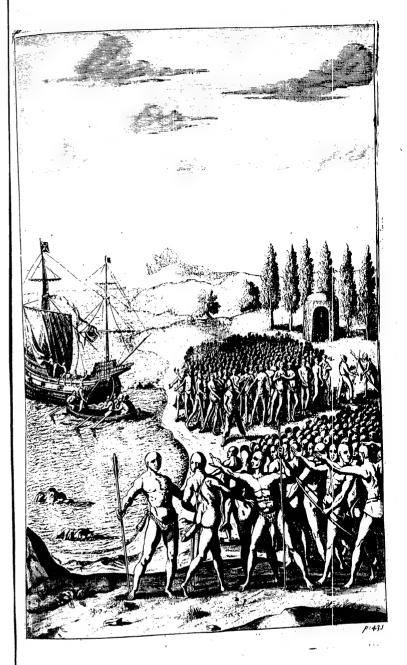
in which fad and difmal place and condition they fuffered Miferies beyond exmeffion. Of all these thirteen brave Heroes Gomara makes mention but of two onely; I know not his reason for it, or why he omits to name the other elevens but now I think on't, I have observed that it is the common omission and desect of Somith Writers, not to reckon particularly the Heroes of their Countrey by on opamps, for they ought to declare their Names and Surnames, their Families, Counname, ries and Parentage, that the memory of fuch Persons, samous in their Generation for the Conquest of a new World, may be conserved unto all Ages, and their Families boalt in the honour of being allied to fuch Ancestours. The two which Gomara mentions are Peter de Candia, who was not a Spaniard neither, but a Greek, and Bartholomen Rujz de Moguer, a Native of Moguer, and Pilot in this Navigation and Voyage. But Carate was more accurate in his Relation, for belides the two former he names feven others, viz. Nicholas de Ribera, John de la Torre, Alonfo mijemo, all Natives of Venavente, Christopher de Peralta, a Native of Bacça, Alonfo de Traxillo, Francis de Caellar, a Native of Cuella, and Alonfo de Molina, born at Obrda. Besides which recited by this Writer, there was another Ribera, companion to the former, whose Name I have forgotten, perhaps it might be Jeronimo or Alonfo, but to diffinguish them one from the other, they usually called them Ribera the Senior, and Ribera the Junior; not that one was much elder than the other in years, but by reason of their seniority in the Society with Picarro, for one of them was in the number of the first Adventurers which came from Panama, and the other was of the fecond or third Expedition, which came thence with Almaero; all which particulars I learned in my own Countrey from those who difcoursed of those times, and were for the most part Eye-witnesses of the matter of faet; both which Riberas had their Shares and Divisions of Indians made to them in Cindad Real, where they left Sons and Daughters, educated with all Goodness and Vertue. He whom Carate calls Alonfo Truxillo, was fames, for I was well acquainted with him, and know that he had Lands and Pofferfions given him in Coze, and that in the Year 1560. when I departed from that City, he was still living. Moreover Francis Rodrigues of Villa Fuerte near Cozco, was another of the thirteen, and one of the first which passed the Line, which, as we have said, Almageo drew with the point of his Sword, and was living in the year abovefald, onely two are wanting of the thirteen, whose Names we know not. And thus much we have faid to illustrate the History of Carate, in honour to those Families, whose Off-foring may well boast to have been descended from such famous Ancelours. The like particulars I shall mention in other passages, where I find that Spanish Writers have been defective, that so the Reader may receive entire fatisfaction in this History.

### CHAP. X.

Francis Picarro proceeds in his Conquest.

Plearro and his thirteen Companions remained many Months in the Island of Gorgona, enduring great hardships in that Countrey where are perpetual Rains, without House or Tent, or any thing to cover them, and where the best and choicest of their sood was nothing but the slesh of great Serpents, so that it seemed, as if God had sustained them by a miracle; and indeed the Divine Providence appeared most wonderfully in putting it into the Hearts of all, besides these thirteen, to return, to demonstrate unto the World, that this Conquest was not effected by Humane, but by Divine Aid; for it is hardly conceivable how, humanely speaking, it should enter into the minds of thirteen Men onely, to adventure on the Conquest of Pern. Of which tierefore we can give no other Account, than onely that the Divine Mercy compassionating the Miseries and Ignorances of shose Gentiles, was pleased to incite and instance a fire of Courage in the Breasts of those Spaniarda, fitted for such an Enterprise; for as God did under the Old Testament insus shears and an account in the trength and virtue into the Locks of Sampson, so now he was pleased by such weak means as these to bring Light out of Darkness, and make way for the effusion and spreading of his Holy Gospel.

At the end of many Months (for a dispatch could not be sooner made) the Ship arrived which Almagro sent with Provisions, but without Men; a missortune so discouraging, that one might believe they would rather have been induced to return home, than perfift in their resolution. But God so influenced their Minds with strange hopes, that they figured, unto themselves a concurrence of all happy Omens in their savour, for they no sooner saw the Ship, than that they resolved to proceed in their Voyage, and discover at least what Countrey and what People they were, who inhabited under the Equinoctial, a Region as yet unknown to the Spaniards: With these Intentions they embarked, and at length with much labour they got out of the Golf in which they were embayed; for borth the South w zarding themselves amongst the Indians, onely they sometimes watched an oppormairy to get Food and Provisions by stealth and robbery, rather than by force of Arms, or open appearance.



### CHAP. XI.

How Picarro, and his thirteen Companions, arrived in

A the end of two years, after they had quitted the Island of Gorgona, for fo long they had been in making their Discoveries on the Coast, not howing well whither they went, during which time we will leave the Reathe connect what Lentrenes and Frarchings they intrained, all which other Hilborians omit, not counting the steps, and degrees by which these Adventures proceeded. At length I say, they arrived at Tumpiz, where it pleased God to work a Miracle, that those people might receive, and embrace the Catholick Faith, which was this; the Ship being here arrived, the Spaniards observables. red that the Countrey was well peopled, and adorned with many good Houses, and more flately Buildings, than any they had feen in other parts, became very defirous to make a farther discovery; but how to contrive it was very difficult, for they were fearfull to fend one man fingly, left he should be killed by the *Indian*, nor durft they adventure in a Body, for fear of the like fate; at length to end the Dispute. Peter de Candia being full of Courage and Christian considence, offered himself on this Adventure, telling his Companions, that in each he were killed, their loss would not be much, considering that he was but a single person, killed, their loss would not be much, considering that he was but a single person, and that if he came well off, the greater would be the Wonder and the Victory; which having faid, he immediately covered his Body with a Coat of Mail, which reached to his Knees, and put on a Helmet of the best and bravest fort, he gir his Sword by his side, took his Target of Steel in his less hand, and in the ight he bore a wooden Cross of about a yard and a half long, which being the ignal of his Redemption, he confided more therein than in his Arms of Steel or lion. This Peter of Candia was a very tall Man, and though I did never fee him, rins Peter of Canada was a very fail ivial, and thought did never recently, yethis Son, with whom I went to School at Reaba, shewed me the proportion of his Father in himself; for being a Boy, but of eleven or twelve years of age, was as big as another of twice that age. In this dress Peter de Candia left his Com-Panjons, defiring their Prayers and Recommendations of him unto God, and then with a grave and ferious Countenance and Pace he walked towards the Inhabitants, with as much Majesty as if he had been Lord Paramount of all that Province. The Indians, who were in great confusion at the Arrival of the Ship, were much more affrighted when they faw a Man fo tall, and of fo vaft a proportion, covered all with Iron, with a Beard on his Face, which had never been known or feen before amongst them. Those who met him in the Fields ran away, and gave an Allarm to their People, and all taking Arms, ran into their Caftle or Fortres, which was speedily filled with crowds; but Peter still continued his grave Countenance, and Pace towards them, which when they faw, they were in great admiration, none daring to hurt him, for they believed that he was some divine or heavenly Apparition; but to prove what manner of thing he was, the Curaca, of Lords, agreed to try him with the Lion and Tyger which Huanna Capac had recommended to their Cultody, (as we have already related in the Hiltory of his Life,) which when they had let loofe, they expected that they should kill and tear him in pieces, but this ftory is briefly related by Peter de Cieça, in the Account he gives of the Conquests and Actions of Huayna Capac in this great Province of Tumpie, the which I thought fit to transcribe word for word, that so I might have the Tellimony of a Spanish Authour, in confirmation of the truth of what I have wrote, and with the tame occasion describe the beauty of that plessant Valley of Tumbiz, for so that Authour writes. "In regard, faith he, that the Inhabitants of the Isle of Puna were always at variance with the Na-

tives of Tumbez, the Captains of the Inga built a Fortress, which perhaps then designed with intention to employ the People, and divert their Minds from "their unreasonable Wars and Debates. So soon as this Fortress was finished "Gunyna Capal came thicher, and commanded that a Temple should be bull, and dedicated to the Sun, near to the Fortress of Tumbez, and that two hunder ded Virgins, chosen out of the most beautiful Ladies belonging to Noble Families of that Countrey, should have their Lodgings therein. In this Fortist Tumber of the Countrey, should have their Lodgings therein. Families of that Countrey, thould have their Lodgings therein. In this Fortres (of which there remain some Ruines to this day) Guayna Capac did, by his Deputy gather and collect the Tributes of the People, and laid them up there, with many pretious sewels, as also all Provisions for the Souldiers of the Garrison, and for those which marched that way; also they report, that in this Fortress the Lion and Tiger were kept, which had been sent thister by Guayna Capac, and were the same which they let loose upon Pedro de Candia, with intent that they might tear him in pieces, at that time when France property of the tothis Countrey, with his thirteen Companions, to make a Discovery of Park. In this Fottess of Timbez were many Silver-finiths, which made Vessels of Gold and Silver, and other pieces of rare Workmanship for " fervice and ornament of the Temple, which they esteemed holy and fanctifield, as also for service and honour of the *bica*; and for his perpetual Fame and lasting Memory, they plated all the Walls of this Temple with panes of Gold and Silver. And the Women which were dedicated to the service of the Temple had no other employment than to spin, and weave the finest for "of their Wool, which they performed with great curiofity. And in regard "we have in the fecond Part of this Hiftory related as much as we could under-"fland, or had reason to believe, concerning the Kingdom of Peru, from the time of Mango Capac, who was the first to the time of Guascar, who was the last King that descended by lawfull Succession; we shall add no farther in " this Chapter, than what will ferve to illustrate this History.

Thus far the Words of Peter de Cieça, collected out of that part of his History, wherein he treats of the great Riches of Tumpie, and of the wild Beasts which they set upon Peter de Candia, but proceeds no farther, reserving the remainder of his Story to be related in the third Part of his Works, which have not as ya been published to the World.

# CHAP. XII.

Of the Miracle which God wrought in Tumpiz.

But to return unto our purpose: We say, That those wild Beasts beholding the Christian, and the Cross which he held in his hand, immediately loft their natural fierceness, and as if they had been two Dogs which he had bred up, came and fawned upon him, and call themselves at his Feet. Peter de Candia considering this Miracle which God had wrought for him, took courage, and froked them on the Head and Sides, laying the Cross upon them, whereby these Gentiles might understand, that by virtue of that Standard the savage Beasts had loft their ferocity, and were made tame. The Indians feeing this Wonder. conceived that Peter was no mortal Man, but descended from Heaven and from the Sun, and therefore with common confent adored him as a Child of their God the Sun, bringing him into their Temple, which was lined with broad plates of Gold, that so he might be informed in what manner they honoured and worshipped his Father in that Countrey.

And having shewed him their Temple, with the Vessels of Gold and Silver, and other Ornaments and Riches which were for the service of it, they conducted him to the Royal Lodgings of his Brothers the Incas, whom they esteemed also for Children of the Sun. Then they lead him through all the Palace, that he might fee the funare Halls, the Chambers, and Antichambers, together with the furniture of Gold and Silver; they shewed him also all the Vessels which were for service of the Inea, fuch as Jars, and Cups, and Pots, all which, even to the Shovels and Tongs of the Kitchin were all of Gold and Silver. Then they brought him into the Gardens, where he faw Trees, and leffer Plants, and Herbs, and wild Bealts, and creeping things, fuch as we have faid were placed in the Royal Gardens, which were all made in Gold and Silver, at which the Christian was as much astonished, as the Indians were to see a Man so strange, and wonderfull as he ap-

peared unto them.

Book I.

Book I.

### CHAP. XIII.

Peter de Candia informs his Companions of what he had feen, and therewith they all return unto Panama.

PEter de Candia being abundantly fatisfied with what he had feen, returned with all Joy imaginable to his Companions, taking much larger steps back. than his gravity allowed him in his march towards the people. He then informed them of all which had paffed, and what immenfe Riches he had feen, at which his Companions remained with aftonishment, being scarce able to give credit to his Relation; how dever being ready to believe what they fo much defired, they were abundantly satisfied with the Labours they had formerly sustained in quest of those mighty Treasures, and Riches, promising unto themselves the possession and enjoyment thereof, had they but the fortune to entice and persuade Men to adventure for them. And having thus discovered what they defired, and more than they expected, they returned to Panama, having not force sufficient to proceed farther. Angulin Carate reports, that three Spaniards remained on the place, after the others were departed; or, as Lopez de Gomara says, but two, who out of a curiosity of seeing those Riches which Peter de Cardia had mentioned, or out of a covetous defire of gaining some of them, in case they were such as were reported, refused to return with their other Companions. But it is not known what ted, refuled to return with their other Companions. But it is not known wat afterwards became of them, the Spaniff Historians say, that they were killed by the Indians, but that is not probable, because they were worshipped and adored by them as descended from the Sun; but it may rather be supposed that they dyed of Sickness, that Coast being very unhealthfull for the Bodies of Strangers; and these being those who perished from the number of the thirteen, dying, as is bethele being thole who perilhed from the number of the thirteen, 'dying, as is believed amongst the *Indians*, their Memory was forgotten, and no mention made of them in the Exploits recounted of the other Companions. These thirteen seminards consumed at least three Years in the discovery of *Pern*, as the Spanish Authours testifie. Angustin Carate, in the 2d. Chapter of his first Book, both thee Words: "Having made these Discoveries in the space of three Years, they returned to *Panama*, during which time they sustained much hardship, and underwent many Dangers; they endured Want, and Hunger, and received Wounds in their Skirmishes with the *Indians*; but most of all, their greatest disappoint ments were recognized from their owns civil Discovels and Dissortions the which Better the second of the processed of the property of the processed of th " ments proceeded from their own civil Discords and Diffentions, the which Pigarro did often by his prudence and gentleness accommodate and appeale; giving them great encouragement by the affurances he made them of the faithfulness and diligence of Almago, who was making provitions of Victuals, of Men, Horfe and Arms, and indeed Almago and Pigaro were both fo cordial, and zealous in this Defign, that they spared neither their Estates, nor their Lives in "this Adventure, having made themfelves poor and indebted, who were before the richeft of their Countrey. Thus far are the Words of Carate; likewife Geman avouches the like in this manner. "Francis Pigarro fpent three years in this Difcovery of Pern, having undergone great Hardthips, and Labours, with Hunger, Perils, Fears, and many other thaits. And fo concludes the Chapter.

Amongft the many acute and witty Sayings which are recounted of this famous Captain Francis Pigarro, and that which he would often use, when he perceived that his Companions were wearied, and difcouraged with various Labours they fulfained in this Difcovery, and also afterwards, when they were entired on the Conqueft, he would often fay, Miferable are we who harafi and wear out our felves to gain flrange Empires and Kingdoms, which neither we our felves, nor our Children, but we know not who, shall enjoy them. This Saying I have often heard reported from the mouth of those who were Ear-Witnesses thereof, and who were Companions with him in those Exploits. Likewvise those very Conquerours veould often repeat that saying, when after the Conquest the civil Wars arose between Gonzalo Picarro and Francis Hernandez Giron, in which most of them were flain; and in regard that Saying appeared a most universal Truth, every one would take it for his gard that saying appeared a more universal Fluin, every one would take it for his own, but certain it is, that it was the true prediction of Captain Francis Picarro, to the truth of which I also am able to give an Attestation.

Royal Commentaries.

### CHAP. XIV.

Picarro makes a Voyage into Spain, and demands Aid for the Conquest of Peru.

FRancia Picarro returning with all possible diligence to Panama, acquainted Die-Rames Tracto returning With an pointed angence to Tamana, acquainted Diego de Almagro, and Hernaudez Luque, the Schoolmaster, his two Fellow-undertakers, with the immense and incredible Riches which they had discovered; with which News being overjoyed and encouraged, they agreed that Francis Picarro should make a Voyage into Spain, to desire a Commission from the Emperour, Charles the 5th for the Conquest and Government of that Countrey which they had discovered. But these three Associates had so wasted and consumed their Estates in this late Undertaking, that they had nothing remaining of all their own Fortunes, but were forced to borrow, and take up a thousand Crowns in Gold to defray the charge of this Voyage. Francis Piçarro delivered in to the Council of the Indies a relation in writing, wherein he gave information to His Majesty of all that he had seen, supplicating, that in consideration of his former Pains and Labours in the Discovery, and also of the Hazards and Expences he was for the future to undergo and fultain in the Conquest, adventuring the Bloud and Riches of his Kindred and Friends, to gain an addition of new Kingdoms and Treasure to the Imperial Crown of His Majesty, He would be gratioully pleased to grant him the Government of that Countrey. Many that heard Picuro publish and boast of such immense Riches and Treasure, did believe that it was onely a Sham, or a Decoy to invite Men to adventure with them, but a few years after verified the truth of his whole Narrative. In answer to this Petition His Majefty was pleafed to confer upon him all those Countries which he should conquer, with Title of Lord Lieutenant of Peru, as also of Captain, General, and Governour of all those Countries which the Spaniards should conquer in Pers, which then they called New Castile, to distinguish it from those parts which were named New Spain, both being gained after the fame manner; that is, as Strangers fay, at the coft of Fools, and Madmen, and desperate Fellows.

Francis Pigarro, to whose Name hereafter we will add the Title of Don, because

in the Commission from His Majesty that Honour is inferted; for in those times the Title of *Don* was onely prefixed before the Names of Noble Persons, and was not half so common as it is now, when every little fellow assumes it, and the very Indiant, whether Noble, or not, in imitation of the Spaniards, give themselves than Trile, and are called by it. We shall also hereafter call Diego Almagro Don Dieg, for having been a Companion with *Picarro* in his Enterprifes, and equal to him in all his Undertakings, we cannot in Juftice deny unto him a share of his

Don Francis therefore having received his Commission, and fitted all things necessary for his Voyage, and being accompanied with four of his Brothers, and many other Persons of Quality of the Province of Estremadura, he embarked at fine province of the Province of Estremadura, he embarked at Scottle, and having a quick and profiperous palfage, he happily arrived at Panama: But Don Diego was much diffatisfied to understand that Don Francis had appropriated all those Titles and Honours unto himself, and not made him a sharer with him in those Offices, and Places of Truft, which were conferred by Commission from his Majesty, forgetting that he had equally suffered with him in all the La-

bours and Dangers which offered in the Difcovery: And in regard that  $D_{00}$   $D_{01}$   $Q_{02}$  had fpent more Wealth than he, having been much richer, and loft an Eye in the Service, he appeared not onely equal, but to have greater Merit than  $P_{12}$ .

These disgusts were heightned by others, who aggravated the unkindness and neglect of Pigarro towards his Companions, alledging, that from a natural Ambition he had appropriated all the Trusts and Dignities to himself; for which cause these two Companions became much estranged one from the other, until some Friends interposing between them, so reconciled matters, that they both agreed, and proceeded in their Enterprise; howsoever the Quarrel was not so well made up, but that there remained some reliques of it; for that though the Provisions were made, and all things put into a readiness, yet Don Diego could not so forget his Injuries, as to apply his mind with that zeal and warmness in his Office of making Provisions, as he had formerly exercised, which Hernando Pigaro more resenting than any other, and being a Man of a hot and fiery temper, did utter more harsh Language against Don Diego than any other; reproaching his Brother, and often charging him to be the cause of all the Wants and Hardships they sustained; to which Almagro's Brother replied, That Don Diego had reason to be remiss in his Supplies, and that it could not be expected that he should be so diligent in their concernment, who had been so bastled and neglected; and that though it were true, that according to Articles he was to share in one moiety of the Conquelt, yet being a Gentleman, and of a generous Soul, he more esteemed of Honour and Government, than of all the Wealth and Treasure in the Universe. From whence arose such as mortal Hatted between Hernando Pigarro and Don Diego de Almagn, which was never appeased, untill one killed the other. Howsoever the Difference for the present was falved up by the Intercession of some sober Person, whom Don Francisco Pigarro, and his other Brothers, who were Men of a more cool and gentle Temper than Hernando, desired to interpose, and make a Reconciliation, by reason that they were well assured to interpose, and make a Reconciliation, by reason that they were well assured to interpose, and make a Reconci

CHAP.

### CHAP. XV.

Of the great Hardships the Spaniards endured in their Voyage from Panama to Tumpiz.

Don Francisa Pictors with his four Brothers, together with his Men and Horse, which were as many as his Ships could contain, set Sail from Panana, with intention not to touch any where untill they came to the Countrey of Tumpie 5 but the Southerly Winds always blowing in that Sea, which were contrary to the course they steered, they were forced to land a hundred Leagues short of Tumpie 5 so that sending their Ships back again to Panana, they resolved to march all the way by Land, esteeming it much easier than to turn to Windward for so many Leagues

But in their Journey by Land they fuffered much more than they would have done by the contrary Winds by Sea; for entring into a barren Countrey, void of all Victuals and Provisions, they endured hunger, and want of all things; and the way being long and tedious, over Mountains and Rocks, and their passage stopped by wide Rivers, they contrived to pass them with Floats, which they made of Timber, and Canes, and Rushes, which they fastend together, and with large Goards which they bound one to the other.

The chief Guide and Pilot over these Ferries was Don Francisco himself, who was well acquainted, and experienced in matters of this nature; the which he suffained with so much courage and patience, that for better example to his Companions, he would carry the sick and tired persons on his own shoulders over

Brooks and Fords, which might be waded over.

After all these difficulties, they came at length to that Province which they call Casqui, where they found plenty of Provisions, and many Emeralds of the finest for, of which they broke many; for being not skilfull lewellers, they had an opinion, that the true Emeralds would not break, and therefore for a trial they proved them with Hammers upon the Anvil. The like they afterwards did in Tampie, where they broke many Emeralds of three or four thousand Ducats pice: But not onely these Spaniards fell into this errour, but likewise others, who afterwards came to this Countrey under the Command of the Lord Lieutenant Don Pedro de Alvarado, who destroyed many Emeralds and Turquoises of an inefimable value. But befides these disaftures, the people of Picarro were afflicted with a loathfome disease, which at first appeared with a twelling on their Heads and Faces, like Warts, and on feveral parts of their Body; but afterwards, when they came to a maturity, they were of the colour of ripe Figs, and about the bigness of them, hanging down as it were by a string, from whence great quantities of bloud iffued; the which were not onely loathforme, but very fore; and it was very ugly to behold fuch filthy Warts, or Wens, appearing on their Foreheads, Eye-brows, Nofes and Ears, for which they knew no remedy or cure. But this dilease was not so mortal, but that many of them who were seized with this diflemper, recovered, though feveral dyed; and though the difease was Epidemical to the Natives of Peru, yet it was not to to the Spaniards, many of which escaped the Evil. Many years after that time I faw three or four Spaniards at Cozco, who lay ill of that diftemper, but they recovered; and it may be attributed to some bad influence which was transient, for fince that time, that fickness hath not been known. With all these Labours, Diseases, and Death of his Companions, Don Francisco was not difinayed, always thewing himself as forward to adventure himfelf first in dangers, as he was carefull in the cure of his Friends and Souldiers. To Panama he lent twenty four or twenty five thousand Ducats of Gold to supply Don Diego de Almagro with Money, that to he might be enabled to furnish those necessary fuccours of which they had occasion; part of which Gold he gained by War, and part by the ransome of such whom he had taken Captives. Thus

proceeding forwards to Timpiz, he overtook another party of Spaniards, who being moved with the report and fame of the mighty Riches of Peru, came from Nicaragna to that Countrey; their Captains, or Leaders, were Sebaffian de Belaleagar, and John Fernandez; with which happy rencounter Pigarro was highly pleafed, ye teafon that his own numbers were efteened infufficient for that Conqueft. Sebaffian de Belaleagar was by the Name of his Family properly called Mopano, but he rather chose to take his Appellation from his Countrey; he was a Twin of three, that is, two Sons and one Daughtet, born at the same Birth: His Brother was called Favian Garcia Mogano, and his Sister Anastrasa, they were both valiant and courageous, as was their elder Brother, and especially the Sister. This Relation I received from a Friar of the Order of St. Francis, who himself was a Native of Belascard was well acquainted with the whole Family of Sebastian de Rallegare. proceeding forwards to Timpiz, he overtook another party of Spaniards, who he lateagar, and was well acquainted with the whole Family of Sebaftian de Belaleacar The which Relation this Friar the more willingly gave me, because he knew that I was Writing this History, wherein I was glad to relate the extraordinary Birth of this famous Souldier.

# CHAP. XVI.

The Spaniards make themselves Masters of Tumpiz, and the Island of Puna.

Don Francisco Picarro being well recruited with Spanish Souldiers, adventured on the Conquest of Puna, where Fame would have it, that there was much Gold and Silver, and great Riches; to this Island, which was twelve Leagues with in the Sea, they passed over on Floats with great hazard; and being arrived on the Land, they had many Battels with the Natives, who killed four Spaniards, and wounded divers others, amongst which was Hernando Pigarro, who received and wounded with States, another a hurt on his Knee; but the *Opaniards* prevailed with great flaughter on the Indians; and with that Victory gained great spoils of Gold, Silver, and Cloths, which they immediately divided amongst themselves; before the people which Hernands de Soto brought from Nicaragua, could come up to them, for he had been dispatched from that place by Almagro to carry Succours of Men and Horse to Picarro: Of which booty Soto having received advice, he made fuch hafte, that he arrived with them at the time when they were removing their Camp thence. Picarrobeing re-inforced with these supplies, thought himself strong enough to adventure on Tumpiz; and first to ingratiate himself with the Inhabitants, he sent them by the hands of three Spaniards, in quality of Amballadours, a Prefent of fix hundred of their own Countreymen, whom he had taken Captives in the Island of Puna, in expectation by fuch an atonement and piece of generofity to gain peace and friend thip with them, hoping that those people, in gratitude for their liberty, and kind treatment, would have given so kind a report of them, as might have induced them to a commerce, and good understanding: But this ungratefull people finding themselves amongst their own Friends, altered the report which formerly they had promifed to give, and reprefented the Spaniard as covetous and thirtly after Gold and Silver; and more to incenfe their Countreymen, they reported them to be lafeivious Adulterers, and fuch as would defile their Wives and Daughtets. The people of *Timpiz* being ill affected, and prepoffeffed with this evil report did prefently, and without so much as hearing the three *Spaniards* speak, deliver them into the hands of their Executioners, who having put them to death, sacrifications in the spaniar of the s ficed them with fury and rage to their Gods: the which Story is confirmed by Gonara, and Augustine de Carate; but Blas Valera, who was a very credible Authour, fays, that it was onely conjectured, and believed to be fo, because they never appeared more. But the Governour of that Countrey faith, That one of

these Ambassadours was drowned going over a River, and that the two others thete Ambanacours was unowned going over a ruver, and that the two others dved of natural ficknesses, to which that Climate is very subject, and unhealthfull over or natural networks, for it is not probable that the *Indians*, who had observed with what submission the Lion and the Tyger had crouched in a miraculous ved with what fubmifion the Lion and the Tyger had crouched in a miraculous manner to *Pedro de Candia*, thould flay, or facrifice them, whom they effect of Deities. *Pigarro* in his paffage over the Waters on Floats and Rafts, was in great danger, as were all his people, of being caft away by the ftreams, which in those parts are very fierce and rapid, for their Floats were very unruly, and uneafier to be governed; howfoever in defipight of all, they leaped on thore, and marched the people with whom after many Bartale the Candian and accounts the people with whom after many Bartale the Candian and the content of the people with whom after many Bartale the Candian and the content of the people with whom after many Bartale the Candian and the content of the people with whom after many Bartale the Candian and the content of the content of the content of the people with whom after many Bartale the Candian and the content of t to be governed; howtoever in delpight of all, they leaped on thore, and marched boldly towards the people, with whom, after many Battels, the *Spaniards* remained Conquerours; and thereby the Enemy being become cowed and diffnayed by the many flaughters which were made of them, they entirely yielded: And fuppoing that these destructions were Judgments of the Sun inslicted for their Sins, ing that there defined on were Judgments of the our innected for their Sins, they endeavoured to please and pacific their Enemies by Presents of Gold, Silver, and Jewels, which they had observed to be Commodities pleasing to them, and and Jewess, which may man observed to be Commonues picating to them, and the Motives which had incited them to all their labours and dangers; and moreover, the *Curaca* came with all humility to fubmit and furrender his Eflate and Person into their hands.

The Spaniards confidering how prosperously their affairs succeeded by the sorune of this one Battel, relolved to fettle their first Colony in these parts, which they called St. Michael, being founded on the day of his Festival; and in this first and ancient Colony they planted feveral of their Companions in the year 1531, to receive and give entertainment unto all fuch who were shortly expected from

Panama and Nicaragua.

From this place Picarro dispatched his three Ships back again to Panama to bring him more recruits of Men, and supply of Provisions; and to give more life to the design, he sent above thirty thousand Ducats in Gold and Silver, besides Emeralds, as the fruits of his Labours, and as an evidence of the vast Riches of that Countrey. But we should have told you before, that Picarro (amongst the many other favours which he received from his Majesty in Spain) had the honour and privilege granted him to entertain a Guard of twenty four Halbardiers, for projection of his Person, and greater authority of his Office and Government: Wherefore having subdued and mastered Tumpie, he designed to make choice of fuch a Guard wherewith he might with more oftentation and pomp, than he had formerly thewn, make his entry into that Country. But he could not with all the promifes he could make, perfuade any of all his company to submit so low, as to accept of that Office; for it is not onely incident to the humour of the spaniards to be haughty, and fanfie I know not what high and sublime matters; but even those who are humble, and would accept of any mean and low employmeat in other parts, do no fooner enter into these Countries, but are immediateyelevated with a new generofity and greatness of Soul, that they from to accept of ordinary preferments: But thus much I should not have adventured to have faid, had I not received this report from Spaniards, who find the like inclinations within themselves. Howsoever, there were two of all the number who accepted the Halberts, with whom I was acquainted, who both in the Conquest of that Countrey, and afterwards in the Civil Wars behaved themselves like brave Souldiers, and in reward thereof the honour of Military Commands were bestowed upon them, with a share of Lands and Jurisdiction over the Indians; they were both killed in the War, though their Names I have thought fit to conceal for feveral respects. After Picarro the Governour had quieted and setted Tumpic, and the dependencies thereunto belonging, and possess the first the Riches, he respect to Cossanta, and make a visit to King Atabuapa, the same of whose treasure was extremely inviting; and the report thereof the more probable but he was extremely inviting; and the report thereof the more probable but he was extremely inviting; ble, by the apparent Riches which were found in *Timpiz*. In their March thither they paffed a Countrey uninhabited, and of dead and barren Sands, extremely hot, and dry, without Water; with which, for want of knowledge of the Country, they had not provided themselves; but at length they came to certain pleasant and fruitfull Vallies, where they were relieved with all things necessary for their reformance. their refrehment. At this place the Governour received an Embaffy from the unfortunate Huafear Inca, but hove and vehich veay it came from him, is doubtfull, in regard (as vve have faid) he vvas kept a close Prisoner under severe cuflody: But it is probable that this Meffage might be fent by fome Curaca out of compassion to the true and legitimate Prince of that Empire, vvho vvas detained and oppressed by tyrannical hands: the sum of this Message vvas, to implore vvith all humility, the Justice, Righteousness, and Protection of the Sons of the God Virtaceha, vvhich he did not doubt to receive from those vvho published and gave out in all parts, that their designs vvere to relieve and succour the oppressed. To vvhich the Governour answered, that he vvas novv on his vvay to administer relief unto the unhappy Inca, and to succour all others vvho vvere under vviong and oppression.

### CHAP. XVII.

Of the Embassy and Presents which the Inca fent unto the Spaniards.

WO days after this the General received another Embassy more solemn than the former, from the King Atabaalpa, brought by a Brother of his own both by the Father and Mother's fide, called Titu Aantachi, who in few words declared, that the Inca had fent him to give a hearty welcome to the Sons of his God the third with a line in the good will be bore them, and of his defire to fewe them with all his power, he had fent them a Prefent of fuch things as their Countrey afforded, defiring them to refresh and enjoy themselves with the plenty of fuch Provisions as he had made for their Journey, for that both he and all his Subjects were defirous to fee his Kinfmen, who were related with him to their common Father the Sun, whom therefore they honoured, and to whom they promine the sun of t fed all obsequiousness and allegiance. And having expressed thus much in behalf of the Inca, he afterwards (for fuch were his influctions) made this Speech from himself: Inca Viracocha, said he, thou Progeny of the Sun, since it hath been my fortune to carry you this happy Message , I presume with this occasion to besech you, that you would grationsly be pleased to grant me these three Requests: In the sirst place, that you would essen my Inca, and King Atahualpa, for your Friend, and enter into a perpetual League of peace and friendship with him. Secondly, that you would forgive, and pardon what crime or fault Socver our people have either out of ignorance, or want of due consideration, committed against you : And lastly, I befeech you, that the punishment which by Command of the great God your Father Viracocha, you have inflitted on those of the Island of Puna, and those of Tumpiz, and other parts, you would moderate and remit towards those of Cassamarca, and such others whom you shall meet; and that in regard you are an Inca, and descended from the Sun, that you would pardon and exercife that Clemency, which is one of your divine Attributes. And having faid thus much, he commanded that the Prefents should be delivered to the Governour, and the other Spaniards his companions; the which Presents were Goats, Sheep, dried flices of the flesh of wild Beasts, such as of the Huanacu, the Vicunna, Stags, Elks, and fallow Deer; of which they brought many alive, that fo they might see of what fort of Beasts those slices of dried slesh were: they prefented them also with tame and wild Conies, Partridges both dead and alive, with Water-fowl, and with innumerable smaller Birds; likewise with Mayz in the grane, and some made up in Bread; as also with Fruit both dry and green, Honey in the Combs, and in Pots, with Indian Pepper, which they call Ochu, and great quantities of drink made of their Wheat, and of that grane which they call Mulli. Moreover, they presented many Vestments of the finest fort, such as those with which the Incas were cloathed, befides Parrots, Monkies, Apes and Marmofets, and other Animals and strange Infects, which, as we have faid, were common in that Countrey: As also many Vessels of Gold and Silver to drink in, with Plates and Dishes for the Table, with many Emeralds and Turquoises. And as a particular fignal of respect to the General, they brought him a pair of such Hose as

the bica himself wore, with two Bracelets of Gold, which they call Chipana; the the mea immer work, while two Practices of Golds, milest city can coppen 3 the which two were for variety and change, because the mea wears but one at a time, and that is on the Wrift of his left Arme; which is a fignal of Military Honour, which none are qualified to receive, but those of the Bloud-Royal, or Captains, or when none are familiared themselves by some notable Acts of bravery; in resouldiers, who had signalized themselves by some notable Acts of bravery; in resources, who had inguitated them to so your hold hold to so to layer; in te-ward of which, the King conferred that Ornament with his own hand; and on both these reasons and respects Don Francisco was esteemed worthy of this fignal poin more reasons and place, he was believed to be a legitimate Iffue descended from the Sun, and their God Viracocha; and secondly, his Acts of Valour and Bravery did belpeak and proclaim him for a famous and renowned Captain. And thus having made their Prefents to the Governour, and his Spaniards, Titu Atanchi thus having made their research the covernous, and his opposituation, and his prefumption, of having made fo mean and low an defired them to pardon this prefumption, of having made fo mean and low an Offering to the Children of the Sun, unto whom hereafter they would endeavour Offering to the Chicago of the Sun, and whom hereafted they would endeavour to make amends by their future observance, and dutiful performances. The Governour and Captains taking very kindly their obliging Complements, and much more their Presents, returned in the first place their thanks to the Inca, and then to his Ambaffadour: but when they understood that he was Brother to the King, to his Ambanacous: Our when they underfrood that he was brother to the King, they shewed him extraordinary honour and respect according to his quality; and laving given him a short Answer to his Embassy, he returned fully satisfied, and with high contentment. Their Answer in floot, was this, That the *Spaniards* were come by Order and Commission from the Pope, or High Priest, to turn them from their Idolatry, and to instruct them in the true Religion of the Chriflians: They were also come from him who was Emperour, and King of Spain. who was the greatest Prince of the Christians, to enter into a League of Friendship, and a perpetual Peace, and to make an Alliance with the Inca and all his Empire, and never to doe them hurt, or offer them any violence, besides many other things which they would more at their leifure communicate to the Inca; but neither Gomara, nor Augustine de Carate make any mention of these rich Prelents, nor of an Ambassadour, who was Brother to the King, nor of any Answer made by the Governour; onely they freak of fome Hofe and Bracelets, which they brought to the Commander in chief, and of fome Ruffles or Cuffs for Shirts, but these Authours did not consider that the Indians in their natural Habit do not wear Linen. The King Androdya fent that Meffage and Prefents to the Spani-ord, with an opinion, that thereby he might appeale the Sun, whom they fanfied to be angry, and displeased by reason of the relistence, which the Indians of the Isle of Puna, and the Valley of Tumpiz had made against the Spaniards, of whom fome of them (as we have faid) being killed, they feared a thousand judgments and punishments for their Rebellion against those who were descended from the Sun, and their God Viracocha: To the terrour of this apprehension, the Prophecy which his Father Huana Capac had delivered, came fieth into memory: which was, that after his time a strange Nation, which was not seen or heard of before, should enter their Countrey, ruine their Empire, subvert their Government, and destroy their Idolatry. And now the King Arahuaspa did really believe that the time for accomplishment of this Prophecy was come; for that unless these sew spaniards had been affisted by the power of the Sun, who was angry with his people, it were impossible that so small a handfull of Men should be able to make such stages at they had done at *Panama*, *Puna*, *Tumpiz*, and other parts. And now fearing the like at his own home, he ordered his Brother the Ambassadour to make it. to make those three Requests, before mentioned, in his own Name; for though Atahnalpa was unwilling to discover any such fear, or timorousness in himself; yet the apprehension and dread of these things were so fixed in the mind of Atahualpa, that his spirit and courage, which was formerly brave and aspiring, was now become cowed and low with these imaginations, and became so intimidated, that he never durst make any resistence or opposition against the Spaniards. Those who confider well these matters, have a large scope to make reflexions thereupon; some attribute these Judgments to the Justice of God in punishment of their Idolatry, and Cruelties exercised on the true Family of the Incas; but others perhaps may with more reason interpret this Invation of the Spaniards to be directed by the gratious Providence of God, who out of compassion to the ignorance and obfourity in which these Gentiles lived, was pleased by these means to introduce the light of the Gospel into those dark and unknown parts of the World.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK L

BOOK I

So from as the Ambaffadours were returned back again to their King, the so-So foon as the Ambaitadours were returned oach again to their King, the Syaniards made many reflexions, and put divers interpretations on the Meffage and Prefents which were fent: Some were of opinion, that those Gifts and Offering, by how much the more rich and magnificent they were, by so much more they were to be suspected; fansying that they were designed with intention to amuse and lull them into a kind of security and confidence in their faith and simplicity, were to be suspected; santying that they were designed with intention to anuse and sull them into a kind of security and confidence in their faith and simplicity, and so surprize and kill them with more ease and advantage; and therefore looking on these Presents as sallacious, and designed for traps and snares, it was argued that they should be the more watchfull and circumspect in all their proceedings: Howsover the other spaniards, who were the greatest number, being of a less suspections nature, were of opinion that these Gifts and Offerings were onely evidences of the good will of the Indians: And that though the Rules of Military Discipline did oblige them to be always vigilant and cautious in an Enemies Countrey, yet they could not but applaud and esteem the Magnificence of the Indians, the suspection of the Words, and the Majesty of his Embassy, which to render more honourable, he was pleased to perform it by the hands of his Brother, whose countesse and discretion were very visible both in his Reasons, and in his Comportment; though for want of a good Interpreter to understand the Language of Cacon, much of his sense and Periods; but in the rendering of them, the shirthy appeared in his Speech, which seemed to be uttered in long Sentences, with their due Accents, Pauses and Periods; but in the rendering of them, the Interpreter delivered them in such broken Speeches, without coherence or sense, that they were scarce intelligible to the Spanlards; but howsoever they took all in good part, that which was wanting in the words, being supplied by the better effects of Presens. That night, and several other days after, they cheered themselves with the Presens of Arabnassya, and so marched towards Cassanaca, where though they sound not the Inca, as was expected, yet they were received theme by the Indians, who, by order of the King, had assembled both Nobles and Commoners to seast and test the Off-spring of the Sun, and Children of the God Viracocku, strowing all their Cherobers and Logings with Elouvers and G order of the rang, had antended both Probles and Commoners to leaf and they the Off-fixing of the Sun, and Children of the God Viracocha, strowing all their Chambers and Lodgings with Flowers, and sweet-sheeling Herbs; likewise they entertained them with plenty of Meat and Drink; the care and charge of all which was committed to Cullqui Human, who was the Curaca, or Lord, of Cullamara, and who in obedience to the Commands of his King, did endeavour to exceed in all points of civility and respect towards the *Spaniards*. But amongst the many Services which the *Indians* shewed to them, there was one of fingular remark; which was, that they observing that the Bits and Curbs which the Horses had in which was, that they observing that the Bits and Curbs which the Horles had in their mouths, were made of Iron, they prefently imagined that the Iron was their Meat; and therefore not to be defective in any point of Service towards the speniards, they readily brought feveral Ingots of Gold and Silver, which they laid in the Mangers before the Horles, defiring them to eat of those Metals, which were much more delicate Meat than the Iron; the Spaniards who observed and laughed at this simplicity of the Indians, commended their kindnels to the Horfes, telling them, that they could not oblige them more, than by giving them good store of that Provinder.

...

# CHAP. XVIII.

The Governour fends an Ambassadour to King Atahualpa.

THE day following the Governour held a confultation with his Brethren and Captains, touching an Embassy to be fent to the King Atahnalpa, whereby to inform him of his intentions to make him a visit, that so he might communicate to him the matters encharged to him by the Emperour, and by the Pope; for that to be filent, and make no returns, would savour of ingratitude, and little sense of the presents and kind treatment they had received. Wherefore they agreed, that since the Inca had sent his Brother on this Embassy, that they should correspond in the like manner by the Brother of the Governour, qualified with the same character of Ambassacours Accordingly Hernando Piçarro, and Hernando de Sto were sent to the Court of the Inca, not far distant from Cassacours, where had a Royal Palace, and commodious Baths, and where was at that time a numerous concourse of the Nobility and Souldiery, which stocked from all parts to had a Koyal Palace, and commodious Daths, and where was at that time a numerous concourse of the Nobility and Souldiery, which stocked from all parts to celebrate certain Festivals agreeable to their Religion, and with that occasion to reform several corruptions and abuses, which by the licentiousness of the Wars were crept in amongst them; and for the better security and conservation of his were crept in amongst them; and for the better fecurity and contervation of his own Perfon, and advancement of his own Tyrannical Power and Authority, he enacted and established other Laws and Statutes, pretending that they were transmitted to him by revelation from the Sun: For the truth is, though Atahnalpa had Murthered as many persons of the Bloud-Royal, as he was able, yet he was still jealous, and fearfull of those sew which survived, lest any Pretender should on the present of Religious advance one of the right line to be the true and legisiment. the pretext of Religion advance one of the right line to be the true and legitimate Heir; to which end he formed new Laws, pretending that they were derived from the Sun, to equalize and balance against the ancient Canons and Statutes of Religion. These two Ambassadours were in this manner dispatched with their Interpreter Philip, who though he was a Native of the Isle of Puna, and ill versed In one or the other Language, yet he was a receifary inftrument; and fin verted in one or the other Language, yet he was a neceffary inftrument; and fuch, as for want of a better, was very ulefull. With these two Spaniards the Curaca of Colombia and the Curaca of Colombia and the Curaca of the work of the and pomp to the presence of their King, encharging them upon their lives to passen whatsoever they should command. So soon as these Ambassadours had psted Cassanarca, they sent an Indian of Quality out of those who attended them to the King Arabussa, to acquaint him of their coming, and to demand his licence, that they might appear in the presence of his Highness: To which Message the Local made answer, that they should be extremely welcome, for that their Arrival had been long defired and expected; and presently commanded one of his Major-Generals with a great number of his Men to go forth and meet those Descendants from the Control of the Men to go forth and meet those Descendants from the Sun, and perform towards them all that Worship and Veneration which appertained to them. This kind Answer of the Inca cased the Spaniards of all the appertained to them. This kind Aniwer of the *Inca* cared the *Spaniaras* of all the fear and suspicion they had conceived upon the rumour, that the *Inca* was encome fear and suspicion they had conceived upon the rumour, that the *Inca* was encome fear out to Royal Baths and Palaces, they met about the middle of their Journey in an open Plain with those Companies of Souldiers which were fair out to receive them; which so soon as *Hernando de Soto* espied, he set Spurs to his Horse and baldle it was them with a full careful and the soundary. is Horfe, and boldly rid up to them with a full cariere, giving them to understand, that if they had been Enemies, as they were Friends, he alone had been fufficient to encounter with them; and then turning and carveting with his Horfe, he came and flopt near the Commander in chief. And here the Spanish Historians recounting this passing, that this Commander in Chief was Atabuaha himself and that the commander in the Commander with his Horse, at which himself, and that Soto came up to his very Chair pranting with his Horse; at which though Atabualpa seemed not to be dismayed, or altered, yet several of his people, who ran away and fled to avoid his Horfe, he caused to be put to death: But this Authour was mit informed in the Relation he made, for neither was Atahnalpa Llla

there present, nor whosoever he was, did he put any to death; for if their retired ment was onely to give way or place to the Horfe in his cariere, as was probable it was fo far from being a fault, or to deserve punishment, that it was a piece of civility and respect, which they desired to shew unto those whom they esteemed civility and respect, which they desired to snew unto those whom they esteemed to be Children of the Sun; and to have done otherwise, or to have obstructed the way and passage of these strangers, would have seemed a piece of implety and prophanation towards those whom they consessed to be of Divine Race, and descended from the Heavens. Nor was Atabaalpa so suppose this understanding. as to flay his own Indians in the prefence of the Ambassadours whom he had emas to flay his own *Indians* in the prefence of the Annoanacours whom he had employed to pay Honour and Worfhip to them, and to affure them of all fecurity and protection. Nor is it probable that *Hernando de Soto* would have been fo rude and discourteous as to ride up to the very Nose of the King, with whom he came to treat in behalf of the Emperour and the Pope: By all which, it is greatly to be lamented, when we consider with how little care. Men give Relations of passages which occur in those remote parts, without regard to the reputation of that peo-ple. The Inca Atabualps (as we shall declare more particularly hereafter) shewed ple. The Inca Atabusipe (as we shall declare more particularly hereaster) shewed himself very generous and real towards the Spaniard; 3, and therefore it may be lawfull for us to render a characker of his abilities, discretion and understanding with which Nature had endued him: For in regard we have made mention at large of all the Tyrannies and Cruesties, which he committed, the rule of History doth oblige us not to conceal the mixtures of Vertue, which appeared in him, unless we would approve our selves saile by writing a Romance in the place of true History. That which I report, proceeds from the relation of many Spaniards who were present at all the action, being such as I received from their own mouths, at those times of conversation which they passed in my Father's samily, when a great part of their entertainment was to recount the many business and accidents which on of their entertainment was to recount the many patients, family, when a great put of their entertainment was to recount the many patiengs and accidents which occurred in this Conquest; the same I have heard confirmed from several Indian, who at the visits which they made to my Mother, did frequently discourse of those who at the vines which they made to my Mount, and nequently discourse of the Actions, and particularly of what happened in the Reign of Atabadya to the time of his Death, attributing all the misfortunes which betell him to the Judgment of God, for the Tyrannies and Cruelties he committed upon his own family.

God, for the Tyrannies and Cruelties he committed upon his own family.

And farther I am able to confirm the truth of these particulars from the report for the by my School-fellows, who took the trouble to extract them out of the Historical Annals of their respective Countries where their Mothers were born, as I said in the first Part of this History. To these Relations I have the Authority farther to add of that curious and accurate Father Blas Valera, who was the Son of one of those who was a fellow Prisoner with Authorapa, and was born and bred on the Consines of Cassanaeva, and so might have advantages to extract the Records from their Originals, as he himself doth attest; and indeed he hash been support leaving describing the successive and malsings which occurred in that Kingdom. very large in describing the successes and passages which occurred in that Kingdom, and which by comparing them with other Relations, I have found agreeable to the truest reports. And farther I do aver, that I shall trace the same way that the Spanish Historians direct me, making use of their Commentaries in such matters wherein they may be usefull to me, and shall add and enlarge in what they come thort, or are deficient, as in many things they may be, for want of reading and

knowledge of Hiltorians.

### XIX. CHAP.

Of the Reception which the Inca gave to the Embassy of the Spaniards.

But now to reassume again the Thread of our History, We say, That the Major General which was sent out to receive Hernando Piçarro, and Hernando de Soto, having performed his Complements, and adored them with profound the 2000, naving performed his Complements, and adored them with profound veneration, turned to his Captains, and Souldiers, and declared to them, that these were the Sons of their God Viracocha; at which the Indians made them a low Reverence, beholding with great admiration their Aspect, Habit and Voice, and so accompanied them to the Presence of the Inca: The Spaniards being entred, were much aftonished to behold the greatness and Riches of the Royal Palace, and the number of the King's Family, and Attendants, and fuch was the wonder of both parties, that it is not to be determined which was the greater: The Ambastadours made their Obeisance after the Spanish Pashion, with low Reverence to the Inca, who was feated in a Chair of Gold; with which the King was highly pleafed, and franding up, he embraced them with much kindness, faying Capac Viracocha, Thos are velcouse to my Danihidness the which words Blas Valera repeats in the Indian Language, being very skilfull in that Tongue, the which I omit as not necessary. Then the stage attended to first all of Gold, which were prepared by order of the stage attended the stage attended to fit the stage attended to make no difference between himself and them, and more especially, because one of them was Brother to the Governour: When they were fate, the Loca turning his Face towards his Kindred who attended him, Behold, faid he, the very Face, Commensued, and Habit of our God Viracocha, in the Jame manner and form in the Inca Viracocha, our Ancessour described, and reported to have appeared to him. As the Inca was saying the things, two young Maidens, very handfome, and of the Royal Bloud, (which they called Nuffa,) entred into the Chamber, each of them catrying two final Cups of Gold in their Hands, filled with fuch Liquour as the Incas usual ly drink, and these were attended with four Youths of the same Kindred, though not of the lawfull Line, in regard their Mothers were Natives of the Kingdom of Atahuaha. The Maidens having bowed before the Luca, delivered one of the golden Cups into his Hand, and the other to Hernando Picarro, as the Inca directed. And then Tim Atauchi, who was the King's Brother, and he that was fent on this Embaffy to the Spaniards, told Philip, the Interpreter, that he should acquaint them, that the Inca was defirous to drink with them, which, according to the sufficient of their Countrey, was an evidence of Respect, Peace and everlasting Friendship: Hernando Picarro having understood the Words of the Interpreter, made a low Reverence to the Inca, took the Cup and drank: Then the Inca had a low reverence to the mea, took the Cup and mains: Then the mis having drunk twice, or thrice, of his own Cup, gave the remainder to his Brother, Titu Atauchi: Then he took one of those Cups which the other Maiden brought, and ordered the other to be given to Hernando de Soto, who Maiden brought, and ordered the other to be given to Hernando de Soto, who did the fame thing as his Companion had done before him, and the lica had ving drank twice, or thrice, as before, gave the remainder to his Uncle, called Choquebuamam. Having thus drank, the Ambassadours began to declare their Message, but the King desired them to desire for a while, that he might behold and desire the form of the Coal Missage. behold and admire the form and figure he faw in them of his God Viracacha; behold and admire the form and figure he faw in them of his God Viracacha; and at that inftant fix Boys, and fix Girls, very well habited, came in, bringing green and dry Fruits, of feveral forts, with their fineft Bread, and Wine made of the Tree Mulli, and with them they brought very fine Towels the Seed of the Tree Mulli, and with them they brought very fine Towels made of Cotton, because Flax did not grow in their Countrey; then one of the

Book

BOOK I.

Maidens, called Pilleu Cica Nusta, made a Speech to the new Guests, and said O vou who are Sons of Capac Inca Viracocha, taste of these things which we bring you O you who are sold of Capac and a viacocia, the symmetry of many which will be a great contenuent and fatifathion to us. The Spaniard admired much to fee fach Civility and Courtefie in a people whom they reputed barbarous, and to live in all bestiality and filthines; wherefore, that they might not seem to contemn or flight that Courtefie which they fo freely offered, they are fomething of what they had fet before them, and then faid it was sufficient, with which the Indians were highly fatisfied.

### CHAP.

The Speech of the Ambassadour, and the Answer of the Inca.

Silence being now made, Hernando Piçarro defired Hernando de Soto to speak and deliver his Message, for that more time was not to be lost, and likewise that he would be as flort and fuccinct as he could, that fo they might return again that night, and lodge with their Companions, for that it was not prudence to confide much in those People, who were Infidels, and who perhaps might shew them such Courtesie the more easily to ensnare and betray them: So then Hernando de Soto rifing up, made his Reverence after the Caffilian manner, and uncovering his Head, fate down again, and then faid.

" Most ferene Inca. You are to understand, that in this World there are two "Mott terene Inca, You are to understand, that in this World there are two fupreme Princes, one is the Pope, who is High Prieft, and fits in the Place and Tribunal of God, the other is Emperour of the Romans, called Charling the 5th King of Spain, who having understood the blind Ignorance in which the Natives of these your Kingdoms live, despising the true God, who is the Maker of Heaven and Earth, bestowing the Worship due unto him upon his Creatures, and upon the Devil himself, who deceive and delude the have four their Coursell of Coursell of Coursell of the State Coursell of the Stat them, have sent their Governour and Captain General, 'Don Francisco Picarro, with his Companions, and some Priests, who are the Ministers of God, to " teach your Highness, and your Subjects, the Divine Truth, and his holy Law; and for this Reason it is, that they have undertaken this long Journey to your Countrey; where having received effects of your Bounty from your liberal " Hand, they entred yesterday into Cassamarca, and this day they have sent us to your Highness, with Offers of Peace and Concord, which shall endure for ever between us, that fo receiving us under your Faith and Protection, we may " have leave to preach our Law, and that your Subjects may hear and understand the Gospel, which will be of great Honour, as also of Benefit and Salvation " to your Souls.

And on this occasion Blas Valera, who was a very religious and zealous Man for the Salvation of those poor Gentiles, doth very much lament that those important Words of Hernando de Soto should fall to the ground for want of a good Interpreter, learned in both Languages, and one who was affected with fuch inward Charity, as might have moved his Heart with efficacy to have explicated the force of those Words. But, alas, it was the misfortune of that Empire, and of the first Conquerours to have no better an Interpreter than this Philip, who was fuch an ignorant Sot, as not to be able to render the fense either on one fide, or the other, but rather gave things to be understood in a different manner, and with that barbarity as spoiled the Honour and Dignity of the Embassy, of which both the Inca and Standers by were fensible, finding that the Words of the Interpreter were of a contrary fense to the matter discoursed, which caused the interpreted were of a contrary senie to the matter encounter, which called the best to fay, This flammering Fellow runs from one word to another, without underthe med to my, and promone or enough the property of the media to more, without under-familing, and from one errour to another, that his Silence were better than his Words. Which Expressions of the Inca were more fignificant in the Indian than in the Spawhich exprended of the Lord were more figuration in the main than in the spr-nib Language. And also the Captains and Lords being sensible of the Defects mb Language. And and the Capania and Lords being leminor of the Defects of the Interpreter, did attribute the ill Expressions, and want of Sense to his Ignoof the anterpreter, and not to want of Understanding in the Ambassadours, whom they estectioned and not to want of Understanding in the Ambassadours, whom they estection med for Gods, and adored them for fuch, and accordingly the Inca returned this Answer to the Ambassadours.

Royal Commentaries.

" I am much pleafed, (faid he) Divine Lords, that you and your Companions " are in my days come into these remote Countries, that so I might see those \* Prophecies and Prognoftications fulfilled which our Ancestours have left us, " though in reality my Soul hath much more reason to be fad, when I confider "that the end of our Empire approaches, of which, according to ancient Pre-"dictions, your coming is a Forerunner, and yet 1 cannot but fay that thefe innes are bleffed, in which our God Viracocha hath fent fuch happy Guetts, "which shall transform the State of our Government into a better condition, of " which Change and Alteration we have certain affurance from the Tradition of our Ancestours, and the Words of the last Testament of our Father Huanns "Gapac; for which Reason, though we had certain Intelligence of your entrance into our Countrey, and the Fortifications you made in it, and of the Slaughter you committed in Puna, Tumpiz, and other parts, yet neither I, nor my Caprains, have entred into any Confultation, how, or in what manner, we might expell you from hence, because we hold and believe, that you are the Sons of our great God Viracocha, and Messengers of the Pachacamac; for which cause, and in confirmation of what my Father delivered us, we have made it a Law, " and published it in the Schools of Cozco, that none shall dare to take up Arms against you, or offend you; wherefore you may doe with us as you please, it " being Glory fufficient for us to die by your hands, whom we esteem the Di-" vine Messengers of God, by whom you must be sent, considering the Actions you have already performed: Onely I defire to be fatisfied in one doubt, How " comes it to pass, as you say, that you come to treat of Friendship, and a perpetual "Peace, in the Name of the two before mentioned Princes, and yet on the other "fide, without so much as any Summons, or fending to treat with us, or know our " Will or Pleasure towards you, you have committed such outrages and slaughters "in the Countries through which you have paffed? I conceive that the two "Princes which employed you, have given you fuch Commission to act with " fuch severity against us, without any fault of ours; and I imagine that the Pa-"chacamae hath so commanded them to proceed, wherefore I say again, Doe your pleasure with us; onely I beseech you to have compassion upon my poor "Relations, whose Death and Misfortunes will grieve me more than my own.

The Inca having ended his Speech, all his Attendants which flood round about him, were so affected with his last Words, which declared the loss of the Empire, that they shed many Tears, with an abundance of Sighs and Groans, for what the Inca had now pronounced concerning the Destruction of his Empire, he had at other times formerly repeated. And whereas his Father Huayna Capae had uttered this Prophecy, and mentioned the time to be short, and ready to be sulfilled; Alahnalpa thought of nothing else, but concluded the Fate unavoidable, and the Decree of the great Puchacamae not to be refifted; the which supersticious opinion being fixed, and impressed in his Mind, was the cause that the Spaniards so eafily conquered and subdued his Countrey, and debased his Soul and Spirit at the presence of the Spaniards; amongst the rest of the Company, which was prefent with the *Inca*, were two Accomptants, or Hiltorians, who with their Knots made certain Ciphers, describing or figuring all the passages of that Audience, with the Words of Hernando de Soto, and with the Aniwer of the Inca, though all was very ill expressed by the Interpreter.

The Ambafladours were much aftonished to see the Lamentations, and hear the Cries of the Lords and Captains there present, and yet observed a steaddiness and constancy in the Countenance of the Inca, and not knowing the cause and

reafon

reason of so much sadness, were touched with compassion and sorrow for them. And here Blas Valera much bewails the want of a good Interpreter, that might, by a true and saithfull understanding of all that was said, have given better satisfaction, both to the Indians, and to the Spaniard; for when the Ambassadours, heard talk of the Slaughters and Outrages committed in Prima, and Timpie, they were apprehensive that the Inea had entertained some thoughts of Revenge; for the Interpreter neither knew how to render the Words of the Inea, nor the Answer of the Ambassadours.

And now the Ambaffadours defired leave of the Inca to depart, and return to their Companions; which was readily granted them, the Inca faying, That they might depart in peace, and that he would speedily go into Collamarca, to visit the Sons of the God Vitacoolis, and the Messengers from the Pachscanac. The Opaliards departing out of the Kings Palace, could not but again admire the Riches of it, and the Adoration and Worship which the people shewed towards them; for as they were going to mount their Horses; two Cronacos, with their Servants, came to them, destining that they would not distain to accept a small Present, though unworthy the acceptance of such Gods, or Godlike Men, as they were, laying before them Riches of like quality as before, though in much more abundance, such as Vessels of Gold and Silver, with Ingots of Gold, and Wedges of Silver unwrought.

The Spaniards being strangely associated at this excess of Courtesse, began to

The Spaniards being strangely associated at this excess of Courtesse, began to quit all sears and suspicions of any ill Designs of the Indians towards them, blaming again the ignorance of their Interpreter, who for want of Expressionshad betrayed them to many Errours, as he did afterwards to many others, as will appear in the sequel of this History.

# CHAP. XXI.

How the two Spaniards returned again to their Companions, and how they prepared themselves to receive the linea.

THE two Ambaffadours being returned, made a relation of all the Riches and Greatness they had been in shall be a relation of all the Riches and Greatness they had seen in the Palace of the Inca, and of the Courtesse they had received, which appeared by the Presents, of which a share was divided to every Person. Notwithstanding all which, like good Souldiers, and cautious Men, they prepared their Horses and Arms, not knowing the occasion they might have for them the day following, and though they well knew the multitudes which accompanied Atahualpa, yet like brave Spaniards, they were not in the least difinaved, but prepared to receive them; wherefore so soon as it was day, the Cavalry ranged themselves in three Divisions, of twenty in a Troop, for they were not in all above fixty in number; the Commanders, or Captains of them Were Hernando Pigarro, Hernando de Soto, and Sebastian de Betalcagar, who at first concealed themselves under two old Walls, that so their sudden Sally might give the greater fear and furprife to the *Indians*. The Governour himfelf was fupported with an hundred Foot-Souldiers, which in all exceeded not that number, and for their better encouragement, he put himself in the Head of them, on the side of the Tampu, which was like a great field, where they placed themselves to expect the coming of the King Atahualpa, who soon after appeared, being carried in a Chair of Gold on the Shoulders of his People, with fuch pomp, and Majesty both of Servants and Courtiers, as evidenced his greatness in Power, and War; be-

fore his Chair came great multitudes of People, who gathered up the Stones, and deared all the ways of Rubbith, or Impediments, which might hinder his Chair-Men in the way, or cause them to flumble; with him also came great Atten-Men in the way, or caute them to flumble; with him also came great Attendars of the Nobility. His Guards were divided into four Squadrons, confliting of eight thousand Men; the first Division, which was the Van-guard, marched before the King, like Scouts, or Officers, to clear and secure the ways; two others marched on each fide, like the Wings of an Army, as Guards of his Perothers marched on each fide, like the Wings of an Army, as Guards of his Perothers and a fourth marched in the rere: The Captain, or Commander in Chief of them, was called Ruminnavi, which signifies an Eye of Stone, from a Pearl of them, was called Ruminnavi, which signifies an Eye of Stone, from a Pearl of them, was called Ruminnavi, which signifies an Eye of Stone, from a Pearl of them, was called Ruminnavi, which signifies an Eye of Stone, from a Pearl of the Chief and of a League, which was the diffance between his Palace and the Quarters of the or a League, spaniards; in going of which he was more than four hours, and came not, as we opamarus, in points with an intention to fight, but to understand the substance of the Embaffy, which was brought to him from the Pope, and the Emperour.

\*\*Anthonalpa was informed, That the \*\*Spaniards\*\* were not able to walk up any afcent, or fleep Hill, and that their Footmen either got up behind the Horses, or held or neep rint, and that their Ecotinest vitted got up common the stories, of need fall by the Pectorals of the Saddles, and so were drawn, as it were, whensoever they attempted to mount any steep Ascents; and that they were not able to run like the Indians, or endure any labour or fatigue like them; with this opinion, and with a fancy that the *Spaniards* were of Divine Race, *Atahualpa* marched without any jealouse or suspicion of that which afterwards succeeded. When the King law the Spanish Infantry in 60 small a number, and that, as if they had been fearfull, they had taken advantage of a Rock to defend themselves, he said to his People, Thefe are the Messengers of God, to whom we must be careful to give no to his reupic, a nege are the tracifergers of com, to room we must be careful to gove no Offence, but rather receive and treat them with all Courtefie and Respect: Which being said, a certain Dominican Friar, called Vicone de Valverde, taking a Crucifix in his hand, approached the Inca to speak to him in the Name of the Emperour.

Royal Commentaries.

# CHAP. XXII.

Wherein is repeated the Speech which the Friar Vicente de Valverde, made to the Inca Atahualpa.

BLUS Valera, who was a faithfull and curious Collectour of all Paffages and Tranfactions of those times, repeats unto us the whole Speech at large, which Priar Vicente made to Atabualpa; the Speech consisted of two parts, and, as Valera faith, that when he was at Travillo, he saw it translated into Latin, and wit with the proper Hand-writing of Friar Vicente; which afterwards Diego dowit with the proper Hand-writing of Friar Vicente; which afterwards Diego dowit with the proper Hand-writing of that having had opportunity often to read it, I got it by heart, and by my memory am able to insert it here in the same to five the National Wherefore to proceed; when Friar Vicente distinctly than any other Historian: Wherefore to proceed; when Friar Vicente and name near to speak to the Inca, Atabualpa did much admite to see such a Figure of a Man, so different in Habit from all the others, his Beard and Crown being sacost him with a Cross of Palms, and a Book in his hand, which some say was a Breviary, others a Bible, others a Missal. The King, that he might be informed of the manner how he was to treat this Friar, asked one of those there Indianal Man, to whom he had committed the charge to provide the Spaniards with all things necessary, or equal with the other Spaniards? to which the poor simple Indian knew Man in the Committed the charge to provide the Spaniards with all fings necessary.

Воок І.

to make no other reply, than that he feemed to be a Captain or Guider of the Word, (he might mean perhaps a Preacher) or Minister of the supreme God, or Messer of the Pachacamae, and that he was of different quality to the others. Then Friar Vicente having made a low Obesiance and Reverence, according to the manner of Religious Men, with permission of the King, he made him this following Speech.

# The First Part of the Speech of Friar Vicente de Valverde.

IT is necessary for you to know, (most samous and powerfull King) and also for all your Subjects, who are desirous to tearn the Catholick Faith, that you and they both hear and believe the things which follow.

First that God, who is three, and jet one, created Heaven and Earth, and all the things which are in this World. That he gives the Reward of Eternal Life to those that doe well, and punishes the evill with everlasting Torments. That this God at the beginning of the World made Man of the Dust of the Earth, and breathed into him the Spirit of Life, which we call the Soul, which God made after his own Image and likeness; by which it appear, that the whole Man consists of Bods, and a rational Soul.

From the first Man, whom God called Adam, all Mankind, which is in this World, is descended, and from him we take the original and beginning of our Nature. That this Adam suned, by breaking the Commandment of his Creatour, and in him all Men that have been born since his time are under sin, and so shall be to the end of the World; for witheir Man, nor Woman, is free from this original Sin, nor can be, excepting only ow Lord Jesus Christ, who being the Son of the onely true God, descended from Heaven, and was born from the Virgin Maty, that so he might redeem and free all Mankind from its Subjection of Sin; and sincily he dyed for our Salvation upon the Cross, which was a piece wood, in form of this which I hold in my Hands, for which reason, we that are Christian do adore and reverence it.

This Jesius by his own power arose from the dead, and forty Days after he ascended into Heaven, where he now sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. After which he left his Apostles upon the Earth, who were his Successory, who by their Words and Adminitions, and other holy means, might bring men to the Knowledge and Worship of God, and Observation of his Laws.

Of these Apostles St. Peter was constituted Chief, as are also his Successours of all other succeeding Apostles, and of all Christians, and as St. Peter was God's Vicar, or Vicagerat, so after him were all the Popes of Rome, who are endued with that supreme Authority which God hath supen them; and which they have, and do, and shall for ever exercise with much santity and care, for propagation of the Gospell, and guiding Men according to the Word of God.

# The Second Part of the Speech of Friar Vicente de Valverde.

FOR which reason the Pope of Rome, who is the High Priest now living, having understood that all the People and Nations of these Kingdoms, leaving the Worsship of the true Maker of all things, do brutishly worship Idols, and the Images of Devils, and being willing to draw them to the knowledge of the true God, hath granted the Conquest of willing to draw them to the knowledge of the Romans, who is the most powerful King these Parts to Charles the 5th, Emperour of the Romans, who is the most powerful King of Spain, and Monarch of all the Earth, that so he having brought the Kings, and Lords, of Spain, and Monarch of all the Earth, that so he having brought the Kings, and Lords, and Monarch of all the Earth, that so he having destroyed the rebelliand Popel of these parts, under his Subjection and Dominion, and having destroyed the rebelliand dibedient, he may govern and rule these Nations, and reduce them to the knowledge of God, and to the obedience of the Church.

of God, and to the obscuence of the Control.

And though our most potent King be employed in the Government of his vast Kingdoms and Dominions, yet he received this Grant of the Pope, and resulted not the trouble for the good Dominions, yet he received this Grant of and accordingly bath sent his Captains and Souldiers and southers to execute his Commands, as he did for the Conquest of those great Islands and Countries to execute his Commands, as he did for the Conquest of those great Islands and Countries which are adjoining to Mexico; and having subjected them by serve of Arms, hath reduced which are adjoining to Mexico; and having subjected them by force of Arms, hath reduced them to the acknowledgment of the true Religion of session Christ, for the same God hath comtent to the acknowledgment of the true Religion of session Christ, for the same God hath com-

manded, that so it should be. For which reason the Emperour Charles the 5th. hath chosen for his Ambassadour, and Lienteuant Don Francisco de Piçarro, (who is here present) that so the Kingdoms of your Highness may receive all the benefits of Religion; and that a firm Peace and Alliance your enginess many receive an inevenies of neighbor, and come a firm reace and Amaince may be concluded and established between His Majesty and Your Highness; on condition that your Highmess, and all your Kingdom become Tributaries, that is, paying a Tribute to the Emperon, Thon maift become his Subject, and delivering up your Kingdom, and all the Administration and Government thereof, Thou shalt doe as other Kings and Lords have already done, and have the same quarter and conditions with them. This is the first point: Now as to the second: When this Peace and Alliance is established, and that thou hast submitted either voluntarily, or by constraint, then thou art to yield true and faithfull Obedience to the Pop, who is the High-Priest, and thou art to receive and believe the Faith of Jesus Christ ew God. Thou art also to reject and totally to abandon the abominable Superstition of Idels, which being done, we shall then make known to you the Santity and Truth of our Law, and the Fassity of yours, the invention and contrivance of which proceeded from the Devil. All which, O King, if Thou wilt believe me, Thou oughtest to receive with readiness and good mil, being a matter of great importance to thy felf, and to thy people; for if thou shoulds day, and refuse to obey, Thou will be projecuted with the Fire and Sword of War, until we have constrained thee by force of Arms, to renounce thy Religion, for willingly or unwillingly Thou must receive our Catholick Faith, and with surrender of thy Kingdom pay a Tribute to ow Emperour, but in case thou shouldst contend, and make resistence with an obstinate mind, be affured, that God will deliver thee up, as he did anciently Pharaoh, who, with his whole Army, perished in the red Sea; and so shalt Thou, and all thy Indians, perish, and be destroyed by our Arms.

Street and the Walter

### XXIII CHAP.

Of the Difficulty there was to interpret the fense and mea. ning of this Speech of Friar Vicente de Valverde.

T Pon this Speech Phas Valera makes fome Reflexions, in order to the better understanding of his History; saying, that the Historians which treat of these matters make mention of this Speech of the Friar, but howsoever with there matters make membran of this special of the Lina, but however win fonce variety, for forme leave out the first part, and others the fecond, and fome have abbreviated it in their Relations. But howfoever Blue Valera faith, that four de Oliva, and Christopher de Medina, who were Priests, and skilfull in the Indian Language, and feveral other Writers, have specified this Speech at large in both parts, as booken by Friar Vincent, and they all agree, that it was a most tarrand rude Speech, without any mixture of fweetness or allurement whatsoever, and that the Interpretation thereof was much worfe, as we shall fee hereafter; and these Authours do much more approve the Speech which Hernando de Soto and Picarro made to Atahuaha, being more gentle, and modelt, than the harn and ill-natured Speech of Friar Vincent.

And now as to the Interpretation which was made to King Atahnalpa of these Words, we may believe it was very imperfect and corrupt; for this Philip the Indian, who was all the Interpreter they had, was a Native of the Island of Puna, and born of common and blockish Parents, and was scarce arrived to the age of twenty two years, and was not onely ill learned in the Spanish, but also in the general Tongue, spoken by the Incas at Cozco, which is different from that used in Tumpie; for as we have faid at the beginning, the Language of Cozce is more refined, in respect of all other Indians, whose Language is barbarous and corrupt. And moreover this Interpreter had learned his Spanish of himself, without Rule, and fome Words onely which he had gotten up amongst the Souldiers, and lewd People, fuch as zounds, and dammee, and the like; and befides he was but a Servant to the Spaniards, and learned onely to speak like the Negroes, and though he had been baptifed, yet he was ignorant of all the Principles of Religion, having neither knowledge of Christ our Lord, nor of the Apostles Creed.

This was all the Education and Learning which our first Interpreter had in Prru, and accordingly the Translations he made out of Spanish were all impersect, and of a contrary fense; not that he made his mistakes voluntarily from malice, but from ignorance, speaking, like a Parrot, things that he did not understand; as for example, when he was to declare, and explain the nature of the Trinity, as that God was three, and yet one, he would fay, God was three, and one, that is four, the which appears by their *Quipus*, which is their Knots used in the Countrey of Callamarca, where these Affairs passed; and indeed he was much to blame, if we constitute the constitution of the constitution o der, that in the Peruvian Language they have no words to express the Trinity, the Holy Ghoft, Faith, Grace, the Church, the Sacraments, and other Words of the like Mysteries; for which reason the Spaniards, who study that Language in our times, and endeavour to express their mystical Notions, are forced to coin new words most accommodated to the reason of this people, and to the manner of Expressions of the most intelligent Indians, who having understood something of the Spanish Language and Learning, have of themselves framed new Words to supply the defects of their Speech, whereby the Preachers are now able to express any thing in conformity to the understanding of their Auditory. We have upon divers occasions given several Instances of the Barrenness and Defects of the Peruvian Language; and therefore we ought not to lay the fole blame on our first Interpreter; for even in these our Days, which are twenty nine Years, fince that time, there are almost as many gross mistakes made by our present Interpreters, as were by Philippillio, who never converfed with the Spaniards in other Language than his own. In fhort, I fay, that I never knew an Indian who spake good Spanish,

but two Youths onely, who were my School-fellows, and from their childhood but two Touchs onery, who were my demonstrations, and nonlitheir childhood went to School, and learned to reade and write Spanish: One of which was called went to senous, and learned to reace and write opanys. One of which was called Carlos, the Son of Paulla Inça 3, belides these two, I have observed so little curiofig in the Indian to learn the Spanish Tongue, that I never knew any of them who my in the manner of their fundy either of writing or reading thereof, and never exeraddition in the real stant what came by mere converte, and common discourse; nor were the Spaniards on the other fide more studious in learning the Indian Tongue; which neglect was so great both in one and the other Nation, that those Judian Boys, who were educated with me, did never arrive to any farther knowledge, than of common and familiar words; and when any thing was to be taught them of higher matters, I was conftrained to express them in the natural terms of their own Language.

Royal Commentaries.

And if the ignorance and little improvement in the knowledge of these Tongues was to be blamed in both Nations, after twenty nine years converfation and acquaintance one with the other, how little blame then ought we to object unto acquantance one with the other, now little braile then ought we to object unto this Interpreter, for want of skilfulness in the Tongues, when first the Spaniards ented into these Countries: Nay how little ought Philipillio, and the good Friar Valverde, to be reproached for their unskilfulness in these Tongues at the begin-Valuerde, to be reproached for their unskillulnels in thele Tongues at the beginning when now after eighty years that the Indian Empire hath been flubdued, there fill want words in the Indian Language to express the Mysteries of our Holy Faith. As appears by a Catechifin which Friar Diego de Alcobaça printed and published in the year 1585, in three Languages, viz. in Spanish, in the general Language of Coco, and in the Tongue peculiarly belonging to the Province of Appara; whereby it appears, that neither of the two last Tongues had words sufficient to express Theological terms without using the *Spanills*, making them terms of Art adjoyned to the *Indian*: As for example, in the second Question of the Catechism, Art thou a baptized Christian? the common Translation hath it, Batizascha Chucanqui? Whereby it appears, that the word Canqui is the onely Indian word, but the word Baixafea is made Indian out of the Spanifs. In like manner the fourth Question is, Dost thou know the Christian Dostrine? the word do you know is Indian, but the other two words are formed from the Spanish. Besides which there are ianumerable other words in the Indian Tongue derived from the Spanish, which for brevity sake we omit; and therefore we shall instance in these few words onely, which are taught to the Indians in the proper Spanish words; and are these: God fesus Christ, Our Lady, an Image, the Cross, a Priest, Domingo, a Feast or Holy-day, Religion, the Church, Repentance, to Communicate, to Pray, to Fast, Married, a Batchellour or single Person, amancebado, or one who keeps a Woman, with many other like words in the Catechism. And though it be true that some of these words, and others of the like nature, might be expressed in the Indian Tongue, as the Name of God, &c. Howoever it was with great prudence, and religiously determined in charity to the Souls of these people, to cover the Mysteries of the Christian Faith, with Chillian words; left these people, being newly converted from their Gentilism, and being taught Christianity in their own words, should retain the same superstitious notions of God, and other things according to the primary imprellions of their Idolatry, and therefore it was judged necessary to instruct them with new words, that so, if possible, the very Memory of their superstitions might be to-

Having thus excused Philipillio, and Friar Valverde, from blame for their bad interpretation; we must add, that the interpretation he made of the Friar's Sermon, ferved rather to obscure than elucidate his sense; for when he came to explicate he Generation of Mankind, and original Sin by Adam's fall; that inflead of faythe Generation of Mankind, and original Sin by Adam's fall; that inflead of faying. That all the World finned in Adam, he would fay, That all the World heaped their Sins upon Adam. And then fipeaking of the Divinity of Christ our Lord,
he faid, He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid, He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid. He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid, He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid, He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid, He was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person, who died for Mankind: And then when he would
he faid the was a great Person who had the was a great Pers speak of the Virginity, Purity, and Sanctity of our Lady the Virgin Mary, he said nothing to the purpole, interpreting every thing almost in a contrary sense to the

Catholick Doctrine.

Coming to the fecond Part of the Speech delivered by Valverde, he made some fewer errours and mistakes than in the first, because that the matter concerned more exteriour things, such as War and Arms, which were more obvious to the lense; on which occasion he extolled the Power and Magnanimity of the Emperour, and his industry in fending Captains and Souldiers to conquer the World;

Book I.

the which was so ill expressed, that the Indians believed he was Superious to all as well in Heaven as on Earth. Many other things he declared, which were as ill understood as those preceding, which for brevity sake we pass by and omir And here Blas Valera takes notice of a most certain and observable truth; that to this day, though the Indian Children which are bred up and educated with our Youth, so that Spanish is become almost their natural Language, or at least as easier to them as the Indian; and are very well instructed and catechised in the Princi ples and Mysteries of the Christian Faith, yet dare not presume to explicate the Doctrines of our Religion to the Indians in their own Language, for fear left the barrenness of their Tongue should not be able to reach the height of our musteri. ous Faith, and thereby administer occasion to them of many errours and missake So that if in these late days, wherein Men are both instructed in our Learning and practifed in both Languages, fuch difficulties do arise in this matter; what in. congruities, what nonfenfe, and what Chimeras may we imagine, were at first m. tered, when Men endeavoured to express sublime Mysteries with a babling and an imperfect Tongue?

### XXIV. CHAP.

The Answer which Atahualpa gave to the Friar's Speech.

When Atahualpa understood the conclusion of the Speech, which was, That by fair means, or foul, he was to renounce and quit his Kingdoms, and to remain a Tributary Prince, for fo was the command of the Pope, and the pleasure of the Emperour; and when they threatned him with fire and sword, as appeared by the figns they made, by brandishing their Arms; and that it seemed as if nothing was prepared but ruine and destruction for himself and his Army, like that of Pharaoh, he became extremely fad and melancholy, believing that those whom they called Viracochus (for they conceived that the Spaniards were Gods) were turned from them, and become their mortal Enemies; and therewith he fetched a deep figh, and cried Atac, which is as much as Oh most unhappy and miserable; which wofull groan was an evidence of the forrow he conceived at the conclusion of the Friar's Sermon: But at length recollecting himself, he answered in the manner following.

Though you have denied me all the requests I made to your Messengers, yet it would be a great satisfaction to me, to grant me the favour onely to express your sclues by a more skilfull and faithfull Interpreter, because the Manners and political Lives of Men are better understood by discourse, than by signs or actions; for though you may be Men endued with extraordinary vertues and abilities, yet unless you make them appear to me by words and discourse, I shall never be made capable to understand them by outward signs and gestures: For if there be a necessity of a common Language between Nations, who desire commerce and conversation together, much more is it requisite between people so remote as we are; for indeed to treat by Interpreters ignorant of both Tongues, is like the inarticulate found of domestick Animals; and such, O Man of God, seems this discourse thou hast made me by this Interpreter. And now, so far as I understand, methinks the discourse seems much disferent to what your Ambaffadours lately propounded, for they treated of nothing but Peace and Friendship, of Alliance and Confanguinity; but now all the Words of this Indian are nothing but Menaces of Wars, and Death, and Fire, and Sword, with the Extirpation and Banishment of the Incas, and their Progeny; and that I must voluntarily, or by force, renounce a right to my Kingdom, and become Tributary to another. From whence I collect one of these two things; that either you and your Prince are Tyrants, and rove about to plunder the World, and to disposels o thers of their Kingdoms, killing and spoiling those who owe you nothing, and have never offered you injury or violence; or otherwife you are the Ministers of God ( called by us Pachacamac) whom he hash fent to vifit us with vengeance and destruction. And if it be fo, camac) moon we want from to one solves to death, and to what punishment seever you will in-bah I and my Vassals do offer our selves to death, and to what punishment seever you will inbolb I ana mj r njim we nji or out of any dread we have of your Менасев or Arms, but in just upon 10 3 non jon jon on on on the by my Father Huayna Capac at the time of his compliance with the Commands enjoyined to by my Father Huayna Capac at the time of his dath; which was, that we should serve and honour a Nation with Beards like your selves, acan; which were to enter into these parts after his days, and of which he prophesied some years before which were to and about our Countrey, and whom he declared to be Men of better Laws, of more refined Customs, more wife and more valiant than our selves.

Royal Commentaries.

wherefore to fulfill the Prophecy and Testament of my Father, we style you Viracochas. understanding thereby, that you are the Messengers of the Great God Vitacocha, whose Will unaerpanung was Indignation, Arms and Power, we are unable to refift; and yet we are afand treatine, pro and Goodness and Mercy: And for that reason you, who are his Ministers jurea, inai in in the will, ought to abstain from such Robberies, Slaughter and Violences,

as you have committed in Tumpiz and the adiagent Countries.

Joh unev place, your Interpreter acquaints me of five great Personages, whom I am to advantage, The first is God, who is three and one, that is four, whom you call the Creato of this Universe; which perhaps may be the same, whom we call Pachacamac and Vi-181 9 in. The second is the Father of all Mankind, on whom all other Men have heaped thir Sins. The third you call felus Christ, who was the onely Person excepted, who did not test sint on the first Man, but that he dyed. The fourth you name is the Pope. The fill is Charles, whom, in comparison with others, you call the most Powerfull Monarch of the Universe, and the Supreme Lord of all: But then if Charles be the Prince and Lord of the World, what need was there for the Pope to give a new Grant, and another Commission on to make War upon me, and Usurp my Kingdoms? for consequently the Pope must be a greater Prince than he, and the most powerfull of any in the World. But I cannot but most admire at what you say, that I am obliged to pay Tribute to Charles onely, and not to others = the which you alledge without giving me any reason, and indeed I cannot conceive on what score I am obliged to pay it : for if I were bound to pay Tribute and Service to any, methinks it hould be to that God, who, you say, created all things, and to that first Man, who was the Faher of all Mankind, and to that fefus Christ who had no Sins to impute unto him ; and, in fine, if Tribute were to be given, it should rather be unto the Pope, who hath Power and Authority to dispose of my Kingdoms, and my Person. And if you say that I owe nothing uno any of thefe, I should imagine that I owe much less unto Charles, who was never Lord of these Countries, nor ever saw them. And if the Pope's Grant and Concession be obligatory tome, it were just and reasonable to declare it to me, before you threaten me with War, and Fire, and Sword, and Death; for I am not so void of understanding and sense, as not to obey the Pope, in case you can show me reason, and justice, and cause for it.

Moreover, I defire to be informed who that good Adan Jesiu Christ was, who, you say, ne-urlaid his Sins on another, but that he dyed. I would gladly know, whether he dyed of a natural death, or by the hands of his Enemies ; and whether he was numbred amongst the

Gods before his death, or afterwards.

And farther I defire to be informed, whether these sive which you highly honour, are adored by you for Gods; for if it be fo, you hold more for Gods, than we, who acknowledge no other than the Pachacamac, who is the Supreme, and the Sun, who is inferiour to him, and the Meen, who is his Sifter and Wife. In which doubtfull Questions I heartily desire to be truly refelved by some other move able and faithfull Interpreter, that so I may be made more empable thereby to know and obey your Will and Commands.

### CHAP. XXV.

Of the great tumult and disturbance which happened between the Indians and the Spaniards.

THE Inca observing the inability of the Interpreter, endeavoured to affilt him in expressions his Answer: Find, by uttering his Speech by short periods, causing him to express one thing, before he proceeded to another; and, secondly, he spake in the Language of Chineas symbol the Interpreter understood better than the Language of Cocco; by which means Philippillio did better express the sense and intention of the Inca, though he did it in a most barbarous manner. So soon as the Inca had ended his discourse, the Keepers of the Language which were the onely cypher they had whereby to conserve their traditions to sure Aree.

ture Ages By this time the Spaniards growing weary of this long and tedious discourse, began to quit their places, and come up close to the Indians, to fight with them, and rob them of their Jewels of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, with which they had that day decked themselves, that in a solemn manner they might appear in their finery, to receive the Embassy which was sent them from the Universal in their finery, to receive the Embaffy which was fent them from the Universal Monarch of the World: Some Spaniards also climbed a little Tower to plunder an Idol, which they had adorned with Plates of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, the which outrage caused great noise and rumult amongst the Indian; which when the Inea perceived, he cried out with a loud voice to his people, that they should neither hurt, nor offend the Spaniards, though they should take or kill their sing himself. On which passage with Valent askes occasion to say. That as God by the presence of Queen Esther mollified the Spirit of King Andiversa; so by means of the Holy Crois, which the good Friar Valverde held in his hand, he charmed the Spirit of this Cholerick and Warlike Prince Anabinatya, not onely to a degree of gentleness, and quiet temper, but even to an entire submission, and humble resignation: the which we ought to attribute to a Miracle of the divine Mercy; for God designing to reduce this people to a knowledge of the true Doctrine of the Holy Gospel, was pleased by this, and other miraculous instances, which we shall find scattered in divers places of this History, to operate on the Spirits of this barbarous people. Some Writers blame Friar Valverde for this disorder, saying, the moved the Spaniards thereunto, and encouraged them to lay hands on their Weapons, requiring them to doe justice, and take revenge for the affront which the Weapons, requiring them to doe justice, and take revenge for the affront which the King had given them, by throwing the Book on the ground which the Friar half put into his hand; and fome fay this could not be the cause, for that neither the Friar delivered a Book into the hands of the King, nor did he receive it: But the truth of all was this, Friar Valverde startled at a sudden out-cry of the Indian, arole up on a fudden from the feat on which he fate, difcourfing with the King; and running in hafte, his Book, and the Crofs which he held in his hand, fell on the ground; and then catching them up again, he ran with speed, crying to his Companions, that they should offer no hurt to the Indians, for that Atabuaha was kind and well affected towards them, and that he observed by his Answers, and demands his good intentions, to satisfie them in all matters according to his capamands his good intentions, to fatishe them in all matters according to his capacity; but the noise and out-cry of the people was such, that the voice of the Friat was not heard amongst them. And here it is to be noted, that it is not true what some Historians report of Atabualpa, that he should say, "You believe that "Christ is God, and that he died: I adore the Sun and the Moon, which are immortal: "And who taught you, that your God created the Heaven and the Earth? "To which "Valverde made answer, This Book bath taught it to us: Then the King took it in this hand, and opening the Leaves, laid it to his Ear; and not hearing it speak to him, he threw it upon the ground. Upon which, they say, that the Friat "that ing



"flarting up, ran to his Companions, crying out, that the Gospel was despised, and trampled under foot; Justice and Revenge upon those who contemn our and trampled under foot; Juffice and Revenge upon those who contemn our Liw, and refuse our Friendship. In like manner, it is fabulous what they write of the Inca, that he should say that he was free, and owed not Tribute to any, for that he knew no King superior to himself. I should be glad to be a friend to the Emperour, who hash evidenced his Power and Greatness in sending Armies into Countries so remote; but as to what you mention of Obedience to the Pope, I cannot understand the Reasons which should oblige me to a subject of the Pope. The who pretends to transfer another's right unto his friends, and renounce the Kingdom, which I hadd by Johan. "tion unto him: For he who pretends to transfer another's right unto his friends, and commands me to quit and renounce the Kingdom, which I hold by Inheriatance, to I know not whom, flews himfelf a Man of little understanding, and less justice. And as to the change of my Religion, of which I am in my conficience satisfied, and believe to be Holy; it would be dishonourable, and a folly in me to question the truth thereof, which by ancient tradition, and undoubted testimony, hath been approved by my Ancestours.

All which I say was false, and framed by the mistakes and flattery of Writers; for Advice neare questioned the right of require Tribute, here cook instead on

for Atshualpa never questioned the right of paying Tribute, but onely infifted on the Reasons why, and wherefore it was due, and expected from him; which demands, or questions, put the *Indians* into a combustion. The Commander in chief of the Spaniards and Captains under him, fent notwithstanding the former relation which they had forged unto the Emperour, and forbid all people under fevere penalties to make any other report or narrative of what had passed in this particular: the truth of which is, as I have related it, and which may be proved not onely by the Hiltorical, or Hyeroglyphical Knots of the Province of Cassamarca, but by the testimony of several of those Conquerours, who were then present at those transactions. Blu Valera faith, That one of them was his own Father, from whom he hath often heard it confirmed. In short, we say that 5000 Indians were killed that nath often neard it confirmed. In thort, we lay that 5000 Indians were killed that day, 3500 of which were flain with the Sword, the reft were old and infirm Men, and Women, and Children, which were trampled and trodden under foot, for an innumerable number of all Ages, and both Sexes, were gathered together to fee the Solemnity of this ftrange and unheard-of Embaffy. Moreover a great number of Indians perithed under the Ruines of a Wall, which fell by force of the indians perithed under the Ruines of a Wall, which fell by force of the violent crouds of people, which pressed under the shelter of it. Two days after this defeat, the Cross was found in the same place where Friar Valverde had let it fall, for no Indian durst approach near it, because perhaps it was like that which the Indians adored in Timpix, believing that there was some Divinity, or mysterious Power in that piece of Wood; and being ignorant of the Religion of Christ our Lord, they asked pardon for those offences by which they had provoked him

And now the Indians began to call to mind the ancient Prophecy, delivered by Tradition from their Inca Viracocha, whereby he not onely foretells the change of their Laws, People and Government, but also that their superstitions and religious Ritts and Ceremonies should be confumed, and perish by fire. And in regard they were ignorant of the time when these things were to be accomplished, when the now or hereafter; both the King and his People were frook with fuch aftonilhment, that they knew not what to determine; nor did they resolve on any thing either defensive to themselves, or offensive to the Spaniards, onely they confideted and worfhipped them as Gods, and Meffengers of the Great Viracoha, whom they adored under this denomination and belief. Thus far this Relation is extracted out of the Papers of Blus Valera, which I shall willingly quote hereaster in several parts of this following History; for he was not onely a religious Man, but one very curious in finding out the truth, and fincere in laying down matters as they really were acted; in which he was not fatisfied by his Enquiries from Spaniard, but likewise took his Informations from the Indians themselves: For which reason, wheresoever I find any thing of his tending to our purpose, I shall quote them as authentick for their authority; and in the mean time, cannot but much

lament his loft leaves, and scattered fragments.

# CHAP. XXVI.

The Authour compares his own Writings with the Hillories of Spaniards.

OW to compare what we have faid with the Writings of Spanish Historians, we say, that the Discourse of Friar Valverde, and the Answer of Andhadpa, are delivered very brief, and in sew words, in all the printed Histories: For the truth is, the General and Captains were not very sincere, or faithfull in the Narrative they gave of passages which occurred; for to put the best gloss and colour they could on their actions, they lest our all their cruel and unjustifiable proceedings, and added whatsoever they judged to have the best appearance. What we have alledged concerning Anthonorya, how that he ordered his Subjects to resist the Spaniards, is confirmed by the authority of several Historians, and particularly by Lopez de Gomara, who in the 113th Chapter of his Book, hath these Words: "It is very observable (saith he) that though the Indians came all amegiven, nor the Signal shewed for Fight, as was agreed, in case that matters so required; for it is probable the surprize was so sudden, and the affrightment so given, nor the Signal shewed for Fight, as was agreed, in case that matters so required; for it is probable the surprize was so sudden, and the affrightment so given, nor the Signal shewed for Fight, as was agreed, in case that matters so required; for it is probable the surprize was so sudden, and the affrightment so the Cannon, the rushing of the Horses, and clattering of Armour; things of the Cannon, the rushing of the Horses, and clattering of Armour; things so understandings and reason. And a little sarther he adds: Great numbers of them perished, because they did not sight, whilst ours killed them not to use their Swords, lest in that service they should be either blunted or broken. This far are the Words of Gomara; the which is likewise consimmed by other Authours, who report, that the Indian sted so so shey saw their King taken Misoner, and that Antonadpa commanded them not to resist the Spaniards: The which we may attribute to a Miscale of God's Providence, who was pleased to conserve foner, and that Atahualpa Commanded them not to relift the Spaniards: The which we may attribute to a Miracle of God's Providence, who was pleased to conserve the Christians, and not suffer them to perish, whom he had designed to preach the Gospel: For if the *Inca* had not commanded them not to sight, certainly they would never have endured to fee their Prince overthrown and taken; for having Weapons in their hands, they would rather have died all in his defence, than have fuffered 160 Spaniards (whom they were able to have subdued with stones) to commit such Outrages upon them; instead whereof there was not one Spaniard either killed or wounded, unless it were Francisco de Picarro, who received a little hunt in his hand by one of his own people, as he went to feize Atahualpa. The truth is, the Indians did not fight, because they held every Command of their Inca to be a part of their Religion, and of the divine Law, though it were to the loss of their Lives and Estates. And as to what Historians report of Friar Valverde, that he himself used his Weapons, and encouraged the Souldiers to kill and destroy the Indians, and stab them with Daggers to save their Swords, and conserve them to another opportunity, is a falle report of those who wrote these passages into Spain where they might eafily at 3000 Leagues distance obtrude what stories they pleased on the minds of Men; for otherwife it is not to be imagined, that a religious Friar, a good Catholick, and a Divine, would utter fuch outragious words of Cultur, and other contractions are supported by the contraction of t elty, which became a Nero, rather than a Person of his Coat and Profession; and one who deserved the Dignity of a Bishop, in that he died by the hands of the *Indians*, for preaching the Catholick Faith: Which having said, let us return to the Series of our History.

# CHAP. XXVII.

How the Spaniards took the King Atahualpa.

THE Spanife Horse sallying forth, attacked the Squadrons of the Indians, and ran them through with their Lances, without any opposition, and at the same time D. Francisco Picarro, and his Insantry, assailed Atahualpa with all their fury; for they imagined, that in case they could once make themselves Master of that lewel, (which was the King) they should soon gain all the Treasures of Perus, but the Indians with great numbers encompassing the King's Chair, did not offend the Spaniards, but onely endeavoured to desend and cover their King from hurch and mischief: Howsoever the Spaniards wounded them on all sides, and lanced them through the fides, though they defended not themselves, onely interposed their bodies between the King and the *Spaniards*; in fine, with much slaughter they opened their way to the King; the furt that came up to him was D. Francisco they opened their way to the King; the furt that came up to him was D. Francisco they opened, who laying hold on his Vestments, fell with him to the ground, though fome Historians fay that he took him by the Locks, which were very long; but that was a mistake, for the *Incas* wear very short Hair. In short, the *Spaniards* usa was a minase, for the incas wear very more train. In more, the spaniard having overthrown Atabuaha, they took him Prifoner: In confirmation of with truth, Gomara hath these words: "There was not one Spaniard either killed or "wounded, onely Francisco Picarro received a small hurt in his hand by a blow of "one of his own Souldiers, who ftrook at Atahualpa to knock him down; whence it is reported, that it was not Picanro, but another which took the King "Priloner: With which Words Gomara ends his 113th Chapter.

Now to add unto his Hiftory what he hath omitted, (as we have declared we would) we aver, that this Souldier was called Michael Aftere, who afterwards lived in the City of Huamanca, where he posseffed some Lands, and commanded over the Indians. When Arabnalpa was fallen, this Souldier took off the coloured Wreath which encircled his Temples, the which was as his Crown or Laurel of Royalty, and kept it for his prize; which gave occasion for the report, that Atahnalpa was taken Prisoner by the Souldier, and not by Picarro; but be the matter how it will, fince both vere fo near together, and not by receive, but be the matter how it will, fince both vere fo near together, and the thing doubtfull, the Honour ought to be given to the chief Commander: How/fover Michael After kept the coloured Wreath by him, until the year 1557, when he befoved it on the Inca Sayriuppe, who then deferted the Mountains to which he

was retired, as shall be related in its due place. The Indians feeing their King taken, and the Spaniards still pursuing them with wounds and saughter, staid no longer, but all put themselves to slight; but not being the being able to make their escape by the way, (for the Horse had possessed themlives of that pass) they made towards a certain Wall, built of freezed Stone, in the time of the Great Inca Pachaence, when he had conquered Cassamarca; and being in great multitudes, and many hands, they over-turned above a hundred paces of the Wall, and climbed over the Ruines, over which the Horfe not being able to follow them, they escaped into the Plains. And here a certain Authour faith, that the Stones of these Walls were more tender and compassionate, than the hearts of the Spaniards; because that being charmed with pity for the miseries of the poor Indians, they trembled and fell, to make way for their flight and escape. Some Historians, they tremoted and ten, to make way to their fly, and escape. Some Historians say, that the spaniard not fatisfied to see them fly, pursued and massacred them, untill the night put an end to their cruelty: And then afterwards taking the plunder of the Field, they divided the spoil which confilled of London College and the spaniary and massacrees Scores. And Long descared filed of Jewels, Gold, Silver, and many precious Stones. And Lopes de Gomara giving a relation hereof in the x14th Chapter of his Book, faith, "That in the Palace and Bath of Atabaliba onely they found five thougand Women; which the the factor of the state of the s which though forrowfull and destitute, yet they put on a chearful counter-

nance when they faw the Christians treating them with Presents of fine Gar-Nnn 2

"ments, with Towels, and other domeftick conveniences, as also with Basons of Gold and Silver, one of which belonged to Anabaliba, and weighed eight "Arroves of Gold (which makes two hundred weight English) and was to the value of a hundred thousand Ducats, but poor Anabaliba in the mean time being much incommoded by his Chains, desired Picarro, that since it was his missortune to fall into such misery, that at least they would treat him well, and "case him of that burthen. Thus far are the Words of Gomara, which I have extracted almost verbatim, and which are of the same sense with that which is delivered by Angustine Carate. To which Authours I refer my Reader, in case any person desires to reade these matters more at large.

# CHAP. XXVIII.

Atahualpa, or Atabaliba, promises a great Ransome to obtain his Liberty; and what Endeavours were made for him.

THE Nobility which escaped from the saughter of Cassamarca, understanding that their King was alive, returned to perform their Services to him Prison; onely a certain Commander called Ramminavi, who was of a different opinion to all the rest, and never affented to have Peace with the Spaniardi, or to trust them, remained behind with the Souldiers under his Command; and being enraged to find his Counsels rejacked, sled with his people into the Kingdom of Duitu, with intention to make preparations for a War against the Spaniards, and such provisions as were most conducing to his own safety: But his real design was to levy a War against Atabuaspa himself; who having been a Rebel to his own Prince, he thought it no crime to follow his example. To which end being entred into the Kingdom of Quitu, he immediately seized on all the Spaniards; but in a short time he killed them all, together with Quillisating, who was Brother to Atabuaspa both by Father and Mother, called by the Spaniards sufficient and moreover, he killed Challenchima, and other Captains and Caracas, 28 we shall declare in their due place.

The bica Atahinated being now in Prifon, and bound with Chains of Iron, treted with the Spaniards for the price of his Liberty, and offered for his Ranforme as many Veffels of Gold and Silver, as should cover the floor of the Chamber wherein he was; and perceiving that the Spaniards strugged their shoulders at it, as either not believing him, or thinking the proposal too mean (as Gomera reports) he immediately profered to fill the Room to a certain red line which he had drawn on the Wall, so far as he could reach with his hand, provided that they neither put one Vessel within the other, nor battered, or beat them close, but onely heaped them one on the other, untill they arose to the mark and line which he had drawn. And thus much we have extracted out of the 114th Chapter of Gomara's History. But not to enlarge on the Particulars related by the Spanish Historians, to whom we refer our selves; we come, in short, to that which immediately concerns the Life and Death of those Kings, the Incase, and the uter destruction of them, which was the first design and intention of this Treassis; and then afterwards, in its due place, we shall relate all the most curious and no table passages which occurred in the Civil Wars arisen between the Spaniards.

themselves: But now to proceed.



# Royal Commentaries.

Acabualpa fent for much Gold and Silver for payment of his Rantome, which though amaffed in great quantities, yet wanted much of arifing to the line which though annuce in great quantities, 50 wanted much of allting to the line which was drawn; for that it feeined almost impossible to comply with the promises was grawn 5 to that to received annote impossible to comply with the promites which Mahualpa had made; wherefore the Spaniards murmured, and faid, That which manager had not complied with the promifes he had given within the time prefixed, they could not but suspect that these delays were made on detime pictures, they could not but rained that there delays were made on defigu to affemble greater numbers of Souldiers, who might be able to mafter and ligh to another free and refere their King. The Spiniards being jealous of full them, and then the and refered then range. The *Spanaras* being jeatous of fome fuch project, appeared angry and difcontented; which Arabnalpa perceiving by their countenance, for he was very quick of apprehention, demanded the cause of that trouble which appeared in their faces: which when he had underflood from Francisco Picarro; he answered, that if they were informed of the great distance of the places from whence he was to fetch his Vessels of Gold and Silver, they would not entertain such hard thoughts of jealousie concerning his intentions; for the greatest part of his Ransome was to be brought from Cozos, Puchacamac, Quitu, and several other Provinces, the nearest part of which was Pachacamac, and that was at least eighty Leagues distant; that Cozco was two hundred Leagues off, and Quitu three hundred; and that if they doubted of the minuted Leagues affirmed, they might, if they pleased, send Spaniards into those parts to fee and furvey the Treasure which was there, and in all places of that parts to tee and survey the Treature which was there, and in an places of that Kingdom; and being fatisfied with the quantity thereof, might pay themselves with their own hands. But the Inea perceiving that the Spaniards doubted of their fecurity with those whom he would employ to conduct them to these Treafures; he told them, that whilst he was in Chains, they were secure, and needed not to sear or doubt of their safety: Upon which Hernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, Native of the Town of Lobon, resolved to travel as far as Cozco. When Atahnalpa understood that Hernando would leave him, he was much troubled; for having been the first Christian he had seen, he entertained a particular kindness for his Person, believing that on all occasions and emergencies he would prove his Friend and Protectour. Howfoever, he durft not fay any thing against his going, lest it should beget a jealousie, and contradict the profer he had made, and which the Spaniards had accepted: Belides thele two Spaniards, four others refolved to travel into other Provinces for discovery of the Treasures which they yielded; one therefore defigned for *Quitu*, another for *Huayllas*, another for *Huayllas*, another for *Huayllas*, and a fourth for *Sicilapampa*; all which, besides their primary intention of discovery, received Instructions to observe whether any Levies were making for rescue of their King Arahualpa from his Prison; but he, poor Man, being far from suspecting the Faith and Promises which the Spaniards had given him, busied his thoughts on no other contrivances, than the ways to amaß such quantities of Gold and Silver as he had bargained with the Spaniards for his Ransome, not doubting but upon the delivery thereof, to have his Chains and Shackles knocked off. Upon which supposition the *Inca* ordered publick Proclamation to be made in all his Kingdoms, to receive and treat the Christians, travelling singly into remote parts with joy and kind treatment in all places where they should arrive: In virtue of which Command from the Inca, and out of an opinion which the Indian entertained, that the Spaniards were Gods, and Messengers of the most High God, (as they themselves reported and published in all places) and were confirmed in a belief thereof from the action of Peter de Candia, who killed the wild Beafts (as we have faid) in *Tumpiz*, they received them in their Towns and Villages with all the honour, joy, and kind treatment that they were able to express. They presented them with Gifts, and such curiosities as their Countrey yielded, and offered Sacrifices to them; for out of their abundant simplicity and superstition they esteemed of the Spaniards, as Gods: And though they were not ignorant of the great flaughter they had committed upon the Indians in Cassamarca, and on those which endeavoured to make their escape, yet still they maintained an opinion, that they were Gods, but cruel and terrible, and such as were to be appealed with Sacrifices; and though these angry Delties were never to be persuaded into that gentle Mood of doing good to them, yet perhaps they wish be might be atoned, and restrained from doing them farther mischiefs.

Hernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, with the four other Spaniards, were by or. der of the Inca carried in Hammacks upon Mens shoulders for their more convenience and expedition. Now a Hammack is a word used by the *Indians* in the Isla of Barlovento, and fignifies a Net made of the Leaves of a Palm, or of other Trees. which in those hot Countries is much more cool than those made of Cotton. which are used by the poorer and meaner fort of people: These Hammacks are which are used by the poorer and meaner tort of people: These Hammacks are hanged at the sour corners with Ropes about a Yard from the ground, and are much more cool than lodging upon Quilts. In imitation hereos, the Indians of Pern did use to fasten a Blanket at both ends to a Staff of about three or sour Yards long, on which he that was to ride Post laid and stretched himself at length, so that the Bearers seemed to carry a dead Corpse: This Blanket was supported by two Indians, who changed with others after a certain distance of travel, for them have designed perhaps to carry one Man, they often reliand. by two Indians, who enanged with others after a certain chrance of travel, for twenty of them being defigned perhaps to carry one Man, they often relieved one the other; and coming to a certain Stage, or Poft, they found as many others ready to eafe and difcharge them of their burthen; which was the way and manner of the Indian Pofts. This fort of Biere on which Men are thus carried, is called Huantu, or Rampa, called by the Spaniards Hamaca, being like their Cama. which fignifies a Bed-

In this manner these two courageous Spaniards, Hernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, travelled the distance of two hundred Leagues, which is between Cassamarca and Cozco, with more fecurity and better treatment than they could have found in their own Countrey: In like manner the other four were received and carefied in all places where they paffed, and with fuch welcome joy, and hearty entertainment, as was incredible, and which the *Spaniards*, when they returned, had fearce the confidence to relate unto their companions.

## CHAP. XXIX.

The Travels of Hernando Pigarro to Pachacamac, and of what befell him in that Fourney.

SOon after the departure of Hernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, Hernando Picarro being moved with the fame of the vast Riches of Pachacannac, resolved to vifit that Temple; but not knowing what might happen in this Journey, he took with him a party of Horse for his better security and convoy: The Spaniards in this Journey travelling one day over a certain Mountain, discovered from the top of it on the fide of another Hill, fomething that gliffered with a brightness like Gold, and the rays of the Sun darting upon it, almost blinded the eyes of the beholders. The Spaniards proceeded towards it with great admiration, and bethe color near, they perceived it to be a heap of Pots, and Jars, and Kettles, and Paus and fuch like Utenfils made of Gold and Silver, which the Brother of Ae threaten, called Quillifeacha, (whom we have already mentioned) had amaffed totitles towards payment of the Inca's Ransome, being to the value of two Millithough some Historians report, that all did not amount, in the whole, unto recre than three hundred thousand pieces of Eight: but this must be some errour in rle account, as we shall see hereaster, when we come to reckon up the several particulars; howfoever the Mountain seemed to shine with Gold, because the Indians, who carried those Vessels up the Hill, had laid them down to ease, and rest them felves for a while, and fo had over spread therewith all the way upwards. This Narrative I received in my own Countrey from the mouth of one who was then prefent; and the same was afterwards confirmed to me in Spain by that worthy Gentleman Don Graviel Picarro, who was an Officer of the Inquilition at Cordova 3

Royal Commentaries. BOOK I: and another Gentleman called Don John Picarro, who accompanied Hernando Picarro in this Journey, made a like report of the golden Hill.

in this journey, made a live report of the gomen Thin. We have already faid, that to foon as this *Quillifeacha* was come to *Caffamarea* with the aforefaid Treafure; he immediately advited his Brother Arabusapa to come with the atoretand Treatment the Influence and Patient, to prevent the Influence to to the Kingdom of Quite, to prevent the Influence to the Kingdom of Quite, to prevent the Influence to the Kingdom of Quite, to prevent the Influence to the Which Plot Atahuaha having for Commander Rumminavi was defiguing to make; which Plot Atahuaha having for the Commander Rumminavi was defiguing to make;

merly suspected, had sent his Brother in pursuit of him.

eny imprecees, that the first should in particular to Atahualpa in execution of all This Rubminavi had formerly been an Affiliant to Atahualpa in execution of all his cuelties, and tyrannical practices; fo that he was acquainted with his natural his cuertes, and tyrannical practices; to that he was acquainted with his natural temper, and well forewarned of his treachery and falle dealings; and suspecting no less from Quilifeacha, he received him like the King's Brother, and informed himself less from *Quillifeacha*, he received him like the rangs promer, and informed himles of the *Inca's* imprisonment; and the bargain for his ransome, to obtain which, they both agreed to amass all the Gold and Plate that was to be found in that Kingdom. And though *Rumminavi* defired nothing less than the liberty of the *Inca*, yet like a falle and perfidious Traytor he ferved, and treated *Quillifeacha* with much ince a rane and perfutions. Trayfor the first and loyal Subject; and carried this fair outfide untill fuch time as occasion offered, to put in practice his villanous de-

Hernando Picarro permitting Quillifeachia to pass before him, proceeded on his Journey to the great Temple of Pachacamae, whose immense riches, and multitourney to the great Temple of Fachacamac, whole influence riches, and multi-tude of people, which inhabited the Valley round about, furprized the Spaniards with strange admiration; but much more were the Indians associated to see the Fashion, the Habits, the Arms and Horses of their new Guests: the Novelty of which, and the Command of their Inca caused them to adore them for Gods, and to receive and treat them with fuch kindness and respect, as passes all imagination, to receive and treat them with IUCN KINGHES and respect, as paires all imagination, or expression; and so filly were these poor people, that observing the Horses with Bits and Bridles in their mouths, they imagined like those in Cassaward, that he Iron was their food; and pitying to see the poor Beasts with no better Victuals, they brought them Gold and Silver, desiring them to eat those Metals which were much more pleasant and delicate than the Iron. The Spaniard were much leasted at the impression of the Indiana and cherishing them in that opinion told pleased at the ignorance of the Indians, and cherishing them in that opinion, told them (as they had done to those in Cassanaca) that they should bring much of that fodder to their Horses, and lay it under the Grass and Mayz, for they were start described and applied from the control of the geat devourers, and would foon dispatch and eat it all , which the Indians believing, did as they defired. Of the Gold which was in the Temple, Hernando Pifurn took as much as he could carry with him, leaving his Command to carry all the rest to Cassanarca for ransome of their King; on which belief the people

readily brought all, not concealing or embezling any part thereof.

Whilft Hernando Picarro was at Pachacamac, he received advice, that about forty Lagues from thence there was a certain Captain of the Army of Atabuaha, called Challenchima, who had gathered great Forces to him; upon which Hernando fent to him to come, and meet him, that they might treat of matters conducing to the publick peace and quiet of those Kingdoms, but the Indian resusing to come where the Spaniards were, Hernando adventured with great hazard of his own Person, and of the lives of his companions, to pass unto him, being a Journey not to be performed without much labour and danger both in the going, and in the return; for not onely the roughness of the way, and craggy Mountains were incommodious, but the broad Rivers gave them much obstruction; for in passing over the Bridges of Ofer, (which we have formerly described) the greatest difficulty was how to Ferry over the Horses. Wherefore this attempt was esteemed very rash and inconfiderate by the other Spaniards, to whom it appeared a vain confidence to put themselves into the hands of an Infidel, in whom, according to common report, was no faith, and into the power of a person who was surrounded with an Army. Howsoever the reliance which this *Spanish* Commander had on the promiles of Atahualpa, which at his departure he had expressed by signs, and had given him fome tokens which might ferve him for a Pass port, in case he should meet with any Commander or General in his Journey, fo animated Hernando, that he marched boldly towards Challeuchima; and having met, he perfuaded him to kave his Army, and to accompany him to the place, where he might fee and discourse with his King: The Indian suffering himself to be overcome by his importanity, attended Hernando; and to make the Journey more short, they cut off a great part of their way, by croffing over fome fnowy Mountains, where they

had all perished with cold, had they not been relieved by the Indians, and conducted to some warm caves, whereof there are many in that passage, which were hewen out of the Rocks for reception of Travellers.

The Spaniards not having been acquainted with the ruggedness of the ways, had The Spaniards not having been acquainted with the ruggeones of the ways, had not provided themselves with Shoes for their Horses, nor Smiths to nail themselves with their Horses had suffered much, had not the Indian molted forme of their Gold and Silver, and therewith forged Shoes of Gold, instead of Iron, for the use of their Horses. Compare at the end of the 114th Chapter of his Book, mentions this passage in these words; For want of Iron, some shoot living

Horses with Silver, and some with Gold. After many such difficulties and hardships as these, Hernando Picarro and Chall. cuchima arrived in Cassamarca; where Challenchima being about to enter into the place where the hota remained, and having first put off his Shoes, and taken some thing on his shoulders in token of servitude, he with much tenderness burst our thing on his shoulders in token of tervatude, he with much tendernets burst our into tears so soon as he saw his King in Chains, and laden with Iron, attributing his Imprisonment by the Spaniard to his own default and absence. But the Inca repited, that his absence was not to be blamed, nor could any other cause be as signed hereos, than onely the Decree of the Pachacamae, of which many Propherighted network, than onerly the Detree of the Pathamana, or Which many Prophecies and Prognostications had for many years past preceded, foretelling their Invafic by new and unknown Nations, who should destroy their Religion, and subvert their Empire; as his Father Huayna Capac had foretold at the hour of his Death. And for better affurance of the truth hereof, so soon as he was taken. Death. And for better affurance of the truth hereof, to foon as he was taken, he fent to Coxo to confult with his Father the Sun, and with the other Oracles, which refolved Questions and Demands in his Kingdom, and particularly with prating Idol in the Valley of Rimac, which notwithstanding its former readines of speech was become filent; and what was most to be admired, was, that he hidden Oracle in the Temple of Pachacamac, which had undertaken on all occasions to answer the doubts and questions which were made concerning the successor. of Kings and great Men, was also become dumb, and made no answers. And of kings and great iven, was and obscure to though it was told to that Oracle that their *lnea* was held in Chains, and was conjured by them to advife a remedy for his release, he became deaf and silent: And moreover the Priests, and such as formerly entertained free and familiar discourres with the other Oracles, reported, that they were not able to obtain an answer, or street out the least word from them; for which cause Arahualya said, that he was greatly troubled and distracted in his thoughts, searing, lest his Father the Sun had absolutely abandoned him; for otherwise he would not have tied up the mouths of his Idols on a fudden, which he had formerly caused to be free and familiar with devout persons, not suffering them to advise, and yield them comfort in their ultimate difftres: All which were certain and inevitable fignals of their approaching mifery, and alienation of their Empire. These and such sale approchanges Authority uttered with extreme grief of heart to his General Childrehma in the Prifon where he was, beginning then to feel the pangs of confeience for his Treason and Rebellion against Huascar; in reward of which, and of all other the Tyrannies and Cruelties he had committed against him and his family, he confessed himself to be now justly punished with the like troubles and anguish in his own Soul.

### Roya! Commentaries. BOOK I.

# CHAP. XXX.

How the Devils of Peru were strook dumb by the Sacraments of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome.

465

T is most certainly true, that so soon as the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church of Rome were brought into Peru, namely the Consecration of the Hoft, or of the Body and Bloud of Christ our Lord, as is performed in the Mass, and celebrated on fuch days as the Spaniards had time and leiture to hear it; and that some Indians, who had entered themselves into the Service of Spaniards, reeived the Sacrament of Baptifin ; and that likewife the Sacraments of Marriage and Penance were practifed; fo foon, I fay, as these four Holy Mysteries were and remaine were practiced; to room, I ray, as there room I room introduced into made known, and appeared, (for the other three were not as yet introduced into those Countries) the Devils became dumb and filent, and lost that familiar difcourse and conversation in publick which (as we have said) they formerly used and practifed with those Gentiles, onely they whispered sometimes in secret, with the famous Magicians, who were faid to have a greater power and influence upon them. And though at first the party of Huasear gave out, that this sullen reservedness and silence of the Oracles was caused by the anger and displeasure of the Sun for the tyrannies and cruelties committed by Atahualpa; yet at length they were convinced of a more over-ruling cause, which affected the Indians with a general fear and consternation, believing that the entrance of these new Guelts into their Countrey, had over-awed and filenced their Oracles: the which opinion served to augment the dread and reverence they had of the Spaniards, and confirm the Name which they gave them of Viracocha, who is the God espetilly adored by them, and held in more efteem and worthip, than all their petty Huasas 5 of which we have already given a more large relation.

467

Book I.

# Royal Commentaries.

## CHAP. XXXI.

How Huafcar Inca demanded succour and justice from the Two who went on discovery.

H Ernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, having travelled above a hundred Leagues came at length to Saufa, where the Captains of Mahnaha held Hanglar in imprisonment; of which the Spaniards being informed, they defired to fee him; and the *Inca* being in like manner defirous thereof, though he was kept under clole cuftody, yet at length they obtained admittion: What discourse passed between them at that time, was not well understood for want of an Interpreter; nor could they express themselves in any other manner, than by signs. Onely afterwards it was reported, That *Huasear* being informed by the *Indians*, that the principal defign of the Symmard was to doe justice, and to relieve Men under oppression and violence, which pretence (as the Symmarb Writers affirm) was always in a specious manner published by the Spaniards from the time of their first Invasion of their Countries, and which at all times they boasted in pursuance of the Commands of his Majefty, who enjoyned them to hurt none, and to render unto every one his due: Of which (as we fay) *Huafear* being affured, he with more affurance of redues, complained of the tyranny, cruelty and injuffice, which he had received from his Brother Achielpa, who not content to defpoil him and his Heirs of his Kingdom and Dominions, refolved to be eave him of his life, and to that end had imprisoned him under strict and watchfull Guards: Wherefore with all earneffness he conjured them, not to abandon and leave him in that condition, but to take him with them out of the hands of that Guard, which defigned (lo fon as they were departed) to put him to death. And whereas they had published and made known unto all persons, that their intentions were to ease and relieve the oppressed, he was well affured, that so soon as they had received true information from the Captain-General of the juffice of his caufe, they would reflore him again to his Liberty and Kingdom: Upon which condition he promifed them not onely to fill the Chamber with Veffels of Gold and Silver unto the line drawn by his Brother, but that he would raife and pile them up unto the very ceiling; for the performance of which, he efteemed himfelf much more able than his Brother; in regard that he was well acquainted with the places where feret Treasures of his Father were concealed, and where his Ancestours had amasted immense Sums and Riches, which his Brother would have embezled, and much diminished, to build Temples and Altars for accomplishment of his Vows; in which he had been so profuse, that he was become poor, and unable to comply with the Ransome which he had promised. In answer whereunto, Hernando de Soto, and Peter del Barco, gave him to understand by signs, that in obedience to the Command of their Captain-General, they were obliged to proceed as far the Command of their Captain-General, they were obliged to proceed as has Cozeo, and for that reason could not stay with him, but at their return they would perform whatsoever might tend to his service and advantage: After which they departed, leaving poor Huassam more sad and disconsolate than before; for having once entertained some hopes and expectation of relief by their coming, be became absolutely desperate, and desponding of life and comfort; believing, as it afterwards happened, that their visit and discourse was a presude to his death.

# CHAP. XXXII.

How these two Spaniards arrived at Cozco, where they found Crosses in the Temples and Royal Palaces.

These two Companions proceeding on their Johnney towards Cozco, arrived on the high Promontory of Carmenca, from whence they rook a survey of the Imperial City, and much admired the neighbouring Towns and Villages which the imperial City, and much admired the neighbouring rowns and Villages which encompaffed, or were adjoyning to it. The people coming forth to meet them, received them with joy and mirth, with Muffek and Dances, erecting Triumphal Arches in the ways, crowned with Flowers and Garlands, and strowing the streets with Rushes, and lodged them in those Royal Apartments, which were called Anarucancha, belonging to Hudyna Capac; for being in their efficiention perfons of Divine Race, they allotted those Chambers for them, which appertained to their greatest and most beloved King. At the entrance thereumto was a very fair Tower, being four Stories high, each of which had a cieling of Timber, in fuch manner as covered the Royal Chambers, and which were to lofty, that to speak in conpa6, the Turret above was as high as any Spire in Spain, unless that of Seville. The top thereof was in form of a Globe, as were all the Chambers; and above all, in the place of a Weather-cock or Vayne, (which the Indians did not underfland) they had erected a Ball, which added much to the height, and was fo large, that the hollow of it contained above fixty Foot In compass, called by them Sun-tamaci, which fignifies as much as the rare piece of Architecture, there being no other building adjoyning thereunto to support or hide it. In my time it was thrown down or demolished, to make the Market place more large and airy 5 though the much is, it took not up much place, and now in lieu thereof the Jefuits have erected a high Colofco, or Pyramid, as we have mentioned in the first Part of this Hillory. The next day after the Spaniards arrived, the Indians carried them in feveral Palanchines, or Seats, placed on Mens shoulders to see and view the City 5 and as they passed, the people adored and worshipped them after the manner of their Gentilism and Religion. Nor were the *Spaniards* lefs surprized to see the Majesty of Cocco, with the Grandeur and Riches of the Palaces and Temples 5 which though much defaced, and despoiled of their ancient beauty, by reason of the late Wars between the Incas, and the Imprisonment of Huascar, yet they could not but much admire the excellent Architecture of the Royal Palaces, which were built without those Instruments and Engines, which are necessary for the eeeling such mighty Fabricks: But above all, they were much pleased with the The Pavements, which were curiously in-layed with divers Figures on each fide of the stream, which runs for above a quarter of a League through the City; and the multitude of people, and the numbers of Merchants (though the Commodities of the stream). modities not many) were fo great, as much pleased them to behold; especially observing the gentile behaviour of the Nobles, and the courtese of the Commodities are the courtese of the Commodities. palty, who were all defirous to ferve them, and gain their favour; and had it not been for the late Wars between the two Brothers, all things would certainly have appeared in much more beauty and splendour: But above all, they much admired to see Crosses erected on the top of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and high the second of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and high the second of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and high the second of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and high the second of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and high the second of the high Pinnacles of their Temples and high the second of the high Pinnacles ples and Palaces; the which, it feems, were introduced from the time onely that Pedro de Candia being in Tumpiz charmed, or made tame those wild Beasts which were let loofe to devour him, and which onely by virtue of the Crofs which held in his hand became gentle and domestick: All which was recounted with such admiration by the Indians, who carried the news of this Miracle unto Cozco, that when the Indians of the Crofs which admiration by the Indians, who carried the news of this Miracle unto Cozco, that when the Indians of the Crofs had a looked it also Miracle unto Cozco, that when the Inhabitants of the City had understood it, they went immediately to their Sanctuary, where a Cross of Jaspar-stone, as clear as Chrystal, remained, as we have before mentioned; which when they had brought forth, they with loud Acclamations adored and worshipped it, conceiving that though the Sign O o o 2

Воок І.

of the Crofs had for many Ages been conferred by them in high effeem and veneral tion, yet it was not entertained with such devotion as it deserved, because they were not as yet acquainted with its virtues. Wherefore now with stronger assurance believing, that as the Sign of the Gross had tamed, and shut the mouth of the wild Beafts, so as that they could not hurt Pedro de Candia; so also they imagined that it had a like power to deliver them out of the hands of these New-come Gueffs: On which confideration having adored the Cross, they erected several of them in their Temples, and in the Royal Palaces, like Tutelar Gods to defend

Royal Commentaries.

their Kingdom from the violence of Enemies.

Whence it is to be noted, that these Gentiles who were Idolaters, did entirely. and with an implicit faith, devote themselves to the Cross, and therewith to the belief of the whole Christian Doctrine before the Gospel was preached to them It is most certain, that after the Death of Huama Capac (as we have mentioned as the end of his Reign) the *Indiana* remained in great fear and consternation, apprehending that the time approached in which their Idolatrous Religion was to be at an end, and therewith their Empire, Greatness and Dominion was to expire And though many years past many Predictions were uttered of this nature by their Southfayers and Magicians, the which were confirmed by their Oracles, and divers Prodigies; yet they were delivered in fuch obscure terms, that nothing was clear, or intelligible, from thence, untill such time as Huayna Capac, by I know not what Spirit, explained and interpreted those Prophecies with such clearness. as evidently pointed at the coming of the *Spaniards*, and the propagation of the Gospel, declaring that the Empire of *Peru* was to end with his Life. And this is the true reason why the *Indian* adored and worshipped the *Spaniardi* for God, with such humility and submission, as we have declared, being certainly assured. that these were the people in whom the Prophecy of their King was to be accom-

Of all these matters Hernando de Soto, and Pedro del Barco, gave due intelligence to their Captain-General, with farther information of the incredible Riches found in that City, which were beyond all imagination, as also of the kind treatment, duty and respect, which they had received from the Indians, by virtue of that Edict and Command which Atahualpa had caused to be proclaimed in all parts of his Dominions in favour of the Spaniards. In like manner the other four Spies, or Discoverers, which were fent into other parts, dispatched their Informations of all things they had feen, and which had happened to them. All which news declaring the immense Riches, and the adoration which was paid to their Companions, the other Spaniards received with great joy and satisfaction: But as to the Prophecies of Huayna Capac, they esteemed them for no other than Witchcrastes and Sorceries of the Indians, of which they made no account or esteem. CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Subtilty of Atahualpa, and the Death of the King Huafcar Inca.

A Usuffin de Carate having related the Discourse which Huascar Inca had entertained with Hernando de Soto, and Pedro del Barco, (which was the same that we have already related) and how they had left him in a sad and despairing condition, he farther proceeds in the fixth Chapter of his fecond Book in this man-

"And fo (fays he) they proceeded on their Journey, which was the cause of the Death of Husseav, and the loss of all that Gold which he had promised; for "the Death of Huajcar, and the lois of all that Gold which he had promined; for the Captains to whose Custody he was committed, immediately gave intellified gence to Atabaliba by the Post, of all that had passed, which when he had well considered, and that if once the Injustice which he had done to his Bro-"ther should come to the knowledge of the Spanish Governour, together with the Promises and Intimation which Huasear had given of a greater abundance of "Gold than he could engage for, he greatly feared that his offers would be fo prevalent with the Christians, (whom he observed to be coverous and thirty of Gold,) that they would not onely take the Kingdom from him, and transfer it to his Brother, but, to free themselves from all other troubles of competi-"tion, might also deprive him of his Life, for which they had fo just an occasion on the score of his Brother, whose Kingdom he had traiteroully usurped, with "the Death and Slaughter of all his Kindred, for which reason he resolved to "kill Huassar: But in regard he seared to commit that Murther, because he had heard the Christians frequently say, that one of their principal Laws was, That heard the Christians frequently say, that one of their principal Laws was, That heard the Christians Bloud, by Man should his Bloud be spilt; he therefore, he who shed Man's Bloud, by Man should be some the Mind of the before he would enter upon this Attempt, thought fit to try the Mind of the Spanish Governour, in what manner he would be concerned for an Act of this nature. To perform which with the more Subtilty and Diffirmulation, he feigned himfelf one day to be very fad and dejected, weeping, and fighing, and relufing to eat, or speak. And though the *Spanifh* Governour was very interpretate to know the cause and reason of his Melancholy, at length with much adoe he made Answer, that he had received information, how that one of his Captains had killed his Brother Huafear, in the Hands of those to whose Cultody he had committed him; the which he deeply referred, for that he was his Elder Brother, and his Father; and though he detained him a Prifoner, and under reftraint, yet it was not with any intention to doe him hurt, but onely to secure him in such a capacity, as might disenable him from making any Attempts on his Kingdom of Quitu, which did not at all appertain unto him; for that Province having been obtained by his Father's Conquests, was conferred and bequeathed by Testament to himself, being no part of the Inheritance which belonged to the Elder Son. In Answer hereunto the Governour bid him be of good chear and comfort, for that Death was natural and common to all, and that fo foon as the Countrey was quiet and fettled, he would enquire into this Murther, and punish those who should be found guilty of that great Crime. Atabatiba observing that Marquis Pigarro was little concerned for the matter, refolved to kill his Brother, and accordingly his Commands were put into Execution with fuch speed; that it was hard to distinguish whether *Huafcar* was put to Death before or after the time that he teflified his Sorrow in prefence of *Picarro*. The fault of this unhappy accident is commonly objected against Hernando de So10, and Pedro del Barco; for that they being Souldiers, ought not to have been ignorant of the Duty and Respect they owe to the Commands of their General, which are not to be dispensed with on any

pretence or occasion whatsoever, without express Order to the contrary. The Indians report, that when Huafear faw that there was no remedy, but that he must dve. he uttered these Words with great passion. I have been Lord of this "Countrey but for a floor time, but as to my Brother that Traitor, by whose Command, I that am his natural Lord, am put to death, he shall enjoy his Government for a much soften time than I have done. Wherefore when the Indian had heard that Alaba. liba was afterwards put to death, (as shall be related in the following Chapter) "they believed Huascar to have been of the true and legitimate Progeny of "the Sun, who had illuminated him with a prophetick Spirit, touching the Fate of his Brother. And likewise Huascar farther declared, that when his Father gave him his last farewell, he enjoyned and commanded him, That when a "People, or Nation, which were white, and had beards, should invade his Do-" minions, that he should labour to make a friendship with them, for that they " were to become Lords of that Kingdom. Thus far are the Words of Anonstine Carate.

For my part, when I find the Spanish Writers to relate things fairly, and with the truth, and gravity of History, I am more pleased to make use of their words verbatim, than my own; for as I am an Indian, and not a Spaniard, their words and expressions must be more proper than mine; the which Rule we shall always observe, unless it be where the Spanish Histories are desective, and want Addi

But to return unto the Relation which Augustin de Carate hath given; It is to be noted, that he briefly touches many particulars, which we have more at large related in this our History, as namely, that which concerns the Tyranny, the Craft and Diffimulation of Atahualpa, when he proved the Mind of Francis Picarro, how, and in what manner he would take the Death of Huascar; for in realist had the Spaniard been as wary and as fagacious as was this Indian, and had prefently replied upon him, and told him plainly, that I know, and am well affired, that it was you that killed this Person, and that therefore I shall instict such punish. ment on you as your Crime deferves; it is most certain, that he would then have been better advised, and never have adventured on this Murther of his Brother; but when on the contrary, he perceived an indifferency in the Governour, who little suspected so much evil in a person of that simplicity; he then took courage and resolution to put his wicked Intention into practice against the Inca his natural King; which confummated all his other cruelties; Nor did he onely put him to Death, but killed him barbaroufly, cutting his Flesh into slices, and throwing them none knows where; but the Indians report, and believe, that they are his Flesh out of mere rage and malice against him. Acosta saith that they burnt him. And Carate mentions, that the diligence and speed, used in sending the Dispatches for his Death, were not by the Posts, but by Fires or Beacons, which the Chafquis, or Postmasters, were ordered to make both by night and day, for greater expedition, when any matter required extraordinary hafte. In like manner this Authour touches on the Prognostication which Huayna Capac had left, concerning the Invasion which the Spaniards were to make into those Countries, and of which they were to become Mafters. He also farther proceeds, and tells us, that Hernando de Soto and Peter del Barco were not blameable for not remaining with Huafcar, as he defired, and for not hearkening to the proposition he had made to them, which imported three times the Treasure, which his Brother had promised, because in reality they did not understand him; for otherwise no doubt, but those Men, whose business was neither Conquest, nor their Embassy matter of War or Peace, but onely to see that the Promise made by Atahnalpa for his ransome, were complied with, would have readily embraced the more advantageous Offer of three times the value made by Huascar. And thus these two Spaniards excuse and clear themselves from what was objected against them, touching the Death of

Thus this unhappy Inca, the last of the Monarchs of that Empire fell and ended his Days, having been a Spectator of all those Cruelties and Murthers which his Brother had exercifed upon his Vaffals, Servants, Uncles, Brothers and Sons, and as to his own Perfon, had been used with such Hardships and Severity in Prison, as were insupportable, and which Diego Fernandez relates to have been in this manner:

The

### "The two Captains of Atabalipa returning to their Lord, carried Huascar Priso-"The two Captains of Zimoniph Century they gave nothing but Urine to ner with them; to whom in their Journey they gave nothing but Urine to drink, and no other Food to eat than Worms, and other filthiness. Whilst "these things passed, Francis Picarro, with other Christians his Companions, en-"tred the Countrey, and took Atabalipa Prisoner in Caxamal. Thus far are the

Royal Commentaries.

"tred the Country, and took amount I though an obtaining I had are the Words of this Authour, who, in another place, fays that they killed Huafear in Words of this charles, which in another places last they which is the Countrey or Province of Froft, for Cassa fignifies Froft, and Marca a Countrey; likewise of Floring Ought to be wrote Anta Marca, for Anta fignifies Copper, and Anta Marca the Copper Countrey.

# CHAP. XXXIV.

Don Diego de Almagro comes to Cassamarca; and what Fears and Apprehensions Atahualpa conceived before his Death, by Comets and Apparitions in the Heavens.

Feer the Death of poor Huafear, which happened in the manner as before re-A lated, Atahualpa did neither thereby obtain the liberty of his Person, nor fecure his Life; but on the contrary, in a few days afterwards, orders were given to put him to death, the manner of which is related by Aignfin de Carate, and Lopic de Gomara, both which agree in the particulars of this passage, as they doe

in other matters of this History.

Heaven often punishes those who trust more in their own Plots and Artifices. than in the ways of Reason and Justice; for God suffers their Mischiels and Contrivances to fall upon their own Heads, an Instance of which we shall speedily give in the fequel of this Hiftory. For now we must know, That Don Diego de Mongro was departed from Panama, on a very good Ship, carrying with him tieth Men, and good Supplies, in order to a farther Conquest; and his Enemies report, that his Design was to advance farther to the Southward than Piçarro, whose Govemment, as yet, was not extended more than two hundred Leagues to the South, from the Equinoctial Line; and that he intended to fet up for himself, and act on his own Foundation; the which, as is reported, was discovered by the Secretary of Almagro to Picarro, whom his Master hanged for his Treachery. But be it as it will, this is certain, that Almagro being on his way, and receiving intelligence of the Impriforment of Arabnalpa, and of the incredible Riches which he offered for his Ransome, resolved to change his Design, and to join himself with his victorious Companion; for that according to Articles of Agreement between them, one half of the Benefits and Profits appertained unto him. Accordingly Almagro, with his Souldiers, arrived in Cassanarca, greatly wondring to see those heaps of the Souldiers arrived in Cassanarca, greatly wondring to see those heaps of Gold and Silver which they had anassed together. But in a short time afterwards the Souldiers of Picarro plainly told the People of Almagro, that in regard they had not been present at the taking of Atabualpa Prisoner, no share of those Riches and Spoils before the Almagro. Spoils belonged to them, which were already gained, nor no part of that which was wanting to reach the Line which Atahualpa had drawn, and promifed in payment of his Ransome. Which when the Almagrians had heard, and considering the largeness of the room, believed that if all the Gold and Silver of the World were amaffed together, it would never arrive or reach to the height of the Line, they presently cried out, that the Inca should be killed, so that they might receive their share of what should be collected after his Death. These and the like reafons were fufficient to arraign and execute this great Prince Atahualpa, who observing the Quarrels amongst the Spaniards, and their incessant noise, and wranglings,

473

BOOR I.

he fadly suspected that the Fury of those Jars would at last turn to his destruction. the which Fear and Apprehention was increased by the Oracles, which were now become filent to all his Questions and Demands, and by the reports which the Indians gave him of new Stars, and Comets, which appeared, all which, in time of lefs Extremity than the prefent, were ever interpreted as bad Omens, and fignals, and, according to their superstitious Observations, were esteemed to portend utter Destruction and Ruine.

tend utter Destruction and Ruine.

But that which above all things appeared fatal to him, was a certain great Comet of a darkish green colour, little less in breadth than the Body of a Man, and of a yard in length, which shewed it self at night, being much of the same size and shape as that which appeared before the Death of his Father Huagna Capac, of which when Atabuaspa had notice given him, he was extremely troubled, and desired the Spaniards to give him the leave and liberty to be brought forth, that he might see it with his own Eyes; which when he had done, he was so structly be became fuller and silery and well and melancholy, that as formerly he became fuller and silery and well. fadness and melancholy, that, as formerly, he became fullen and filent, and would entertain no converse with any Person whatsoever; the reason of which, when Picarro had pressed very earnestly to know, Atahualpa to satisfie him gave him this Answer. Apn, faid he, (which is General) I am now assured that the time of my Death approaches, being certified thereof by the appearance of this Comet, for that another of the like nature with this showed it self not many days before the death of my Father; and in regard that such Prodigies in the Heavens do always precede the Death of Kings, and portend nothing but Calamities, and the Subversion of Empires, I cannot but imagine my self concerned, being to leave my Kingdoms before I have enjoyed them. Indeed when I saw my self first in Chains, I shought there would be little distance between my Imprisonment and my Grave, of which I am now fully certified by this Comet; and now I have given routh real Cause of this my sadness.

The Governour, to comfort him, bid him be of good courage, and not to trust or confide in such fignals, to which no Credit was to be given; for that on the contrary he might shortly expect to be freed from his imprisonment, and reso red to his Kingdom. Howfoever Arabnatpa, whose Faith was placed in the function of his Gentilism, gave no belief to the assurance of Picarro, but remained in his Dumps, and disconsolate as before. Peter de Cieça, in the 65th Chap. ter of his Book, mentions the fame concerning this Comet, and tells us how fuperstitious those Indians were in these Astrological Observations.

Anabualpa giving entire credit to these Prefages, wholly sunk in his Courage.

and despaired of his Liberty, not being able to put the thoughts of Death out of his mind; the which accordingly happened fifteen days after the appearance of the Comet, as Giega confirms in the aforesaid Chapter.

CHAP. XXXV.

Hernando Piçarro returns to Spain, to give an Account of what had succeeded in Peru.

THE Governour, Don Francisco Picarro, not regarding the fears and apprehen-fions of Atabualpa, was elated in his Hopes and Expectations, by those farous which good fortune had cast upon him; and resolving to follow and improve his success, he judged it convenient and necessary to render an account to prove his fucces, he judged it convenient and necessary to render an account to His Majesty of all matters, which unto that time had occurred in Pern; the which Intention being moved to Almagro, his Companion, and his Brothers, it was agreed by them to dispatch Hernando Picarro into Spain, with Advices to His Majesty of what had happened, that so their Services might be rewarded according jefty of what had happened, that fo their Services might be rewarded according to their Merit. And in regard Hernando Piçarro was employed as a publick Perfon in behalf of the Commonalty, or the whole Company, It was ordered that fo much should be taken out of the heaps which were already collected for the Ranfoneof Anabudpa, as would serve to defray his Charges; and moreover that he should carry with him the value of two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and one hundred thousand in Silver, for that fifth part which appertained to the King, on account of the Ransome of Arabudpa; the which Gold and Silver were as the fifth Fruits, and as an earnest of that Treasure and Riches which they have already, and are yet to carry from my Countries to His Maiesty. The Silver have already, and are yet to carry from my Countrey to His Majefty. The Silver, 28 Anythin Carate reports, was carried in pieces of maffy Plate, a Relation of which he gives in these Words:

"They agreed (faid he) to fend Hernando Piçarro to give a Narrative to His "Majefly of their prosperous Successes, which had occurred untill that time; but whereas as yet they could not make a just computation of what share His Mawhereas as yet they could not make a part compensation and they took from their elfly was to receive out of the Collections already made, they took from their "Heaps the value of two hundred thousand Pieces of Eight in Gold, and twenty thousand Marks in Silver; for which they chose the most fair and weighty wouland marks in Silver; for which they choice the molt fair and weighty Pieces of Plate, for the better show and appearance in Spain. All which were weighed out, and the Jars, Pans, Figures of Men, and Women, and Sheep, were all cast into the Scale to make up the full weight and value already mentioned. With this Prize Hernando Picarro embarked, to the great grief of Attached biliba, who had a great kindness for him, and entertained such confidence in him, that he freely communicated all his thoughts to him, wherefore at his departure he faid to him:

And do you go, Captain, I am troubled for it at my very hear; for when you are gone, I am fure that fat Fellow, and that blind Rafeal, will foon make an end of me; meaning Almagra, who, as we faid before, was blind of one Eye, and Alonfo Requelme, His Majetty's Treaturer, whom he had observed to murmur and quarrell about him on the occation before related. And fo indeed, "it happened, for no fooner was Hernando departed, than that immediately they contrived his Death by means of their Interpreter Philipilito, who was mey contrived his Death by means of their interpreter Finapiano, who was "an Indian, &c. And Gomara confirms what we shall more at large hereafter relate, That Hernando Picarro carried the fifth part of what appertained to His Majesty on account of the Ransome of Arabualpa, and he farther adds the May the March of the Ransome of Arabualpa, and he farther adds these Words.

"The Truth of what paffed is this: Hernando Picarro carried no more with "him from Cassanger than what is before mentioned; but soon after his departure followed the Death of Atabaliba, and then a Dividend was made of his the followed the Death of Atabaliba, and then a Dividend was made of his Ransome; untill which time his Execution was rather deferred, than his Life P p p "granted, or Freedom intended. Afterwards fixty of these Adventurers returned into *Spain*, having made a Division of their Spoils, which amounted to forty or fifty thousand Pieces of Eight a Man, besides the fisth which appetained to His Majesty. These Persons departed after *Hernando Piçavro*, and overtook him at *Nombre de Dios*, where they embatked, and returned altogether in company to *Spain*. Thus we see how all Authours agree together in the same Relation of this matter.

Soon after the Departure of Hernando Piçarro, Hernando de Soto and Pedro del Barco returned from Coxco, giving a Report of the Riches which they had feen in that City, as alfo in the Temples of the Sun, and in the Palaces of the late Kings, in the Fortresis, and in the Sanctuaries, and private Cells, where the Devil entertained Difcourfes with their Wizards, Priests, and others his Votaries; all which places being esteemed sacred, were adorned with Gold and Silver; the like report was also brought by the other sour Discoverers. The Spaniards being highly pleased with this News, were impatient untill they could take possessing by the other four Discoverers. The Spaniards being highly pleased with this News, were impatient untill they could take possessing the Treasures; which that they might hasten with the more convenience and security, they speedily determined the Death of Anabasas, to prevent the infurence of the People, that with the more ease, and with the least opposition, they might seize the Gold and Silver which was lodged in the Imperial City, and in other parts. Both the aforesaid Authours agree in all the material circumstances relating to the Death of Anabasas, wherefore we shall repeat the very Words of Lapre. de Gomara, specified in the 119th Chapter of his Book, the Title of which is as followeth.

# CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Death of Atahualpa; and how he was arraigned by Justice, and upon the falle Information and Testimon, which was given against him.

THE Death of Atabaliba was forwarded by a means, the least expected, for "Philipilio", the Interpreter, falling in love with one of the Wives of Atabaliba, whom he intended to marry, after he was dead, raised a report, that "Atabaliba had secretly, and under hand, given order to raise Men, whereby to overcome the Christians, and free himself. So soon as this report came to be spread, and noised amongst the Spaniard, their Jealousise created a Be list; so that some cried out to have him killed, for security of their own Lives, and of those Kingdoms; others were of opinion, that they should not imbuse their Hands in the Bloud of so great a Prince, though never so faulty, but ta ther that they should send him to the Emperour: This certainly had been the best course, but the other prevailed by means (as some report) of that party which came with Aimagray, for they conceiving that no share of the Spoil would appertain unto them, during the Life of Atabaliba, and untill the conditions were complied with, which, according to Agreement, were made for his ransome; and Picara being also of opinion, that his Death would free the Spaniard of much trouble, and render the Conquest and Possision of the Countrey much more easse, a resolution was taken by general consent to put him to Death. In order to which, that things might appear with a better face of sufficient many strengths. Hadjon



" Hudfar, King of those Countries, and for designing to raise War against the "Spaniards, though this last was a sale and malitious suggestion of Philipillio, who "Spaniards, though this latt was a rane and maintious suggettion of Philipillo, who brought the Indians for Witnefles, making them to fay what he pleafed; and in regard the Spaniards underflood not the Language, whereby to cross examine the Witnefles, all that Philipillo alledged paffed for current, and good Teffimony; howfoever Atabaliba flifly denied it, faying, That fuch an Accu-" Tentimony's nowtoever znaganian tilly defined it, raying, That fact an Accur(" fation could have no ground of Reason in it, considering that he remai-"fation could have no ground of Meaton in it, confidering that he remained under fuch Guards, and Chains, that it was impossible for him to make an escape; wherefore he persisted in his Denial, threatning Philipillio, and desiring the Spaniards to give no credence to his Words. After Sentence of "defiring the Spaniards to give no credence to his Words. After Sentence of Death was paffed upon him, he complained much of Francisco Piçarro, for that having promised him his Life upon payment of the Ransome agreed, he afterwards faltered with him, and put him to Death. Wherefore he earneftly intreated him rather to transport him into Spain, than to imbrue his Hands in the Bloud of a Person who had never offended him, but "rather enriched him, and done him good. As they carried him to Exe-"cution, those who attended to comfort him, advised him to desire Bap-"tiln before he dyed, for that without that they threatned to burn him "alive: Whereupon being baptized, he was bound to a Post; and there "frangled. His Burial was celebrated according to the Manner and Rites of "Christians, Pigarro also put himself into mourning, and performed his Fu-merals with Pomp, and Solemnity. As to those who were the causes of his Death, Divine Vengeance overtook them for this sin; so that in a "his Death, Divine Vengeance overtook them for this fin; so that in a "flort time afterwards they came all to unhappy ends, as will appear in the fequel of this History. Thus Atabaliba dyed by a violent Death, before which he ordered his Body to be carried to Quitu, and there buried a mongst the Kings, his Ancestours by the Mother's side. If the Baptisin he mought died was from his heart, most happy he, but if not, the Murthers and Bloud he was guilty of will be set to his Account in the World to come. He was naturally of a good Disposition, wise, courageous, frank and open hearted. He had many Wives, and left some Children: Though he usure purple Wreath, or Diadem, until he was imprisoned; nor would he ever spirit upon the Ground, but, for Majesty and State, (when he had occasion) he would spit in the Hand of a principal Lady, whom he loved. The Indiana were in great admiration, when they heard of his untimely "The Indians were in great admiration, when they heard of his untimely Death, which they efteemed for an accomplishment of the Prophecy of "Hualch", who being of the true and legitimate Off-spring of the Sun, was "divinely inspired to foretell the coming of his speedy Fate. Thus far are the Words of Lopez de Gomara.

But to return now to the Remarks which this Authour makes on the ill Interpretation of this *Philipilio*, and how he suborned the *Indian* Witnesses to resilite whatsoever he desired; he concludes that the sault was chiefly his, in regard that the *Spaniards* wanting Language, could neither examine the matter, nor dive into the Truth of it. And hence we may collect what salse and imperfect Notions he must have rendred to the *Indians* of the Catholick Faith: So that as for want of a true understanding of the *Indian* Language, *Harmando de Soto*, and *Pedro del Barco*, abandoned *Hunsea*, and exposed his Life to the subtility of his Brother; so also Atabaliba dyed, and both these powerful Kings incurred the same sate for want of true understanding, and saithfull Interpretation of all matters.

Atabutapa ordered his Body to be enterred in Quitu, amongst the Relations of his Mother, rather than in Cozco, with the Ancestours of his Father; for though the Funerals of Kings were much more pompous and stately in Cozco, than the Solemnities used by the Caciques in Quitu, yet considering how destable his Memory would be to the People of Cozco, for the Cruelties and Murthers he had committed on their natural Kings, he believed that his Body would be abused, and his Ashes never suffered quietly to repose in the Sepulchre of his Ancestours; and for that reason he chose rather to be buried Ppp 2 amongst

Book I.

amongst his own People with obscurity, than with greater Ornament and amongst his own recopie with obtainty, and with greater Grannent and State by the angry and incented Citizens of Cowo. It is most certain that Atabuaha did not bind his Head with the coloured Wreath, until he had Atabanapa did not bind in Fread with the Coloned Vyreath, until he had taken his Brother Hungear Prisoner; for before that time that Ensign of Regality belonged to his Elder Brother, who was his Sovereign Lord; but at the was taken, and imprisoned by him, he then proclaimed himself for the universal Lord, and with his Dominions he usurped all the Marks of Power which belonged to them, as we have before related.

But now to confider that an Indian, who was an Idolater, and who had been guilty of fuch horrible Cruelties, as Atahualpa had been, should receive the Sacrament of Baptism at the hour of his Death, can be esteemed no other wife, than as an Effect of the infinite Mercy of God towards fo great Sin. ners as he was, and I am. At his Baptisin Atahualpa was named Don John Blus Valera fays, That Friar Vincent de Valverde laboured many days before his death to teach and instruct him in the Articles of the Catholick Faith; during which time the Inca finding himself in Prison, and Chains, and without other Society or Attendance of Indians, excepting a Youth, who was his Kinfinan, and permitted to ferve him, he was flruck with fuch a dump of Melancholy on his Spirits, that he remained almost intensible. Upon which the Spaniards brought him out of the Prison, and called the principal Indians to his Affiftance, who feeing their Lord in that condition, immediately fent for their Chief Herbalists to ease and cure him. So soon as those Physicians came they felt his Pulse, to discover the nature and force of his Fever; but not as they felt his Pulle, to discover the nature and force of his Fever; but not as our Doctours, who try the Pulle at the Wrist, but laid their Fingers on the rop of the Nostrils, and under the Eye-lids; after which they gave him a Drink, made of the juice of certain Herbs, of great Virtue; what they were, is not known, unless that onely which is called Payeo. Moreover he faith, that this Drink put him into a violent sweat, and caused a long and sound sleep, as they which his Fever left him, and being returned again to his Senses, he was commanded to receive Baptism, for without it they threatned to burn him albut, as they had done Hubbutines at Maylo, who was King of the Pumire. and we see they had done Hubbutines at Maylo. as they had done Huabutimoe at Mexico, who was King of that Empire; and to affright him into Baptifin, the Pile of Wood was kindled, when they notified this Sentence to him. At length he faid that he was contented to be baptized, after which Proclamation being made of the Crimes for which he died, he was tied to a Poft, and strangled. In all which particulars the *Spanish* Historians ages, and also that he remained three months in Prison.

CHAP.

# CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Information and Process which was given in, and made against Atahualpa.

THE Trial of Mahualpa was long and folemn, though Gomara touches upon it

in thort. But the manner was this:

The Governour himself was Lord Chief Justice of the Bench, and with him prefided Don Diego de Almagro, his Companion; the Clerk of the Court was San-cho de Cuellar; there was also an Attorney General appointed in behalf of the King, and Council allowed for Atabualpa; and others were affigned to bring in the Winefles, and take their Testimonies upon twelve several Interrogatories; there were also two other Judges named, to be Affistants, and give their opinions in the Case, whom, for respect, I think not fit to nominate, though they were suf-

ficiently known to me.

The first Interrogatory was this: Did you know Hungna Capac and his Wives? and how many had he? The 2d. Was Hnascar Inca his lawfully begotten Sun and Heir of this Kingdom? and was Atabualpa illegitimate, and a Baltard, and not Son of the King, but of some Indian of Quim? The ad. Had the Incn other Sons befides those before mentioned? The 4th. Did Atabualpa inherit this Entpire by virtue of his Father's Testament, or did he usurp it by Tyranny? The 5th. Was Hussen disinherited of his Kingdom by his Father's Testament, or was he declared Heir? The 6th. Was Huafton still living, or was he dead? or did his dye a natural Death, or was he killed by order of Atahnalpa? and when was it, either before or fince the coming of the Spaniards? The 7th. Was Atahnalpa and Italian and Idolater? and did he command his Subjects to factifice Men and Children? The 8th, Did Atabualpa raife unjust Wars? and was he guilty of the Bloud of much People? The 9th. Did Atahnalpa entertain many Concubines? The 10th. Did Mahnalpa receive the Tribute of the Empire fince the Spaniards took the possession of it? and did he consume and embezle it? The 11th. Do you know that fince the coming in of the Spaniards that Atabaapa hath given Presents or Gifts out of the Royal Treasury to his Kindred and Captains? and how, and in what manner hath he embezled and wasted the Wealth of the Publick? The 12th. Do you know that King Atabualpa hath fince his Imprisonment treated with any Captains and Souldiers to rebell, and raife War against the Spaniards? and what Levies of Men, and what Preparations of Arms have been made for War? Upon these Interogatories they examined ten several Persons; seven of which were Servants to the Spaniards, and three of them were not, that so they might not appear to be their Creatures; yet they all declared what loever Philipilio put into their Mouths, as Gomara affirms. Onely there was one Witnels, who was none of the Servants belonging to the Spaniards, called Quespe, who was Captain of a Company, being the last that was to be examined, suspecting that the Interpreter would say something which he had not testified, he, to prevent it, answered in the control of the control o flort, either in the Affirmative, or in the Negative, faying either 7, which is yes, or Manan, which is no. And left the Interpreter should fallifie these Words, which were not well understood by the Persons present, when he spake in the affirmative, he would nod with his Head two or three times, and when in the negative, he would shake with his Head and his Right-hand, at which the Judges much admired, being pleafed with the fubtility of the *Indian*. Howfoever the Death of *Itahnalpa* being determined, Sentence was paffed upon him, and accordingly he was executed, as we have already declared, though many of them, as well feel. well fuch as belonged to Picarro, as those who came with Almagro, who were of a generous Spirit, differted, and protested against the Fact. The Names of the most eminent amongst them were Francisco de Chaves, and Diego de Chaves, who were Brothers, and Natives of Truxillo, Francisco de Fuentes, Pedro de Ayala, Diego

de Mora, Francisco Moscoso, Hernando de Haro, Pedro de Mendoça, Juan de Herrada and Alonso de Avila, and Blus de Atiença, with many others; all which were of one nion, that it was not lawfull to put a King to death, who had treated them kind. ly, and had never done them any Injury; and if in case he were guilty of any Orime, they should transport him into Spain, there to be tried by the Emperour, and not by themselves, who had no Power or Jurisdiction over Kings. That they and not by themselves, who had no Power or Jurisdiction over Kings. That they should consider the Honour of the Spanish Nation, which must greatly siffer in the Reputation of the World, and be branded with Tyranny and Cruelty, when soever it should be objected against them, that they had put a King to death, during the time that they had given their Parole to the contrary, and were under Obligations of Treaty, and Articles, for his Ransome, of which they had already received the greatest part. That they should be cautious how, and in what manner they stained their great Atchievements with an Act so foul and inhumane as this; that the fear of God should restrain them, who, after so barbarous Action, could not expect Bessigning or Successive agreeable to their barbay besigning to could not expect Bleffings, or Successes agreeable to their happy beginnings. but on the contrary, Misfortunes, and Ruines, and an unhappy end to all those who had a hand in this Wickedness. That it was not lawfull to put any Man to death, without hearing what he could fay in his own Defence; that they appealed from their Sentence to the Emperour Charles the 5th. and in the mean une conflituted funa de Herrada Protectour of the Person of King Atahualpa. These and many other particulars of this nature, they uttered not onely in Words, but allo in Writing, folemnly protefting before the Judges against this Fact, and against all the evils which might be the confequences thereof. Nor were those on the other fide less bitter and violent against those who favoured Atahnaha, calling them Traitors to the Royal Crown of Castile, and the Emperour their Sovereign, the augmentation and enlargement of whose Dominion, they had endeavoured to prevent. That by the death of this Tyrant they might feather own Lives, and the entire Dominion of that whole Empire, all which the contrary would run great danger and hazard. Of all which, and of the Multinies which these Diffenters caused, they would inform His Majesty, that so he might diftinguish between such who were his loyal Subjects, and faithfull to his Service, and those who were Traitors, and mutinous, and obstructive to the enlargement of his Dominions. Thus were the Discords enflamed to such a degree, that they had broken out into a Civil War, had not some more moderate Men, and lefs paffionate, interpoled between both Parties, and reprefented how defluctive and fatal fuch Differences might prove to both fides, and to the fucces of the Defign in hand, in case that Christians, on the score of Infidels, shouldenter into a Civil War. They moreover reprefented to those who maintained the Cause of Atabuaspa, that they should consider how they were no more than fifty in number, and inferiour to the contrary party, which confifted of three lundred and fifty; fo that in case they thould pretend to decide the controverse by Arms, the Issue would be their own destruction, and the loss of that rich King dom, which now they might fecure by the Death of this King. These Reasons and Confiderations abated the Spirits of those who protected Acabualpa, so that they concurred with the others in his Sentence of Death, which was accordingly

Royal Commentaries.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Wit and Subtilty of Atahualpa; and of the Treafure which was collected towards his Ransome.

Tabualpa (as we have faid) was of a quick and ready Understanding, an In-A flance whereof we have in this paffage, which indeed haftned his Death; for he observing the *Spaniards* to read and write, did believe that it was a Gift natural to them, and born with them, to try which he defired a *Spaniards*, who came to visit him, or that was one of his Guard, that he would write the Name of God on the Nail of his Thumb; the Souldier having vyrote, as he defired, he asked three or four Souldiers, one after another, vvhat that Word meant, they all told him, that it vvas the name of God. At length Don Francisco Piçarro came all told him, that it vvas the name of God. At length toon framely to have anie in, with vvhom after he had discoursed a vvhile, he asked him the meaning of those Letters vvhich yvere vvrote on his Nail: Novy Picarro not knowing elther to vivile or read, answered that he could not tell, by which he collected, that the knowledge of Letters vvas acquired, and not natural; and from that time ever after he conceived a meaner efteem of the Governour than before; for that (as vve have faid) the Incas, in their Moral Philosophy, vvere taught, that the Royal Family, Nobles and Gentlemen, ought to exceed their Inferious in knowledge and Vertues, as appears in the Trial of Novitiates, (as we have formerly related) who were to run through all Exercises and Hardilips, which might try and approve them; so when Atabusapa had discovered the Ignorance of Picarra, who being the Governour, and Chief, vvas, according to his Rule, to have excelled all his Inferiours in Learning and Vertues, he conceived a meaner Opinion of him, which when the Governour had observed, he grew angry and offended with him, which haftened the Death of Atabualpa. This paffage I have head from those who were then present, which may be a caution, and an advertishment to Noble Persons in the Education of their Sons; for that for want of Reading, and Writing, and a little Latin, they may fall into Difgraces, and be fibbled to Affronts; though indeed in those times ignorance was more excusable than in this prefent age, which affords many Mafters in Spain, where all Sciences and Learning flourish, and where Noble-men value themselves not more on their bonourable Birth, than on their vertuous Education, which yields a Lustre like pretious Stones enchased with Gold.

Another thing is reported of Atahnalpa, for an Instance of his Wit and good Understand, which was this, that amongst many other things, which the Spanium of then there was one who had a Glass Cup, of the finelt fort of Metal, which was made at Venice. The Merchant of it hoping for a good Reward, prefined it to the King Atahualpa, (who received it to kindly, that (though he was then a Prifoner) he ordered ten of his Cups of Gold, and Silver, to be given the Spaniard in return thereof. The Inca looking and admiring much the curiofity of the Workmanship, asked one that frood by, if any other befides the Kings of Calife were ferved in fuch Vessels; to which he that made the Answer, supposing that he means the Casife and not the Workmanship, replied that not onely that he meant the Glass, and not the Workmanship, replied, that not onely kings and Nobles, but the Commonalty of Spain, made use of those Glasses which when Ataknalpa heard, he let it stall from his Hands, saying, that things so common, were not worthy the esteem of a King. At which Words of an Indian all Persons the start is a start of the start of the

Persons then present did much admire.

Thus was Atabualpa put to Death by formal process of Justice, (as is related) and before the quantity of Gold and Silver which he had promised for his Ranfome was fully completed, because time was not given him to make due compliance, though some report, that they put him to death after he had paid the entire quantity: but whatloever that was, the Spaniards divided to every Man his

CHAP.

480

Share, in the nature of Spoils taken in War. But what the value of this Ran. fome was, Augustin de Carate, and Francis Lopez, who wrote in those days, vari oufly report. I suppose that their Errours were in the heap or mass, I shall men tion former particulars thereof, that we may make a better judgment of the whole matter.

Carate, in the 7th Chapter of his fecond Book, hath thefe precife Words.

"There was due to His Majefty for his Fifths, thirty thousand Marks " of pure, fine Plate, wrought and embofled; and in Gold an hundred and "twenty Millions of Marks, &c. Gomara, in the 118th Chapter, faith. That Francisco Picarro, after he had made an Essay of the Gold and Silver, he cansed them to be weighed, and found fifty two thouland Marks in good Silver, and a million and three hundred and twenty fix thousand and five hundred weight

or Ducats of Gold. In case we compare these two Authours together, we shall find that Gomescomes short of the Sum which Carate mentions, at least one hundred thousand Marks of Silver; because that to make the King's Fifth to amount unto thirty thousand Mark, the principal must consist of one hundred and fifty thousand, the like Errour, and much more, there is in the Gold; for whereas Carate faith, that His Maiefty's Fifth of the Gold amounted unto an hundred and twenty millione of Marks, which must be a plain Errour in the Print; for if according to the value we multiply every Mark of Gold at seventy two Ducats, the sum will be come so vast and immense, that there will scarce be numbers in Arithmetick sufficient to contain the account. And if by Marks they mean Maravedis, the Frrour will be as low on that fide, as it was excessive in the other, because an hundred and twenty millions of Maravedis make onely three hundred and twenty thousand Ducats, which likewise is more evident, as will hereaster appear by the account of Division, which these Authours make, in the share and proportion which belonged to every fingle Person out of the Ransome of Atahualpa, whereby they make the value of the Gold, reduced into Silver, to amount unto seven hundred and eighty fix thousand and fix hundred Ducats. According to which I am inclined to make out every Man's share and proportion of Gold and Silver, rather than to follow an opinion of such incredible Sums as are before mentioned And herein I am more willing to give credit unto Carate (who was Accountant General) in fuch Sums as he fets down precifely, than to the reports of Goes and Comers, who speak at random: Onely as to the quantity of Silver which was divided, I follow that which Gomara relates, because Carate is filent in that particular, as also in the proportions divided to each Captain, as appears by his History; onely the share which appertained to the General we have taken upon the information of those who were present. Both Authours agree, that the Horsemen were fixty in number, and the Foot, or Infantry, one hundred and fifty Though Cieça de Leon, speaking of Cassamarca, where Atabualpa was imprisoned faith, that those who took him were fixty Horse, and an hundred Foot; in which report concerning the Foot, I rather follow this Authour than Gomara; for besides that he was actually in Peru, when he wrote of these matters, I am also much more apt to keep within the compass of Accounts, and set down ten too little, rather than five too much.

These Authours also differ much about the shares which every Souldier received; for to the Souldiers they allot fix parts in Gold, and one in Silver; and to the Governour, and his Captains, and the People with Almagro, they give three parts in Gold, and one in Silver. Why in those times the Gold so much exceeded the quantity of the Silver, (the contrary to which now appears in all parts of the World) the true Reason is this: Because that the Incan Kings were always Masters of more Gold than Silver, of which they made no other use than to adom their Temples, and Royal Palaces, not esteeming them in the place of Riches, or Treasure. Moreover there was much more difficulty in digging Silver, than in finding Gold. For Silver, as we see in the Mines of Potofi, is setched from the Bowels of the Earth, into which they fink fometimes two hundred fathoms, as Acofta reports in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book, which such as have the curiofity may read and learn with what incredible labour that Metal is extracted, for which cause the Incas would not exact their Tribute from the People in that Metal, but Gold is procured with much more ease, being sound on the Surface of the Earth, being washed down from the Mountains with sudden Rains, and with the fall of the Waters is found in Brooks, and on the Banks of Rivers; and generally in all parts of Pern, though more in some parts than in others; this Metal, rally in an parts of tern, though more in tome parts than in others; this metal, when the Indian find, they wash it, and life it as Goldsmiths do their Cinders,

and afterwards made Prefents thereof unto their Kings.

But to return again unto our purpose, which is to determine what the value was of that incredible Ransome, for our better judgment wherein, vve shall set down the feveral particulars mentioned by the aforefaid Authours. As to the valie and difference between Gold and Silver, there was in those days, as well as now in Spain, about twenty per Cent. in the efteem of Gold above that of Silnovy in again, about evenily per dom. In the effective of Gold above that of Silver, and rather more than less, but for more plainness, vve vvill reduce the Weights of Gold and Silver to Ducats of Caffile, of eleven Ryalls and one Man. verigins of a Ducat. Novv to come to the Division, Carate faith, that the share to every Horseman came to 12000 Weight, that is Ducats in Gold, besides Silver; for every Horfeman had a fourth part more than a Foot-man, and yet notwithflanding Atabaliba had not complied with the fifth part of what he had promifed for his Ransone. And in regard that no share of this Ransome belonged to Almago and his Souldiers, because they were not then present when Atabaliba was made a Prisoner, howsfoever the Governour bestowed a thousand Ducats on every Souldier, as a Gratuity, and an Encouragement: This Carate affirms. Gomara faith, that the share to every Horseman amounted to 370 Marks of Plate, besides Gold; and to the Captains thirty or forty thousand Ducats a piece. And now after we have summed up the whole, which these Authous put to account, of every parcel, let us subtract the fifth, and then we shall easily compute what the fumm total amounted unto, and how much belonged to every Man for his fingle

To the Governour they divided 200000 Ducats, of which 150000 was in Gold, and 50000 in Silver; belides the Chair in which the Inca was carried, weighing 25000 Ducats of Gold, which being thrown into the Heaps amongst the other Riches, appertained to him, as Captain General. To the three Captains of Horse their proportion was 20000 Ducats in Gold, and 30000 in Silver. To the four Captains of Foot the like fumm was proportioned of 20000 Ducats in Cold, and 30000 in Silver. To the hundred Foot Souldiers their share amounted unto 900000 Ducats in Gold, and 195000 in Silver. To the two hundred and foris Spaniards which came up with Almagro, a largess was given of 80000 Ducats in Gold, and 60000 in Silver. And to Almagra himself 30000 Ducats in Gold, and 10000 in Silver, besides the Allowance which his Companion made him our of his own share, as shall hereaster be more particularly mentioned. The fifth of all which, deducted from these several parcels in Gold, amounted unto 546250 Ducats, and the fifth from the Silver unto 15750 Ducats. And in regard, as Hiflorians report, that the Silver was purified, and much finer than that which we call Standard, and was by four Ryalls per Mark better, or of more value; we shall add the fumm of 38160 Ducats unto this Account, being for fo much as this Silver was more refined and better than the common Standard. And not to weaby the Reader farther with these long Accounts of every particular summ, we flull caft up the total, with allowance of twenty per cent. advance, in the value between the Gold and the Silver; with twenty per cent. difference between the Piece of Eight and the Ducat; so that an hundred Pefos in Gold are worth an hundred and forty four Ducats, according to which we shall easily make up the several summs in Gold. And in regard that Historians do not mention whether the Gold was fine, as they do that the Silver was refined and purified, we shall Suppose that the Gold was worth twenty two Quilats and an half, as in the Standard in Peru, and not twenty four Quilats, as in Spain, for then we should add to the whole value of the Gold 218500 Ducats, which arises on the Quilat and are half of Advance; but because the Spanish Writers do not mention that difference, we shall likewise leave it out in this Account, lest we should seem to insert any thing without good Authority. As to the Silver, there is no other difference than of twenty per cent, between the Piece of Eight and the Ducat. We fay then that the Gold, which fell to the share of the Governour, together with the Royal ·252000 Ducats. Chair, amounted unto-

-60000 the Silver unto-1 29600 To the three Captains of Horse in Gold--36000 in Silver --

-	
To the fixty Horsemen in Gold-	1036800 Ducats.
and in Silver	1 2 9 8 0 0
	1296000
To the 240 Men which came with Almagro in Gold	2592co
1 · Cilvo	72000
Lim Cold in Cold	43200
	1 2000
and the first th	<del>7</del> 86600
	1 2 6 9 0 0
and from the Silver The difference of the refined Silver above the Standard	38170

So that the fumm total of the Ransome of Atahualpa amounted unto 4605670 Ducats, of which fumm 3933000 Ducats are the value of the Gold, and the 672670 Ducats are the value of the Silver, accounting therein the advantage upon the fine. ness above the Standard; both which summs together amount to the aforesaid total of 4605670 Ducats. This was the value of those Riches which thes paniard gained in Peru, but much greater was that which they found in Cozco, when they made their entrance into that City, as Gomara and Carate report, and as we shall declare hereafter in its due place. Blas Valera faith, that the Ransome of Atahuahaa. mounted unto 4800000 Ducats, the which he reports on the Authority of the Indians, who had fet down an account by their knots of every particular parcel which was brought from the feveral Provinces; but we shall rather follow the account given by our Historians herein, than that of the Indians; though Blau Valera differs from the others, and makes the fumm greater by 194330 Ducats, than what is before mentioned. In those former times such great summs seemed incredible, because they were not known, though now they create no great Wonder, since it is manifest, that for these thirty years past, there have been imported ten or twelve Millions every year in the River of *Guadalquivir*; the which my Countrey having fent as an Offering to *Spain*, and all the old World, hath thereby been more profitable to Strangers, than kind and natural to her own Children.

Gomara in the 118th. Chap. of his Book speaking of this Ransome, hath these Gomara in the 118th. Chap. of his Book speaking of this Kantome, hatchfilled Words. "Framsifeo Pigarro fent the fifth part of his Spoils, together with a Re" lation of his Successes, by his Brother Hernando, unto the Emperour, and with him returned many of the Souldiers very rich, with twenty, thirty and forw thousand Ducats a Man. In short, they brought away almost all the Golds." ling the Bank of Seville with Money, and the World with the fame and difference of the proof of the world with the state with the state of the state of the World with the state " course thereof, and with desires of that enterprise. Thus far are the Words of Gonara. It is well known, that those who returned were fixty in number. The Governour shared to his Companion 120000 Ducats, being so much as appertain ned to him out of his proportion. To Hernando de Luque, the Schoolmafter, nothing was divided, because it was known, that he being already failed, could be no farther usefull, so that Historians have no occasion to make other mention

concerning him.

#### XXXIX. CHAP.

Of the Discourses which the Spaniards made upon these Af-

 $B^{\rm Y}$  the Death of these two Brother-Kings, (or rather Enemies) Huasear and Anahualpa, the Spaniards became absolute Lords and Masters of both their Kingdoms; there being none remaining to defend the People, or make head against them; for the race of the Incas, being almost extinct, the Indians were like Sheep without a Shepherd, having none to govern them, either in Peace or War; and besides, the Civil and intestine Discords between the Factions of Huaswar; and bendes, the Cavil and intercall able, fo that both Parties, being defirous to gratifie the Spaniards, made them the Instruments of each other's Revenge. Moreover those Captains who were of Andmalpa's party were divided amongst themselves; for some of them made head against the Spaniards, as we shall see hereafter, and others disbanded the Armies under their Command, with intennereatter, and others disbanded the Armies under their Command, with intention to fet up an *Inca* of their own choice, supposing that he would be more kind and indulgent to them than a strange Prince; the Person whom they elected was *Paullu*, the Son of *Huayna Capac*, being one of those who had made his escape from the Cruelty of *Atabualpa*. The Person who had the principal hand in this Election, was the Major General *Quizquiz*, who was in *Cuntisum* when the News came of the Imprisonment of *Atabualpa*, and untill that time had been an Energy to Paullu. But manager and violent professing cause Man to story the an Enemy to Paullu. But urgent and violent necessities cause Men to stoop unto mean and low Actions, and more especially Tyrants, and Men of poor and base Souls, who finding themselves sinking, regard neither Honour nor Conscience, but onely such means as tend to their own vile and mischievous Designs. Quiequiz was an Officer of Arabualpa, and a front and an experienced Souldier. To Paullu they gave the coloured Wreath, but he received no fatisfaction in that Royal Signal, because he knew that the lawfull Inheritance belonged to Manco has, and not to himself; which when Quizquiz observed, and that Paulin was old, and not defirous of the Government, he then fet up for himfelf, refolving to contend with his own Force and Prowefs; and accordingly having raifed an Army, he marched towards Cozco, to know what was become of his King Ana-hadipa; upon which March we shall leave him, until we come to the time and place of his Actions.

The Spaniards observing with what Honour and Adoration they were generally received by the Indians, and that, according to the report made them by the fix Spaniards who went on Discovery, all Veneration and Service was paid to them; they often entertained familiar Discourses one with the other on that Subject, making various Reflexions on the causes thereof, as the fancy of every Man did fuggest. Some would attribute the success of all to their own Prowels and Valour, for that the *Indians* feeing them fo frout and refolute, believed them to be invincible, and fo out of mere fear and terrour fubmitted and yielded, and framing a thousand Rodomontado's of their own Conduct and Courage, searched not for any cause beyond themselves, nor restected on the Prophecies of Husyns Capac, which forerold the coming of the Spaniards into their Countrey, who should defroy their Idolatry, and their Empire; and out of this superstitious Belief yielded all up without resistance. Howsoever there were some more considerate than the reft, who being zealous for the fervice of God, and for the propagation of the Christian Faith, attributed all their Successes to the miraculous Operations of God, in favour to the propagation of the Gospel, that so the Faithfull, as well god, in favour to the propagation of the Gospel, that so the Faithfull, as well god, in favour to the propagation of the Gospel, that so the faithfull, as well god, in favour to the propagation of the Gospel, that the third of the faithfull god propagation of the go as Infidels, beholding them with wonderfull attention, the one might be thereby induced to receive the Faith with readincs and love, and the others be encouraged Qqq2

CHAP.

BOOK L

BOOK I.

to preach it with fervour and charity towards their Neighbours, and with due to fipect towards God, who hath thewed them fuch great and miraculous works.

And indeed we may aver it for a truth; that it could be no lefs than miraculous. That a Spaniard or two should travell alone two or three hundred Leagues in an Enemies Countrey, and be carried through it on Mens Shoulders, and all Re. fpeet and Adoration paid to them, as if they had been Gods, whenas they might have thrown them over fome Bridge, or down some precipice, or by other means have eafily deftroyed them, is a confervation above all humane Wifedom and Direction, and ought to be folely attributed to the Divine Providence, by fuch as profess themselves good Christians, and Preachers of the Gospel of Jesus Chrift. Others improving this confideration and Argument farther, did fone times in prefence of the Governour discourse to this effect. That in regard Ashualva had received Baptism, it had been more conducing to the quiet of that Kingdom, and propagation of the Catholick Faith, to have conferred him alive and paid him all Honour and Respect, requiring of him, that since he himself was become a Christian, that he should publish an Edict in savour of that Religion, commanding all his Subjects and Vassals within a certain time to be bantized; certainly this course would have been extremely prevalent for thee or four most pungent Reasons, every one of which singly might have been sufficient to have converted the whole Nation, how much more, when they all concurred to gether.

As first, The Command of the Inca, to which in the most trivial matters Obedience is yielded, as to the Law of God, how much more would it be in the Case of Religion, delivered by those whom they in their own Minds esteemed

to be Gods.

Secondly, the Natural Obedience which they always yielded to their Inca.

Thirdly, The Example which the King had given in being baptized, would easily have besorten a conformity in his People. And, Fourthly, That which would have appeared most specious and obligatory, and which comprehends the force of all together, would have been the Precept of Athahaspa, declaring, That in purfuance of the Prophecy of his Father Haspaca-pac, delivered in his last Will and Testament, signifying the Obedience they were to yield to those new Guests, who were to enter into their Countrey, whose Law and Religion was much better, and more excellent than theirs.

Had (I fav) the Preachers taken advantage of this convincing Method of Arguments, certainly the Gospel would have entred and spread without opposition; but God in his fecret Judgment would not admit of these Methods, that so those

matters might come to pass, which afterwards succeeded.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XL.

The Effects which the Civil Discords between the two Incan Kings, who were Brothers, did produce.

THE War which was raifed between the two Kings Huafear and Atahualpa, who were Brothers, was the carle of the coal and facilitated the Entrance, and the Conquest vehich the Spaniards made of that Country, vyhich being for the most part craggy and mountainous, and full of difficult Passages, might otherwise have been easily defended. But God, vyho in his Mercy designed the propagation of the Gospel in those Countries, vvas pleased for the more easie introduction thereof, to permit those seuds between those two Brothers.

Acolla speaking summarily of this Point, in the 22d. Chapter of his 6th Book. hath these Words. "Huayna Capae vvas succeeded in Cozeo by one of his Sons, "called Tito Cust Gualpa, (he means Inti Cust Gualpa) aftervoards he vvas called "Gualcar Inga, and his Body burned by the Captains of Atahualpa, vvho also vvas the Son of Guayna Capac, and raised Arms against his Brother in Quitu, and "came against him with a powerfull Army. At that time the Captains of "Andmalpa, namely Quizquiz, and Chilicuchima seized upon Guascar Inca in the "City of Cocco, after he vvas declared Sovereign Lord and King, and indeed he was the lawfull Heir and Succeffour. Great was the Confusion and Noise " which this Action made through all parts, both of the Kingdom, and of the "Court. And whereas it was their Custome upon all great Emergencies of Af-"fairs, to have recourse unto Sacrifices, the People finding themselves in no ca-verse, praying, that fince they were not able of themselves to deliver their King out of Prison, that he would be pleased to fend some People from Heaven, who might procure his Freedom. Whilst they were intent to the solemn performance of this Sacrifice, News was brought, that a certain People was come by Sea, and having landed, had feized Arabualpa, and kept him Prisoner. And in regard that this Affair happened just in that conjuncture of time, when this Sacrifice was offering, and that the People were very few in "number, who had feized on Atahnalpa in Caxamalca; they gave the name of Viracochas to the Spaniards, which name continues to them unto this day, upon " a belief, that they were fent from God for rescue of their King; and indeed "the People would have been confirmed in this opinion, had the Spaniards followed those Methods which were pursuant thereunto. And on this occasion we ought seriously to contemplate the Wiscdom of the Divine Providence, which conducted the Spaniards into those Countries in that seasonable conjuncture of Affairs, when the Divitions between the two Brothers were grown up to a Civil and an Intestine War; without which advantage, which begat in up to a Civil and an intertine vvar; without which advantage, which object in the Indians a belief, that the Spaniards were a People dropped from Heaven, it had been impossible for such a handfull of Men to have become Conquerous of "that numerous People, the lofs of whofe Countrey was recompended to them,
"by the gain which Heaven was to their Souls. Thus far are the Words of Acofea, with which he concludes that Chapter, wherein with much brevity he fums up the War between the two Brothers, the Tyranny of the one, and the Right of Succession which appertained to the other, the Imprisonment of them both, and the small number of Men which took Atahualpa Prisoner, and how gratious the Divine Providence was to those poor Gentiles in their Conversion; what Name they gave to the Christians, and the Esteem which

they had of them, upon an opinion that they were come from Heaven: All which particulars we have already declared, and fet forth at large. We are now to tell you the reason of that name of Viracocha, given by them to the some ards, which was this: So foon as they faw the Spaniards in their Countrey with that Beard and Habit, in which the Phantasme appeared to their Inca Firacosts, the which Apparition the Indians ever afterwards adored for a God, as he declared himself to be. And that when some time after they saw that the Spaniards had as their first entrance taken Atahualpa Prisoner, and in a few days afterwards had put him to death by form of Law, and in such manner as is due to Murtherers and Malefactours, and had at his Execution, by the Voice of a Crier, published the Tyrannies, Cruelties and Treason against Huascar, for which he suffered, they were then really convinced, that the Spaniards were Sons of the God Viracocha and were descended from their Father the Sun, to punish Atabualpa for his Crimes and to revenge upon him the Bloud of his Brother, and of all that Family. And what did moreover confirm this Belief, were the Cannon and Musquets which the Spaniards used, and which the Indians took for proper Arms and Ammunition of the Sun, giving them the name of Illapa, which lignifies Thunder, and Lightning. and Thunderbolts. And to the Name of Viracocha, they added the Title of Inca. as properly belonging to them on score of the Relation they had to the Sun their Father, from whom they descended; the which Title they gave to all the Conquerours of *Peru*, from the first, who entred with *Francisco Picarro*, to those who came in with Almagro, and afterwards with Don Pedro de Alvarado, all whom they adored for Gods; the which Esteem and Veneration for them continued until the Covetousness, the which Esteem and Veneration for their continued using the Covetousness, Luxury, Cruelty and Severity, with which in a barbarous manner many of them treated the poor *Indians*, discovered the falsity of this vain Opinion, and opened their Eyes; giving them to understand, that such as were so different in their Morals, and in all their Actions to their ancient *Incus*, could not be descended from the Sun, and consequently could not merit the Title of Incas how soever they continued the Name of Viracocha, for the similitude they had in their Habit, and Beard to the Phantasine, or Apparition. Thus did the Indiana under that, and heard to the Phantaine, or Apparation. Thus did the main judge of those Spaniards who were cruel, and ill natured to them, calling them Cappay, which is the Name they give to the Devil; but on the contrary, such a were gentle, kind and compassionate towards them, they not onely confirmed their former Titles which they had given them, but added thereunto such other compellations as they attributed to their Kings, as Intipchurin, Child of the Sun, Hanc-chacuay, a Lover of the poor; and when they would higher exalt the Goodness and Vertue of those Spaniards, who treated them kindly, they called them the Sons of God, which when they would express in Spanish, for the Name of God, which is Dios, they would pronounce it Tim, because the Letter D, is not in the Indian Language. So Tinspacharin is with them the Son of God, though in these times, by learning the *Spanish* Tongue, they are come to a better pronunciation. Such Honour and Veneration did these poor *Indians* thew at the beginning to those Spaniards who were compassionate, and good natured towards them, and the like respect do they still bear towards the Clergy, as well as to the Seculars, in whom they observe the brightness of Vertue to thine with Humility and Gentlenefs, without Avarice or Luxury; for the *Ludians* are naturally of a good dilpolition, very meek and humble, cordial to their Benefactours, and gratefull for the least favour or good they receive. The which natural proneness to make acknowledgments for good Offices done, they derived from the ancient Cuftoms of their Kings, whose Studies were for the publick wellfare of their People, by which they merited all those Names and Surnames of Renown, which were attributed by their People to them.

# CHAP. XLI.

Royal Commentaries.

Of the Faithfulness which the Indians of Peru shewed unto the Spaniards when taken by them in the War.

THE Indians of Peru held this Maxime or Principle. That if any yielded himself, or having been taken by a Spaniard in the War, he was thereby become his absolute Slave, and esteemed him by whom he was taken to be his hecome his anionite Stave, and effective from the was taken to be his Idol, and his God, and that he ought to honour and revere him for fuch; and to obey, ferve, and be faithfull to him unto the death, and not to deny him eight of the Child Courtey Departs 1875 of Child to oney, rerve, and be faithful to find the death, and not to deny firm either for the fake of his Countrey, Parents, Wife or Children. Upon this Principle they preferred the Wellfare of a Spaniard, who was their Mafter, before all other confiderations whatfoever, and would fell or betray their own Family, if omer connectations whattoever, and would left of bettay their own ranning, it their Mafter required it, and that it were necessary or conducing to his Service; by which means the Spaniards never wanted Spies, nor Intelligence of whatsoever passed amongs the Indians, which was of great use to them in the Subjection and Conquelt of that Countrey; for they believed it to be a real duty in them to be obedient unto those to whom they had yielded themselves Captives; and therefore would engage in fight on their Mafters fide, against their own Countreymen and Relations, as if they were their mortal Enemies: When some Spanish Troops in their March had taken some Indian Captives, and that the Commanders would fhare them amongst the Souldiers according as every Man wanted a Servant, the hadan would refuse to acknowledge any other for his Master, than him onely to whom he had yielded himself; and when they were told, that it was the Rule of War to divide equal shares to every Souldier, and that he who was already provided, was to permit his Companion to be equally accommodated: The Indian answered, that he would obey on condition, that when the Christian to whom he was allotted had taken another Captive, that he might have the liberty to return to his Mafter to whom he had first submitted; the like Fidelity the Women also professed. Three Indians taken in this manner I lest in the House of my Father, and Lord Garcilasso de la Vega, one of which was called Alli, which is as much as to fay Good; he was taken in a Battel, of which there were many in Collato, after the Indian had made their general Infurrection, in one of which this Alli fought like a very front Soulder, and having engaged far with some few Persons, he took no care to fave himself, until he saw all his Companions put to slight, and hardby care to rave numers, until ne raw all his Companions put to light, and hardly purfued by the *Spaniards*, and having then little hopes of fafety or refuge, he laid himfelf amongst the dead, to which posture he had opportunity to compose himfelf by the darkness of the night, and casting away his Shirt, he wallowed in the bloud of the slain, that so he might seem to be one of them.

The Spaniards returning from the pursuit unto their Camp in several Companies, three or four of them happened to pass that way, where this Indian lay counterfeiting the dead Man; and whilft they evere viewing the dead, my Lord and Master Garçitasso de la Vega observed one of them to pant, and dravy his Breath, vyhereupon he vyent near him, and touched him vyith the point of his Spear, to try if he had sense, and overe living; so soon as the Indian selt the prick he immediately flatted up, and cried for quarter, fearing that there vvas nothing lefs than Death for him. After vvhich he remained in the Service of my Father, with the Eddition of Cubio contains the base decade appeals about the service of the ser with that Fidelity and Subjection which we have already expressed, being desirous to evidence the fame on all occasions. He vvas aftervvards baptized, calling

himself John, and his Wife Isabel.

# Royal Commentaries.

Royal Commentaries.

# OK II.

## CHAP. I.

Don Pedro de Alvarado goes to the Conquest of Peru.

HE Fame of the great Archievements in Peru, and the Riches thereof was now spread in all parts with such Renown, that as Lopez de Gomara in the z6th Chapter of his Book reports, the Spaniards crowded in such numbers to take a share of the Gold, that Panama, Nicaragua, Quahutemallan, Cartagena, and other Plantations, and Islands were almost dispeopled, and lest desolate. Amough the rest Admiral Don Pedro de Alvarado, one of the most famous and renowned Captains of that age, being not contented with the Glory and Riches he had acquired by the Conquest of the Empire of Mexico, Utlatlan, and Quahntemallan, refolved to augment his Greatness by his attempts upon Peru. To which end he obtained a Commission from the Emperour Charles the fifth, to conquer, plant and govern all that Countrey which he should gain, at such a number of Leagues distant from the Jurisdiction and Conquests of Francisco de Picarro. For this Enterpile he made Levies of many front Fellows, and moreover many Gentlemen of Quality from all parts of Spain offered their Services, especially those of Estremen-

nor, because Don Pedro himself was a Native of Badajoz. This noble Perfon, amongst his many other Excellencies of Nature, was endued with fuch numbleness and activity of Body, that thereby he saved his own Life, when the Marquifs del Valle was forced to make a retreat from Mexico: for the Marquis del Valle was forced to make a reteat from Packtor; for the Indians having broken the Bridge over which the Spaniards were to pass: This the Indians having broken the Bridge over which he carried in his hand, the point of Which having fixed in the Bodies of the dead, he took a running leap of twenty five Foot clear over the Bridge; at which the Indians were so much astonished, and wondred, that they called him a Son of God. This Passage Lopez de Gomara for the Lorente of his Bodie where treating of the Conquest of and wondred, that they called him a Son of God. This Pallage Lopez de Gomard touches in the 107th Chapter of his Book, where treating of the Conquest of Mexico, and of Hernando de Cortes, he hath these Words, which we have delivered verbatim: "When he returned to them, though some fought very stoutly, "yet he found many killed. He lost his Gold, his Baggage, and Prisoners. In fine, his Men were routed, and his Camp dispersed, and nothing remained in that posture in which he had lest it; howsoever he rallied as many as he could, "put them in the front, and he hintiest brought up the rere. And Pedro de Alwardo was ordered to rally what Forces he could, and to make head against the Enemy, but they charged him to home, that he was not able to withstand

Enemy, but they charged him fo home, that he was not able to withfrand them; when seeing his Men slain round about him, and that if he staid, there

was no possibility to escape; he followed Cortes with the Lance in his hand, and patsing over the dead bodies, and such as were wounded and groaning, he care to the Bridge Cabrera, and leaped over it with his Lance, at which not onely the Indians, but the Spaniards were afforished, for that no other was able to doe the like; some indeed there were who attempted it, but falling short, they were afformed. Thus fax frequire World of Gomana.

of the great activity of this Gentleman; and that the fecond time after Mexico was fubdued, how he had fet two Marble Pillars at each end of the Arch of the Bridge, for marks of the leap which he had taken; to which, for the truth of what I have faid, I refer my felf, in case they be still remaining, though it is a wonder.

if envy and emulation of this Age hath not destroyed them.

The first time that this Don Pedro de Alvarado was at Seville, with design to embark for the Indies, he, with some other young Sparks his Companions, ascended to the top of the Steeple of the Great Church to enjoy the Asr, and take a view of that most pleasant prospect; where seeing a Beam thrust out from the Tower of about ten or twelve Foot long, and had been there placed some sew days before for a Scassfold, to mend some part of the Steeple. One of those Gentlemen that was with him, I do not well remember his Name, but he was a Native of Cordova; knowing how much Don Pedro did boatt, and avail himself of his activity, he on a sudden laid aside his Sword and Cloak, and without speaking a word, went out of the Tower upon the Beam, measuring of it foot by soot, untill he came to the end of it; and then turning about, walked back again with the same even steadiness as before.

Don Pedro observing this bold action, and believing that it was onely to dae him, scorned to be out done; and therefore keeping on both his Sword and Cloak, threw one end of his Cloak over his left shoulder, and the other part holding close under his right arme, and his Sword with his left; he in that police marched forth upon the Timber, and coming to the end thereof, gave a fuden turn round, measuring it with the same footing back untill he came to the Tower. Certainly it was a very bold and daring action both of one and the other. And ther time it happened, that this Don Pedro, with some other of his youthfull Companions, going to Hunt, met some Countrey sellows, who to out-up each other, were jumping over a certain Well, that was very broad, some of which leaved over it, but some would not adventure. At length came Don Pedro, and he placing his seet together, just at the brink of the Well; Now, said he, this were a god standing jump, if I durst adventure it: With that he gave a leap, and reached the other fide onely with the fore-part of his feet, and gave again on a fudden a jet back to the very place where he had taken his leap forwards. These and luch like seats of activity are recounted of this Gentleman, and others who were sm ployed in the Conquest of this new World, as if God, who had that great Work for them to doe, had endued them with abilities of body and mind proportioned to fo great an enterprize; for if the very Journey it felf through those unknown parts with peace and quietness, were a matter of labour and hardship; how much Arms But in reality, it was the Divine Affistence which co-operated with the Proweß of these Heroes; for without such a miraculous concurrence, humane power could never have attained to fuch mighty Atchievements. Thus we have mentioned something of the Activity of Alvarado; but his Acts and Monuments of his Valour are recorded in the Histories which write of Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru, though not so fully as his great Worthiness deserved.

Moreover, he was so comely a Person both Walking, and on Horse-back, that returning one time from Mexico into Spain, to clear himself of some Asperions which his envious Adversaries had charged upon him; and coming, as his duty was, to kis the Emperour's hands, and render him an account of his Services: His Majesty being then at Aranjaez, in one of the Walks of that Garden, and seeing Don Pedro with a manly gate, and handsome Air coming towards him, asked who he was? and being told that it was Alvarado; This Man, said the Emperoup, bath not the sastion and meen of a person that can be guilty of such altions as are charged upon him: And so acquitting him of all the calumnies with which he was slaundered, he gave him his hand to kiss, and received him to savour.

It was upon this Voyage when he returned a Married Man into New Spain, and carried with him feveral young Ladies for Wives, to those who had conquered that Countrey, and were fetled there in good Houses with riches and prosperity that Country, and at Huahutimallan, was there received with great joy of the people, and in his own House, with Balls and Dances, which continued for mapeople, and it has over though, what had banked, which continued for many Days and Nights. It happened that one day, when all the Conquerours were ny Days and Pognis. It happened that one day, when an the Conquerours were fate in the great Hall, to behold the Dancing; and that the Ladies were also looking out of the Jealoufies, or Latices, where, after the modelt fathion of Spain, they remained unseen: One of them said to the others, What, are these the Conquerours with whom we are to Marry? What, faid another, with these Old rotten fellows? Let those Marry with them that will, for my part, I will have none of them; the Devil take them, for they look as if they had been come from Hell; for some of them are Cripples, others Lame and Maimed 3 Some without Ears, others with one Eye, or half a Face, and the best of them hath been slashed and hacked over and over again. No, replied the other, we are not to Marry them for their good Looks, but to inherit the Estates they have gained ; for ther being old, and worn out, are to dye quickly, that we may Marry again, and chuse what song brisk fellow we please, as if we were to change an old Kettle for a new Pot. One of thele Old Gentlemen standing near these Ladies, and not seen by them, overheard all this discourse; and not enduring the scorn with which they treated these Old fellows, he replied upon them with affrontive terms, and high indignation. and told all that he had heard unto the company ; faying, Marry with them who will for me ; and Ill warrant you they will well reward your kindness to them. Having said thus much, he returned home, and prefently fent for the Parson, and Married his Indian Woman, who was of Noble Birth, and on whom he had already begot two or three Children; which he made legitimate, that they might inherit his Plantations and Estate, rather than that Gallant, whom the Lady should chuse to enjoy the fruits of his labours, and make fervants and flaves of his Children. There have been some few in Peru, who have followed his example, and Married Indian Women; but the most part have yielded to the pleasure and counsel of the Lady. The Children of these Conquerours can by experience tell us the truth of this matter, and in the Alms-houses, where they now remain, may lament the loss of their Inheritances, acquired by their Fathers Toils and Valour, and enjoyed by Strangers and Aliens, not related either to Father or Mother. In the beginning of thole times, when an Indian Woman had brought a Child to a Spaniard; all the whole family of that Woman were devoted, and fwore themfelves flaves and fervants to that Spaniard, worthipping and adoring him as their Idol, because he had entered into an affinity with them; and hereby they became very usefull to the Spaniards in their Conquest of the Indies. It was one of the Laws made by the Conquerours of the new World, That every one should enioy the Lands which were divided to him for two Lives, that is, for his own and his Son's life; and in case he had no Ghild, then the Spanish Wife was to come into the Inheritance, and barred all the natural Children, as if the Lady had contributed more towards the Conquest, than the Indian Mothers: by which means itcame often to pass, that the fine Ladies changed their old Husbands for young

CHA'P.

#### CHAP. II.

Of the difficulties and dangers which Don Pedro de Alvarado and his Companions sustained in their Voyage.

This brave General Don Pedro de Alvarado was accompanied with many other worthy Gentlemen of Quality; in which number was Garcitasso de la Vega, my Lord and Father, whom Cieça de Leon calls Captain Garcitasso; and in the 42d Chapter of his Book uses these words: "General Don Pedro de Alvarado was accompanied with Diego, Gómez, and Alonso de Alvarado, which latter is now Ma." reschal in Pern, as also with Captain Garcitasso de la Vega, John de Sauvedra, Gomez de Alvarado, and other Persons of Quality, and arrived at a place near to the Quarters of Diego de Almagro; upon which such contests and quartels arose between the two Parties, that it was feared, that matters would have broken out into an open desiance, &c. Thus sar are the Words of Cieça; where it is observable, that he onely calls Garcitasso de la Vega Captain, and the other Gentlemen; with all whom I had a personal acquaintance, unless it were with Pedro, and Diego de Alvarado. In their passage by Sea from Nicaragha to Phanh Viejo, they suffered much for want of Water, and other Provisions; for upon a belief or supposition, that the Voyage would not be long; and being in geat haste to depart, they omitted to take Aboard all those things which were necessarily for their Voyage. The like want both of Victuals and Water, they suffered after they were Landed, as will appear by the Relations of the Accountant Agastin de Carate, and the Priest Lopez de Gomera, both which agree in the same Narative, onely with this difference about the value or price of the Horse which they were forced to kill in the Journey, wherewith to give food to their Ma. Wherefore I have thought fit to set down the Words of Gomera in the 117th Chapter of his Book; wherein he briefly touches on all the particular Labous and Difficulties which Don Pedro and his Companions endured in this Expedition; part of which are as solloweth:

"The Riches of Peru being published in all parts, Pedro de Alvarado obtaineda " Commission from the Emperour to discover and plant Colonies in those Countries, which were not as yet inhabited by any Spaniards: And in the first place " he dispatched Garci Holguin with two Vessels to discover the Countrey, and bring intelligence of what had lately passed in those parts. Holguin soon after returned with great commendations of the Countrey, and with mighty admiration of the vast Riches which were taken and seized by the Imprisonment of Atabaliba, reporting also that Cozco and Quin, a Countrey not far from Potolic ejo, were extremely rich. Upon this advice they resolved to sail thinker, and accordingly in the year 1535, they armed out five Ships, and embarked there upon four hundred Spaniards, and many Horfes. With these Alvarado Landed in Puerto Viejo, and marched towards Quitu, enquiring always for the way, until they came to certain great Plains, encompassed with very losty Mountains. " where they had all perished for want of Water, had they not by chance lighted " upon a fort of Canes, which were filled with Water; and to fatisfie their hunger, they are the Flesh of their Horses, which they were forced to kill, though they were worth above a thousand Ducats a Horse; though Carate saith, that every Horse was worth about four or five thousand pieces of Eight Spanish Mo ney; and truly I think, that this was the most probable value, because I head fo much in Perm. The Volcano of Quitn (which is a burning Mountain) threw up such quantities of Ashes by a terrible irruption which continued for many " days, that all the Earth was covered with them for above eighty Leagues round; and when it burns with its fierceness, such flames ascend from it, that they may be feen at a hundred Leagues diftant, and make fuch a noife, that they alfonith more than Thunder and Lightning: They were forced also to Fell the Woods "to make a paffage: They paffed also several snowy Mountains and Desarts, (a thing very strange so near the Equinoctial) in that cold Countrey sixty of their thing very strange so near the Equinoctial) in that cold Countrey sixty of their people were frozen to death; so that when they were escaped from the Snows, they returned hearty thanks to God, who had delivered them from that dandering they returned hearty thanks to God, who had delivered them from that dandering they stayed all the Gold and Silver to the pit of Hell, which had enticed grain tempted them to a condition of staving both with cold and hunger. Thus sar are the Words of Gomara; and then Carate proceeds, and says, "Thus did they travel without hope, or comfort, or power to succour one the other; did they travel without hope, or comfort, or power to succour one the other; with him, finding them so tired and weary, that they could travel no farther, with him, finding them so tired and weary, that they could travel no farther, one himself able to carry them; he sate down with them to take some repose, during which time they were all frozen to death; and though the Man could have escaped, yet such was his compassion to his Wise and Children, that he would rather perish with them, than forsake them in that condition. With swould rather perish with them, than forsake them in that condition. With such abour and difficulty as this they passed the snowy Mountain, rejoycing such when they had got over to the other side. Thus far are the Words of much when they had got over to the other side. Thus far are the Words of much when they had got over to the other side. Thus far are the Words of much when they had got over to the other side. Thus far are the Words of the such was the first spanish woman which came to Peru, should thus most unhappy fate, that the first spanish Woman which came to Peru, should thus most missensible perish.

Royal Commentaries.

miferably perish.

As to the five hundred Men which these Authours account to have been with As to the five hundred Men which these Authours account to have been with Mourado, I have been informed from several that were with him; that they were no less than eight hundred Spaniards; perhaps they might be no more than five nundred that came from Nicaragua, and that when they were landed in Peru, other hundred that came from Nicaragua, and that when they were landed in Peru, other recruis might join with them; so that in the Plains of Rivecpampa, where Alwarado, rand Diego da Almagro entered into Articles of Consederacy together, they might arise to the number of eight hundred: But another Historian makes a difference of three years time between these matters, but that is not much to our purpose. As to the Canes in which they found the Water, called Tpa, they are common.

As to the Canes in which they found the Water, called Tpa, they are commonly as big as a Man's leg or thigh, though the end of them is not thicker than the finger of a Man's hand: they grow in no other than in hot Countries, where they make use of them to Thatch their Houses: The information they had of the Water was from the people of the Countrey, who guided them to the Canes, some of the which contained fix Gallons of Water, and some more, according to the bigness which contained fix Gallons of Water, and some more, according to the bigness of them, which is proportionable to their height. Angustine Carate in the 10th Chapter of his second Book, writing the Journal of this Don Pedro de Alvarado, gives this description of the Canes: "In this Journey, saith he, they endured "much hunger, and greater thirst; for such was their want of Water, that had "now not met with Groves or Thickets of Canes, which yielded good and whole" some Water, they had all perished. These Canes are commonly about the bigness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, "ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water," ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, "ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water," ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, "ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water," ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, "ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water," ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water, "ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which contained about a quart of Water," ness of a Man's leg, every knot of which was their want of Water nor Springs in that dy "having a natural propriety to imbibe or fuck in the nightly Dews which fall "having a natural propriety to im

#### CHAP. III.

How the Body of Atahualpa was carried to Quitu; and of the Treason of Rumminavi.

GO soon as Don Francisco Piçarro, and Don Diego de Almagro had buried Atalus, they travelled to Cozeo, visiting in their way thither, that very rich Temple, which was situated in the Valley of Pachacamae; from whence they carried away all the Gold and Silver which Hernando Piçarro had lest behind, not having been able to take it with him. From thence they proceeded to Cozeo, in which Journey, though they had many steep and craggy Mountains, many swift Torrents and deep Rivers to pass, yet they met no very great difficulty, but that onely which we shall hereafter relate.

And thus leaving them on their way, let us return to the General Challenchima, and other Captains of Atabuaipa, who joyned themselves with the Nobles of the Gourt, and other principal persons, who remained in Cassamara. So soon as the Spaniards were departed from that Province on their Journey to Corco, the badians took up the Body of their King, and according to his Command transported it to Quien, where they interred it with such decency as became the Burial of a Prince, and yet with such little pomp, as was agreeable to a conquered people, that had yielded to the subjection of a foreign and stranger Nation.

Remainavi seemed the most forward of any both to receive the Body of the King, and to Embalm it, though already corrupted, and tending to putrefaction; and in the mean time he secretly made Levies, and prepared a way to set by himself in the Government, dissembling all respect and obedience to Quillifier cha, the Brorher of Atabuaspa 3 and that he might try in what thanner his mild should affected to Rule and Dominion, he persuaded him to bind his head with a coloured Wreath, if he were desirous to revenge the Death of his Brothstall which Rummismavi uttered with design to blind the understanding of Quillifier chan, and cover his plots and evil intentions, until he could bring his affairs to maturity; but to this persuadion Quillificacha resused to hearken, saying. That the Spaniards would not easily quit their Empire 3 and in case they would, yet relevisers so many Sons of Huanna Capac surviving, who were ready to lay their claim to the Government, and had a better right and title to it than himself; that some or other of them would adventure to assume the Government; and that the people would appear in vindication of the just title and cause of the undoubted Heir, for whose sufferings by the late unhappy Wars and Miseries they had a true sense and compassion.

This prudent and cautious Answer of Quillifeacha did not alter the sinister designs and intentions of Rumminavi, for being both a Tyrant and Barbarous, he resolved to proceed, and set up his own interest, telling his samiliar friends in their private discourses with him, that according to the Practices and Examples which he had seen, the right to Rule and Govern belonged to the strongest; for that he who could wrest the Power into his own hands, and kill his Master, as Atahualpa had Murthered his Brother, and as the Spaniards had Atahualpa; the same had title sufficient to constitute himself Chief and Supreme Lord. Rumminavi remaining firm in this principle, and resolute in this design, made great preparations to receive Atahualpa, assembling the people together under pretence of performing the funeral Obsequies of their late Inca; the which Solemnity, though formerly continued for the course of a year, was now concluded within the space of sifteen days. At the end of which, Rumminavi judging not fit to let passo.

fair an opportunity whereby to compass his designs; for that fortune having put into his hands all those whom he intended to kill, as namely the Sons and Brother of Atahnaspa, the chief Captain Challeuchima, with many other Captains and Lords then present, he resolved to execute his bloudy purpose. To which end he invited all the great Persons there present to a Dinner, that being together they might treat of affairs, and consider of the way and means how to secure and defend themselves from the Spaniards; he also nominated Quilliscatha for

Royal Commentaries.

Vice-king, or Regent, in the Kingdom of Quitu, during the Minority of the elder Son of Atahualpa, who was as yet but an Infant.

The Captains and Curacas accordingly affembled in the Palace of the Inca. where many things were proposed, but nothing determined: At length Dinner was brought in, which was very fumptuous, having been provided at the coft and charge of Rumminavi. Dinner being ended, and the Meat taken away, the Drink was brought in, which they call Sara, and in other Tongues Wignamy, which, as we have faid, is a fort of Liquour forbidden by the Indian Kings upon pain of Death; for that on a fudden it feizes the spirits, and intoxicates in such manner, that such as drink it remain (as it were) dead for fome time, and without fense. Acofta faith, that it inebriates much foner than Wine. For though of their common liquour they make great quantities, yet this immediately intoxicates. So foon as Rumminavi perceived these Captains and Curacas belotted, and stupisted with this Liquour, he fell to his work, and cut all their throats; amongst which was Ghallenchima, Quilliscacha, and all the Sons and Daughters of Arabuaipa, not leaving one alive that was capable to oppose his defign. And to create a greater terrour of himself in the minds of the people for he pretended not to be obeyed for love, but for dread and fear, he flead off the Skin of Quillifeacha, and therewith covered a Drum, the Skin of the head hanging to it, that so like a good Scholar and Officer of his Master Ata-hualpa, he might appear with all the Ensigns, and marks of tyranny and cruelty. Carate mentions onely, in short, this barbarous Cruelty. Peter de Cieca saith, that Francisco Pigarro burnt Challenchima in Sacsahuanna, but this was not the Challeuchima whom we mean, but a Kinfman of his of that Name, but of less fame and renown. He also adds, that the General Chalkuchima was prefent at the Death of Atahnalpa, and that he carried his Body to Quitu, as before related, and that he was afterwards Murthered there by the hands of his own people.

## CHAP. IV.

Rumminavi takes all the Select Virgins of a Convent and Buries them allive.

TWO Spanish Historians treating of the Cruelties of Rumminavi, specific amongst the rest, one of the most barbarous pieces of inhumanity that ever was committed: They fay, that when Rumminavi came to Quitu, where enterrain. " ing some discourse with the Women, he said to them, Cheer up, and be mern, "for the Christians are now coming with whom you may foliace your fetues, at which fome of the Women happening innocently to laugh, thinking no hurt he spoiled "their iest, and cut their throats, and burnt down the Closet or With drawing. " room of Atahualpa: These are the words of one of the Writers, and the other agrees with him in the same sense. But the truth of the story is this: The Tvrant one day went to visit the Convent of those who are called the Select Virgins, with intention to chuse out from those Women who were there placed, and feparated for the use of Atabualpa, some of the most beautifull and pleasing to his fancy, in regard that he being declared King, all the Women, Estate, and Riches of his Predecessour devolved to him with the possession of the Kingdom. Difcourfing one day with these Ladies concerning the present state, and successes of affairs, he described the behaviour and Habit of the Spaniards, whose Bravery and Valour he extolled to a high degree, faying, That it was no shame to fly from their irrefiftible fury; that they were a strange fort of people with Beards in their faces, and were mounted upon creatures called Horses, which were so strong and fierce, that a thousand Indians were not able to withstand the violence of one of them, and with the swiftness of his carriere was so terrible as to rout, and put them all to flight. He added farther, That the Spaniards carried Thunder and Light ning with them, by which they could kill the Indians at two or three hundred Paces diftant from them, and that they were armed with Iron from head to foot. In fine, after he had described them with high admiration, he said, that they wore a certain kind of Codpiece, like a Box wherein to inclose their Genitals; it is to be supposed, he meant the Codpiece to the Breeches, (used in the days of Our Henry the Eighth) which was a fashion neither modest nor usefull. The Women hearing the latter part of the Story, burst out heartily into a laughter, suppofing that they had rather pleafed than angred Rumminavi therewith: but he on the contrary interpreting their laughter to be an effect of unchast and dishonest defires, and that they would joyn and concur with the Spaniards when occasion of fered, he was transported with such rage, that it broke forth into this surious language: Ah wicked Whores and Traytoresses, if onely with talk of the Spaniards you are so pleased, what would you doe and att with them, if they were present? But I shall take care to spoil your sport and passime with them. So soon as the words were out of his mouth, he immediately commanded his Officers to take and carry all the Women, as well the young as the old, to a stream of water which runs by the City, and to execute upon them the same punishment which their Law inflicts, which is to bury them alive; according to the Sentence they were carried thither, and there interred alive under great heaps of stones, which were thrown upon them from certain Mountains and Rocks, which lye on both fides the River. Thus did this barbarous Tyrant discover more unhumane cruelty, and relentless howels, by this Murther committed on poor filly Women, who knew nothing but how to Knit and Weave, than by his bloudy treachery practifed on flout Souldies, and Martial Men; and what farther aggravates his crime, was, that he was there present to see the execution of his detestable Sentence, being more pleased with the objects of his cruelty, and his eyes more delighted with the fad and difinal fight of fo many perifhing Virgins, than with any other prospect or colous which could have been presented before his view. Thus ended these poor Virgins, dying onely for a little feigned laughter, which transported this Tyrant beyond his senses: But this villany passed not unpunished; for after many other Ourages he had committed, during the time of his Rebellion, against the Spaniards, and after some Skirmishes with Sebastian Belascagar, who was sent to supers him, as we shall hereaster relate; and after he had found by experience, that he was neither able to resist the Spaniards, nor yet by reason of his detestable cruckies to live amongst the Indians; he was forced to retire with his Family into the Mountains of Antia, where he suffered the sate of other Tyrannical Usingers, and there most miserably perished.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. V.

Of two Skirmishes between the Indians and the Spaniards.

THE Governour Don Pedro de Piçarro, and his fellow Souldiers, which with the recruits that Almagro brought with him, made up the number of about three hundred and fifty Spaniards, marched careledy towards, Cocco, and with such fecurity, as if they had no Enemy to encounter, and as if the whole Kingdom had been their own, travelling from one Town to another, as in their own Couninduced their own, traveling from one fown to another, as in their own Country, without fear or apprehension of any thing. Capite in the 8th Chapter of his fecond Book, touches on this particular, and relates a brave Exploit performed by the Indian Captains, as we shall see hereafter, though he varies something from others in their Names. The Inca Tith Alanchi, Brother of Atahnaha, seeing the King a Prisoner, and his Ransome agreed, travelled into divers parts of the Kingdom to collect all the Gold and Silver he was able, that therewith he might purchase the freedom of his Brother; and being returned as far as Cassamarca with valt riches in Gold and Silver, he received news of the Death of his Brother, and that the Spaniards were departed for Cozeo, and securely travelling on their way thither in no order or posture to receive an Enemy: the which when Titu Attachi had heard and confidered, he disburthened himfelf of his Riches; and ha ving gathered and joyned what forces he could in a Body, he purfued the Spaniand as far as to the Province Huayllas, and amongst the people called Totto, where with fix thousand Men he made an affault upon the Spaniards, and took eight of them Prisoners, who were as yet in their Quarters, amongst which was Sancho de Coulder, who was the Clerk that drew up the Indictment and Sentence of Death against Anahualpa. Carate touches upon this passage, and says it was Quizquiz that did this Exploit, but he miftakes one for the other, and makes no mention of any taken. Whilst matters passed thus in Huayllas, the Spaniards had another Skirmish with the Indians, who were Commanded by Major-General Quizquiz, one of the most famous Captains belonging to Atahnalpa, of whom we have already made mention: For he having at Cozco received advice that his King was taken and made a Prifoner, marched with his Squadron, confifting of eleven or twelve thousand Men towards Cassamarca, to endeavour either by fair or foul means the releasement of his Inca; but meeting with the Spaniards on his march thither, he engaged with them, and fought a front Battel, which Historians relate in thort and confusedly, but much in favour of the Spaniards. The truth of what passed is this: Quixquiz having understood by his Scouts, that the Spaniard were approaching, and that they marched careless, and without order, he laid an Ambuscade within the Woods and Rocks; and having ranged his Men in a half circle, he attacqued them in the Rere with such bravery, that four Spaniar ds were wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded, and ten or twelve Indians, their Servants, were killed. The Gowere wounded in the Van-guard, being Allarum'd at the furprize of his Servants.

Rere, detached two Captains of Horse for the succour and relief of them, supposing that the Indians upon fight of the Horse would immediately run, and he but to flight, as formerly they had done in Cassamarca, where they abandoned and forfook their King. So foon as the Horse came up to the Station of Quit. anice he made a feigned retreat to certain Rocks and Mountains, where the Horse could not pass, nor doe any service, continuing still a defensive Fight, as they retired, entertaining the Spaniards with a Skirmish for the space of three hours. by which time their Horles became faint and tired; of which the Indian taking advantage, fallied forth with that whole Body, which by the Command and Conduct of Quizquiz were lodged within the Rocks and Mountains; and affailed the Spaniards with such fury, that they killed seventeen of them; though a certain Historian mentions onely five or fix, besides some that were wounded and others taken Prisoners, and the rest escaped by the swiftness of their Horses. Of the Indians seventy were slain; those that were taken, were Francisco de Cha. ves, who was one of the Chief Commanders; Pedro Gonçales, who was after wards an Inhabitant of Truxillo, Alonfo de Alarson, Hernando de Haro, Alonfo de Hojeda, who fome years afterwards fell into fo deep a melancholy, that he lost his fenses and understanding, and died in Truxillo; also Christopher de Horozco, Native of Seville; John Diaz, a Gentleman of Portugal, besides several others of less account, whose Names time hath abolished. Alonso de Alarcon was taken by the fall of his Horfe, with which his Leg was broke flort off at the Knee; and though the bone was afterwards fet by the *Indians*, who took great care of him, and of the others who were wounded, yet he remained lame for ever

Quizquiz having gained this advantage, like an experienced Captain, would not flay untill the remainder of the Spanish Forces were come up, but retreated with his people towards Cassamarca, to meet with Tith Atanchi, Brother of the late King, who (as he had heard) was on his march: And to cut his way as short as he could, he passed a great River, and then burnt the Bridge, because it was made of Oliers, that so the Spaniards might not be able to follow in the purfuit of them.

Having met with the Inca Atauchi, they both agreed to return to Cassanna there to consider of Affairs, and to treat of those things which might conduce to the common good, and welfare of the people; and to accordingly they pro-

ceeded.

CHAP.

### CHAP. VI.

The Indians put Cuellar to Death, and enter into Articles with the other Prisoners.

SO foon as the Inca Titu Atauchi, and Quizquiz, were entred into Cassamarca with the Spaniards their Prisoners, they examined the Indians concerning the Death of their King Atahualpa; and being informed that Cuellar had been Clerk, and drawn up the Indictment, and made all the Process against Atabualpa, and had been present to see their King executed: And being likewise informed that Francis de Chaves, and Hernando de Haro, and others then Prisoners, had appeared in favour of Inca Atahuaipa, and that they interceded for his Life and Liberty with fuch heat and earnestness, that they adventured their own lives in his cause: Upon which full hearing and information of the matter, Titu Atauchi, and Quizquiz, and the other Captains, refolved that the Clerk Cuellar for his bold attempt on the Life of their King, and for having notified the Sentence, should be put to death in the same form and manner as their King was executed. But as to the other Spaniards, out of respect to Francis de Chaves, and Hernando de Haro, who had appeared in favour of their Inca, order was given for their Cure, and that they should be well treated, and civilly used; and that being recovered of their wounds, they should be dismissed with freedom and presents. According to this determination the Counsels were executed; for Cueltar being taken out from the very Prison where Atahualpa had been lodged, and being carried to the very same place of Execution, with a Cryer before him, Proclamation was made as followeth: The Pachacamac commands that this Auca, which signifies as much as Tyrant, Trayter, &C. and all those who have had a hand in the Marther of our late Inca, should be put to death. Not that this form of a Cryer was according to the use of their Countrey, but onely in imitation and revenge of what had been done to their Inca, and accordingly Cutlar was tied and strangled at the very same Post at which Atabusapa had been Executed; with which a shout was made, Thue may all thy Compawass perifly. Cuellar being dead, they left his body exposed the whole day to common view, and towards the Evening buried ic, imitating in all particulars the forms used by the Spaniards in Execution of Atahualpa. But as to Francis de Chava, and his other Companions, fo foon as they were cured of their wounds, and wee in a condition to travel, they bellowed on them Presents of Gold, and Silver, and Emeralds, and dispatched them away with several Indians to carry them on their shoulders: But first they capitulated with them, as Representatives for the other Spaniards, and agreed on several Articles of Peace and Friendship: the principal of which were these: "That all the Acts of War, and Hostility, and Injuries hitherto committed on either side, shall cease, and be pardoned, and injuries hitherto committed on either side, shall cease, and be pardoned, and " forgotten. That for the future a Peace shall be established between the Spaniard and the Indians, and that they shall offer no hurt or damage to each other. That the Spaniards shall not deprive Manco Inca of his Empire, because it is his right to Govern, being lawfull Heir. That the Indians and Spaniards in all their Commerce and Negotiations shall treat amicably together, and afford help and succour each to the other. That the Spaniards shall fet those Indians at liberty, whom they hold in Chains, and that for the future they shall put none of them into Irons, but freely to tife them in their fervice. That the Laws made by the palt Incas, in favour, and for the benefit of their people, and which are not repugnant to the Christian Law, shall be conserved inviolably in their force and virtue. That the Governour Don Francisco de Picarro shall in a convenient time fend these Capitulations into Spain to be there ratified and confirmed by his Im-Perial Majesty. All which the Indians, as well as they were able, gave to understand unto Francis de Chaves, partly by figns, and partly by words, which were interpreted by

BOOK IL.

by the Indians, who were Servants to the Spaniards, and had been taken with them and whom Time Atauchi taught and inftructed word by word, that fo having the matter well inculcated to them, they might be better able to utter and express his matter well menicated to them, they might be better able to utter and express his meaning. The Spaniards observing the great generofity with which they were treated by Titu Anachi, and his people; and that when they were Prisones to them, and lay at their mercy, and that they might have proceeded against them as guilty of the Murther of their King, and Disturbers of the common peace and quiet of their Nation; yet then on the contrary they strankly restored them unto their liberty with Prefents of Gold, Silver, and pretious Stones, dispeeding them away with attendance to carry them, and with other Accommodation for their toprney: In fine, when they confidered all this, and the reasonable Articles and Terms which the *Indians* proposed, they could not but admire, and remain confused at the peaceable and quiet disposition of the *Indians*: Moreover, when contined at the peaceanie and quiet emporition of the mains. Moreover, when they were under cuffody, and in hourly expectation of Death, and had time, as Men, to reflect on their prefent condition, they much lamented their remifiels, and want of care to instruct the Indians in the Doctrine of the Gospel; howso ever, refolving for the future to make amends for that default, and being embold. ned by the gentle temper of the Indians, they adventured to ask leave, that they might demand onely two things from them: To which the Indians replied. That whatfoever they should require, should readily be granted. Hereupon Francis de Chaves faid, that he did in the Name of the Governour, and all the Spaniards. require that the *Incus*, and all their Captains and Lords, should receive the Law of the Christians, and consent, that it should be freely preached in all pages of their Empire. Secondly, That whereas the *Spaniards* being Strangers and Alions in that Countrey, had neither Servants nor Lands to ferve and maintain them; that a substituence should be granted to them, as to the Natives of the Kingdom, that Indian Men and Women may be allowed to serve them, not as Slaves, but as hired Servants. To which answer was made, That as to what concerned the Law of the Christians, they did not onely not reject it, but did earnestly intrest them immediately to fend to the place where the Governour refided, defiring him with all convenient speed to furnish them with such Preachers and Priests, as might inftruct them in those Precepts and Principles which were necessary for them to know, promifing for their parts to treat and use them kindly, and with fuch honour and reverence, as if they were Gods; for they were well affired from the teltimony of their late Inca Husyna Capac, that the Law of the Spaniard was much better than their own; and though they had no other reason to entertain such a belief, than the bare recommendation of their Inca, yet that was so prevalent, as to engage them to all obedience, ufefulness and service towards the Spaniards; the truth of which had been evidenced by their Inca Atabuatpa, had he been suffered to live, yet he had sealed this sincere obedience with his bloud; and therefore they might be confident they could ask nothing but what would be granted to their fatisfaction. The Covenants which were this agreed, were by their Historiographers recorded on their Knots; and licence being given to the Spaniards to depart, they took their farewell, and being laden with Prefents, and accompanied with a numerous Attendance, they proceeded on their Journey in fearch of their Governour. And as they were on their way, Francisco de Chave, and his Companions, being confidering Men, fell into discourse concerning the late passages; and reflecting thereupon, they were of opinion, that the words and actions of that people were fo well agreeing to reason, as did not savour of the Gentilism and Barbarity in which they were nurtured, but were Miracles of the divine inspiration insused into the Souls of that people, disposing their minds to receive the Doctrine of the Gospel with ease and readiness; on which encourage ment they resolved to persuade the Governour, and the other Spaniards, to send Millionaries to that intent and purpole into those parts: And though they were all generally of the fame mind in this particular, yet the Devil, who is the common enemy of Mankind, endeavoured by all his wiles and artifices to obfine the convertion of those *Indians*; the which in a great measure he effected by the aid and affiltence of his diligent Ministers the feven mortal Sins, which being in those times of liberty let loose, greatly prevailed, committing all those outsides. geous Villanies which might bring a diffepute on the profession of the Gospel. Hence arose those Wars, which in a short time after were waged between the Indians and the Spaniards, occasioned by perfidiousness and non-performance of the Articles, for that Pride would not stoop, nor consent to a restitution of the Kingdom to his proper and lawfull Matter. Afterwards Anger prevailed, and railed War between the two Companions Pigarro and Almagro; which being maintained by Envy and Emulation, one not supporting the greater power of the maintained by Envy and Emulation, one not supporting the greater power of the other, continued untill both of them perifhed in a competition for Authority, for Almagra was killed by the Brother of Picarra, and so was Picarra slain by the Son of Almagra. These Wars were followed by others between that good Governour of Annager, Trick With whom I was acquainted at Madrid in the year 1562,) and Don Diego de Almagro Junior 3, for Pride, which is the Mother of Diffention, was fo prevalent in the mind of this Youth, that having neither a Spirit to fubrit to his Lord and Sovereign, nor Power to maintain his Dominion, he perished in his nis Lord and Sovetoning in 17 Siver to manual raised a War between the Vice-king folly. Soon after Covetousness and Tyranny raised a War between the Vice-king Blaco Numez Vela, and Gonçalo Piçarro; the which in a few years after was followed by Stirs and Combustions between Don Sebastian de Castilla, and Francisco Hernandez Giron, occasioned by Gluttony and Luxury. All which Wars succeeding one after the other, for the space of twenty five years, were raised by the malice and contrivance of the Devil, as we shall demonstrate in their due place, and were great obstructions to the propagation of the Gospel; for by reason of continual disturbances, neither the Priests could freely Preach, nor had the Infidels leifure nor convenience to receive the Doctrine of Faith, being under the continual amazements of Fire and Sword, and other miferies; in which the Indian had a greater thate than the Spaniards, being oppreffed by both fides, and compelled to fupply both Gamps with Provisions, and carry the burthens for them on their shoulders with wonderfull patience and labour 3 of which I my felf have in part been an Eye-witness.

### CHAP. VII.

Of the Entrance of the Spaniards into Cozco, and of the great Treasure which they found there.

So soon as the Inca Titu Atauchi had dispeeded Francisco de Chaves and his Companions with the aforesaid Capitulations, he sent an Express Messenger to Inca Manco Capac, who was his Brother by the Father's side, with advice of the Articles agreed, and of all particulars which had passed; that so being well informed of all matters, he might be provided to act and treat with the Spaniards. The General Quizquiz sent in like manner to advise him, that he should by no means disband his Army, but rather increase it, untill such time as he had wholly means disband and serled matters with the Spaniards, lest being secure, and over confident of their kindness, he should fall into the same snare, and run into the same sate which his Brother Atabuasha had already suffered.

With these Informations and Advices the Indians sent their humble Submissions to Manco Inca, acknowledging him for their Supreme Lord and King; for though they had been Enemies to him whilst he stood in competition with his Brother Atabulapa, yet that difference being now ended by his Death, all was resonciled; it being agreed at a Council of War, that the Empire should be resonciled to that person unto whom the Succession did by lawfull Inheritance appersonant: And on this soundation they resolved to unite their forces for Expulsion of the Spaniards, in case they could not live in amity with them, believing themselves much more formidable by this concord and union, than when they were divided into several Factions and Parties.

The Prince Manco Inca received the Advices of his Brother, and the Address. of Quizquiz, with much joy, being much pleafed to find that those who were his late Enemies, were now reconciled and joyned with him in his jult claim and title to the Empire. And herein he was the more fatisfied to understand, that the Spaniards concurred in the like intentions, having on all occations opening declared their inclinations to right and justice. Upon which prefumption the Inea adventured to apply himself to the Spaniards to demand Peace and Friendship, and in fimple and fincere manner to require the Government and Dominion over his Kingdom, according to the Capitulations which his Brother *Titu Atanchi* had fent to him. And here we shall leave him for a while in his preparations for such an Address, untill its due time and place, and return to our Francisco Picarro, who he ing better advised by the late damage which his people had fustained from Tive Atauchi, did now march with more caution, and less fecurity than before; so that they met no confiderable Encounters, unless a few flying Skirmishes near the Cirv of Cosco, from whence the Inhabitants fallied out to defend a Pass; but making a feeble and poor refiltence, they haltily fled to their Houses, from whence carrying away their Wives and Children, and what Stock and Goods they could collect, they retired into the Mountains, being greatly affrighted with the reports of what had fucceeded in Cassamera, for that Countrey having been subject to the power of Atahnalpa, made some refissence, being desirous, if possible, to revenge the Death of their Prince. Gomara treating of this particular passage, hath these words: "'The next day the Spaniard entred into Coxco without any opposition, "and presently they fell at work, some to unrip the Gold and Silver from the "Walls of the Temple, others to dig up the Jewels and Veffels of Plate, which "were buried with the Dead, others pillaged and rifted the Idols, and facked the Houses, and the Fortress, where still great quantities of Gold and Silver were conferved, which had been there amaffed and laid up by Guarna Capac. In fhort, there was more Gold and Silver found in this City, and in the parts about it, than what was produced at Caxamalea, by the ransome of Atabaliba: How foever, the particular share belonging to every individual person did not amount unto fo much as the former Dividend, by reason that the number was greater which was to partake thereof; nor was the fecond fame so loud as the first, which published the Triumph of Riches with the Imprisonment of a "King. A certain Spaniard entering into a Vault, found there an entire Sepul-" chre of Silver, fo thick and maffy, that it was worth fifty thousand pieces of Eight; others had the fortune to find fuch as were of less value, for it was the custome of rich Men of those Countries to be buried in this manner up and down the Fields, and there to be laid in State like fome Idol: Nor were the Spaniards contented with this prize, but still thirsting after greater Riches, were hot in the pursuit of the Treasures of Huayna Capac, and of others hidden by the ancient Kings of Cozco, but neither then, nor afterwards, were any of those " Treasuries known; howsoever they tortured and vexed the poor todians with le " vere usage and cruelties, to shew and discover to them the rich Sepulches. Thus far are the Words of Gomara, extracted verbatim from the 124th Chapter of his Book. Carate in the 8th Chapter of his fecond Book, speaking of some Spaniards, who went in pursuit of an Indian Captain, faith as follows: "And not being able to meet with him, they returned to Cozco, where they found a greater prize both of Gold and Silver, than that in Canamalca; all which the "Governout divided amongst his people. Thus far are the Words of Carate.

And now I suppose by these Authorities, it hath been sufficiently proved; that the Riches which the Spaniards found in Cocco, were greater than those taken in Cassamarea; and to acquit my self in the truth of what I relate, I am pleased to cite, or quote, the Spanish Historians, and to specific their Names, left I should feem like the Magpye, to deck my self with borrowed feathers.

But to return now to those Treasures, which, as Gomera mentions, were discovered by the Spaniards under ground both in Cocco, and in the parts adjacent: It is certain, that for the space of seven or eight years after the Spaniards had remained in quiet possession of that Empire, several Treasures were discovered both within and without the City; and particularly within the Precincs of that Palace called Amurucancha, (which upon the division made, sell to the lot of Antonio Altamirano) and where it happened that a Horse galloping round a Court

vard of that Palace, strook one of his feet into a hole, which they supposed at hift to be some old Sink, or drain for Water from the House; but looking more narrowly, they found the hole opening to a Jar of Gold, weighing above two hundred pounds weight, for the *Indians* make greater, or lefs, of thefe, as their occasions require, using them to boil their Drink and Liquous in. With this occasions require, they found others of Gold and Silver; and though they were not fo bige, yet they were valued at above eighty thousand Ducats. Moreover, in the large, yet they were valued at above eighty thouland Ducats. Moreover, in the Convents of the Select Virgins, and particularly in that part which fell to the share of Pedro del Barco, and afterwards came to the possession of Hernando de Seguid, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an acquaintance; this Hernando de Seguid, who was an Apothecary, and with whom I had an acquaintance; via, who was an exponency, and with which I had an acquaintance; this Hermando altering his House, and removing some part of the soundation, sound a Treasfure of seventy two thousand Ducats, with which, and with above twenty thousand Ducars more, which he had gained by his Practice, he returned into Spain, where I faw him at Seville, where, in a few days after his Arrival, he died for mere grief and forrow that he had left Cozco, as several others have done, whom I knew in the fame condition. Hereby it is manifest, that the Treasures which the Spaniand found in that City, when they made their entrance first into it, were very confiderable, as were those also which were afterwards discovered. And it is probable, that the Riches had been much greater, had not the Indians, as we have faid in the first Part, hid them away, to conceal them from the fight of the Spaniards.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Of the Conversion of an Indian, who defined to be informed of that which was the true Law of Mankind.

THE first day that the Christians entred into the Imperial City of Conce, an extraordinary matter paffed between a Spaniard and an Indian, which was this: A certain Gentleman, who was a Native of Truvillo, called Alonfo, Ruye, toving about, and facking the City as the others did, chanced to enter into a House, from whence the Master came forth courteously to receive him; and at first speaking to him with a similing countenance in his own Language, bid him welcome, telling him, that for many days he had expected his coming, for that the Pachacamae had by Dreams and Vitions affured him, that he should not dye untill a stranger Nation should come, which should instruct him in the true Law which he was to follow. And since, said he, I have languished all my life with this desire in my heart, I am consident that you must be that person which is designed to instruct me. The Spaniard not understanding at first the words which the Indian said to him, yet he apprehended, that what he uttered was very kind, for he had learned thole two words in the Indian Language, You are very welcome, which the Spaniards express in four; and also guesting by the chearfulness of the Indian's countenance, that he was defirous of his conversation, so often as his leisure would admit, nor fo much out of a placency in his company, as for fome fober and religious end, he refolved to ftay, and take up his Lodging with the *Indian*, who, during the time of his aboad, entertained and treated him with as much kindnefs and accommodation, as his Cottage could afford. At length three or four days being paft, and the first find for the form of the form things a little fettled and quieted after the Spaniards had facked the City, Alonfo Rose went out to find Philip the Interpreter; and having found him, he returned with him to his Lodging to be better informed of what he as yet imperfectly underftood; and at first he proposed several Queries concerning his Customs, and manner of living; in answer unto which, he gave them to understand, that he had been a Man of an humble and peaceable Spirit, contented with his own formula fortune, and never offered injury or violence to his Neighbour; That he was defirous to be informed of that which was the true Law of Mankind, for that his own Law did not answer or fatisfie the many notions he had conceived in his mind of a better and a more fublime Religion. Hereupon the Spaniard endervonred in the best manner he could to instruct him in the Principles of the Ca. volled in the celt mainter is continued in the flould worthing God in the Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity: And because (as we have intimated before) that there wanted words in the *Indian* Language to express that Mystery, he advided him to keep the word *Trinity*, and the word *Credo* in his memory, for that those words would let him in unto that Faith, which the Roman Church, which is the Mother of all good Christians, doth believe and embrace. And having repeated these words often, and having to several questions made to him, answered to in the Affirmative; a Priest was called, who being satisfied in what had naffed and that the Indian defired to be a Christian, he was baptized to the great fatisfaction of all three, that is, of the Prieft, the Person baptized, and of Alonfo Royce. who was his Godfather; in a fhort time after which, the Indian ended his days with much joy and comfort, that he died a Christian. Afterwards Alosso Representation turned into Spain with fifty thousand pieces of Eight in his Purse, the which he had gained in Caffamarca, Cozco, and other parts; but being troubled with fouples of Conscience for having gained his Wealth unjustly, he applied himself to the Emperour with words to this purpose:

Most Sacred Majesty, I am one of those Conquerours of Peru, to whom a share or proportion of the spoils thereof have been divided to the Import of fifty thousand pieces of Eight, which I have brought with me into Spain; but being troubled in Conscience for these illestten goods, I come here to make restitution thereof unto your Majesty, who is Supreme Sovereign of that Empire. If your Majesty will be so bountifull as to grant me any share threat, I shall receive it as from the true Lord and Master, who hath power to make me a just and lawfull title thereunto; and if not, I shall remain contented, and believe my self unworth of your Majesty's Grace and Bounty.

The Emperour accepted the Restitution as an effect of an honest and a constitutious mind; and in lieu thereof, bestowed upon him a Revenue in see of sour hundred thousand Maravedis of yearly Rent, together with the Command or Lordship of a small Village called Marta, situate near the City of Truxillo; which now a Nephew of this Alonso Ruzz doth possess and inherit; and besides the quietness of conscience which this Rive reaped by this restitution, he also intested and improved his Estate thereby, having obtained a greater parcel of Land dan his money could have purchased, given in see to himself and his Heirs for ever, and which at present is descended and possession by his own kindred; whereas the Divisions made in the Indies were not to continue longer than for two Lives, which are almost all extinct at this time. And it is very pemarkable, that what Estate hath begin brought from the Indies, (though not arising by the Division of Lands, but by other ways) hath not continued to the third Heir; whereas this Estate of Ruis wears like Iron; and descends intailed to the right possessour, and his Heirs for ever. And so let us return to the thread of our History. V (Sand)

a. Listin

## CHAP. IX.

Don Diego de Almagro joins his Forces with Don Pedro de Alvarado, and Belalcasar to suppress Rumminavi.

Don Francisco de Piçarro, and D. Diego de Almagro, were busily employed in gathering, heaping and disposing of the Treasure which they had found in Core, and the parts thereabours, when the News came that Don Pedro de Alvarado was arrived in Peru with Commission to Govern and Command all those parts which he should conquer; that he was inforced with five hundred Men, most of which were Gentlemen of Noble Birth, and of the flower of Spain, well mounted on Horfe-back, well Armed, and well Accounted with all matters fit for War. This news possessed the minds of the Spaniards with an apprehension of galousie, that these people came to disposses them of the Riches and Wealth which they had gained; for fuch is the condition of humane nature, which can never be entirely happy, or prosperous without some mixtures of allay. Wherefore the Governour fent his companion Almagro with a hundred Spaniards to prevent the milchief which might happen; and so to defend the Sea-coast, as to obfluct their Landing, or otherwise to corrupt the Army by certain infinuations and promifes, alluring them to abandon the defign of their own Leader, and join with them in an enterprize which was already prosperous, and brought to maturity. Almagro acted according to these Instructions, but the success thereof we shall declare afterwards, being obliged first to recount other important matters which were transacted at that time; for we must know, that soon after the departure of Almagro, Francisco de Chaves, and his Companions, arrived at Cozco, giving an account unto the Governour, and the other Spaniards of the civil and generous treatment which he had received from Titn Atanchi, and his Captains, speoffing the Care, the Entertainments, and the Prefents bestowed on them, as also the Attendance and Accommodation which had been afforded them for their Journey; and also the Articles which they had entred into, in behalf of the spamards with the Indians; and, in fine, they related the methods of Justice which had been executed on Guellar with the formalities of the Cryer and Executioner.

Great was the joy which the Governour, and the others conceived to fee Franoffo de Chaves and his Companions, ( whom they had given over for loft ) to return in fafety; and more was their wonder, to understand and hear the civility and kind treatment which the Indians had used towards them; as also the Particulars of the Death of de Cuellar, being a passage very observable, that they should onely vent their anger and revenge on his fingle Person, and not onely suffer the others to escape, but to contribute to their departure with freedom and honour: But that at which the Spiniards most admired, were the Capitulations and Conditions proposed by the Indians, which evidenced a fincere desire of Peace and Friendship with the Spaniards, and a Zeal to imbrace the Doctrine of the Holy Golpel; in all which the Spaniards were defirous to agree, and comply with them; but the troubles which arose upon the coming of Don Pedro de Alvarado gave a stop to those intentions, so that there was no farther discourse of peace and quiet, or propagation of the Gospel, onely alarums and incitements to War and Cruelty were lieard, which involved the Indians and Spaniards in a mutual calamity, as will appear by the fequel of this History.

At the same time almost intelligence was brought to the Governour of the great flaughters and tyranny which Rumminavi had committed in Quitu, that he was there raifing Men against the Spaniards. To suppress which Insurrection, and punish this Tyrant, and obviate all those mischiefs which these beginnings might produce, the Governour immediately dispeeded away Captain Schaffian de Belalesgar with Horse and Poot, well provided of all things, to re-inforce Alms-379; who marching with all diligence, and with more care and watchfulness than

505

formerly, to prevent furprize, met some Encounters on the way, with certain Captains of Atahualpa of small note, who hearing of the Imprisonment of their King, had raifed fome people in a confused manner; and being but few in norm King, later factor the Mountains, to guard fome Paffes on the Rocks and Precipers, which were difficult to take. And though they had been informed of the Death of Atabualpa, yet they Disbanded not their people in expectation of Sum. mons from fome of the next of Bloud, who might require their affiftence to revenge the Murther of their King: For which reason several small Companies were feathered over the Country without Chief or Commander to Marshal or Con. dust them, which had they been united together to guard and defend those dist. cult Paffes, might have done the *Spaniards* great milchief. With this fort of Souldiers *Sebaffian de Belalcaçar* had feveral flight Skirmithes, but they quickly defered the Fight, and gave over before much hurt was done; onely CupayTupannii, which is as much as to fay, Tupanqui the Devil fought very foutly, having killed five Spaniards, and wounded fourteen, and might have cut them all to pieces, had be been supplied with force sufficient. Lopez de Gomara, who was one of his Catho. lick Majeffy's Chaplains, writing of thete Skirmithes in the 128th Chapter of his Book, calls him Captain Zopo Copagni; and Augustin Carate, who was the Emrerour's Accountant, in the 10th Chapter of his fecond Book, names him Cana Ca pagai, which comes nearest to the true word; but to give him his true Name, we must call him Cumae Yupanqui, which fignifies the handsome Yupanqui, because that when this Indian was young, he was of comely features, and of a well flaped and proportioned body; for the word Cumac, as we have mentioned in the Poetry used by the Inc.is, fignifies handsome or beautifull.

He was a natural Son of one of the Royal Bloud, his Mother was of the Kine. dom of Quitu; he was bred up with Atahualpa; and for his skilfulness in Martial affairs, merited the honour to be one of his Captains. After that Atahualhahad taken his Brother Huascar Prisoner, and committed many cruelties; this Man was a chief instrument in the execution of all his bloudy practices, and invented many exquisite torments to be inflicted on the Enemies of his Master, which could no ver enter into the head of the King, or any others to perform; following brein the custome of wicked Servants, who having neither the fear of God, nor the thame of the World before their eyes, perpetrate all Villanies to gain the god will and favour of their Masters, for which reason the Captains and Servansof Academalpa observing his cruel and diabolical nature, changed his Sir-name of Comme into that of Cupay, which fignifies the Devil. This Indian after he had made some little opposition against Sebastian de Belalcaçar, and done him what hurt he was able, retired into some obscure places unknown both to Indians and Spaniards, Howfoever it is believed, that being abhorred by the Indians for his wicked practices, and living in fear of the Spaniards, not daring to cohabit with his own people, nor trust himself with Strangers, he fled to the craggy and wild Mountains of the Ar tis, there to live and affociate with Tygers and Serpents, in such manner as other

Captains his Companions had done. From this Enterprize Belalcaçar proceeded, and came to Quitu, there to give flop to the Cruelties of Rumminavi, and to punish him; Rumminavi (as we have faid) fallied forth to meet and skirmish with him; but in all Encounters, the Indians, who were few in number, and ill disciplined, were worsted without almost any damage to the Spaniards. For this Captain, by reason of the many cruelies he had executed on his own people, having Murthered his fellow Souldiers, with the Brother and Sons of his own King, and buried the Select Virgins alive without any reason or justice, he became so hated and detested by the Indians, that none would appear on his fide against the Spaniards, though he pretended to revenue the Death of their King Atahuatpa. Thus not being able to make head against Atahuatpa, he retired with melancholy and despair into the Mountains; the which place, according to these Examples, became also a refuge to some symiards, as we shall hereafter declare.

# CHAP. X.

The hopes and fears of Almagro; he is for faken by his Interpreter; and an Agreement is made with Alvarado.

THus honest Don Diego de Almagro marching in Quest of D. Pedro de Alvarado, encountred some Skirmishes by the way with encountred some Skirmishes by the way with the Captains of Atahnalpa; but so inconsiderable they were, that they were scarce worthy to be mentioned : And in regard he had certain intelligence that Alvarado was Landed, and was marched up into the Countrey, he proceeded flowly, that he might not mis his way, or wander into parts diffant from him, of whom he went in fearch.

sebaftian de Belaleaçar, who was sent with recruits to re-inforce Almagro, having chased Rumminavi and his Captains from Quitu, proceeded with all diligence in Quest of Almagro, and having joined his Forces with him, they defeated some Squadrons of Indians, which were scattered over those Provinces. In which Enterprise they chose rather to employ themselves, than to attempt Alvarado, for knowing that he was a Man of courage, and his people flout and good Souldiers, they would willingly have declined all engagements with him, could they have come off handsomely, without shame or dishonour. In these doubtfull terms they mained, untill Alvarado approached near their Quarters, and had taken feven of their Horse which Almagro had sent for Forrage into the Countrey; but Alexardo immediately released them, so soon as he understood unto whom they belonged, and had been informed of all other matters and circumftances of these affairs, for the delign of Alvarado was not to trouble or diffurb the first Adventurers in their Conquelts of Peru, but onely to affift and join with them in their Enterprize. This generous Action of Alvarado eased Almagro in a great measure of his fears, efterning it for an evidence of Peace and Friendship: But in regard he had sent no Message by the Horse-men which he had freed, he remained doubtfull between hope and fear, not knowing what his intentions and meaning might be.

Whill Almagro remained in this thoughtfull condition, an unhappy accident increased his fears, which was the flight of his Interpreter Philip the Indian, who hearing that Albarado was nearly approached, he took occasion one night to run to him, carrying away with him a principal Cacique. When he was come to Alvarido, he informed him of the small number that was with Almagro, and that the Comacon which were with him were defired to revolt, and take his part, and to ferve him; the like Example he affured him, that the people of that Kingdom were inclinable to follow, undertaking to bring them all under his Dominion and Obedience, and in the mean time to guide him to the Camp of Almagro, where he might eafily furprize, and take him without much opposition. Though Alvarado was well pleated with the report and proposals of Philip, yet he thought not fit to follow his counsel, having a more advantageous prospect of succeeding better by another method; for he was jealous of this Indian, who having been falle, and perjured in the evidence he had given against Atabualpa, he could not believe that he would ever prove faithfull to him; for this Traytor had falfly fworn, that Maduralpa defigned to Maffacre the Spaniards; upon which testimony Sentence of Death was passed upon him: But to be short in this story; an interview was agreed upon between Don Pedro de Alvarado, and Don Diego de Almagro, and accordingly they met in the Plains of Riverpampe, which the Spaniards call Riobamba, where both Squadrons were drawn up, and remained in a pofture to engage in Battel; but when they came near to make the on-fet, both fides were touched with a natural fente of Bloud, and proximity of Alliance, being almost all of the Countrey of Estremens, to that the common Souldiers, without permission or Orders of their Generals, mixed together in common discourse, offering to each other Conditions and Articles of Deace and Amity, as it hath at other times happened between the Souldiers of Julius Cafar and Pompey, and of Fetrein: and Afranius 3 Ttt 2

for though Almagro, who was much inferiour in number, not having the fourth part of the people which Alvarado had with him, was well pleafed with the Treaty 5 vet rather than condescend to base and dishonourable terms, both he and his people were ready to dye bravely with Swords in their hands: But the Souldiese on both fides (as we have faid) being inclinable to an Accommodation, a Truce was made for twenty four hours; during which time the Generals met, and with the affiftence of the Lawyer Caldera, a Native of Seville; they agreed on feveral Articles and Conditions, as followeth: That both fides should equally share in the prize already gained, and in what should be gained for the future. That Alvarado should march with his Forces along the Coast to the Southward to make discovery of the Kingdoms and Provinces which lay on that side. That Picarro and Almagro should remain in possession of the Countries they had subdued, and and Almagro model tenant in porterior of the Counter they had modeled, and labour to secure their Conquests. And that the Souldiers both of one part, and the other, might freely pass, and travel from one Jurisdiction to another, either into the new Discoveries, or into the Countries already conquered. These are the Articles which were then published to please and gratifie the Souldiers of Alvarade, who, as Cieca, Gomara and Carate report, were composed of many Gentle men, that were apt to refent the least matter which might be ungratefull to them.

But the fecret Accord not fit to be published was this: Almagro engaged to pay unto Alvarado a hundred thousand Pesos of good Gold, (accounting sour hundred and fifty Maravedis to each Pefo) a Pefo in English money makes about a Noble. In confideration of the Souldiers Horses, and other Accourtements of War which he had brought with him, that having received this Money, he should return to his Government of Huahutimallan; and that he should swear, as afterwards he did, never more to return unto Pern, during the Life of the two Companions. Picarro and Almagro: upon which agreement both parties remained with munual

fatisfaction.

The Articles being in this manner concluded and figured, Almagro burnt the Craca alive, for having treacherously for faken his Colours, and had in the same manner dealt with Philip the Interpreter, had not Alvarado interceded in his behalf Upon which passage Gomara in the 129th Chapter of his Book, discourseth as sollows: " Almagro (faith he) did not find wherewith to pay these hundred thou fand Pesos of Gold in compliance of his obligation to Alvarado, out of the be nefit and gains of the late Acquisitions, although in Caramba there was a Tenple plated in the in-fide with Silver, which perhaps he would not take away, "untill fuch time, as either he had first procured the consent of *Picarro* thereund, or else had found some ways to dispose thereof. And so both of them proceeded together unto St. Miguel de Tangarata, but Atvarado dismissed several of his Company, suffering them to plant and settle themselves with Belalcaçar in 2011 th, conserving to himself the brayest and stoutest of his Companions. Thus far are the Words of Gomara, which I repeat and alledge his Authority for what I have declared. Of all which matters and occurrences Almagro gave intelligence to Don Francisco de Picarro.

#### XI. CHAP.

Almagro and Alvarado march together unto Cozco. The Prince Manco Inca comes to treat with the Governour, who gives him a magnificent Reception.

THE Spaniards having with mutual joy folemnized the Peace and Amity which was concluded and agreed between both Parties, the two Governours, Almago and Alvarado, (for to the laft I attribute the Title of Governour, as well as to the others, because that he was entred into the same Consederacy and League with them,) gave orders to Captain Sebalfian de Belalgacar, to return unto Quiti, for fecuning the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom; for that fome petty Commanders of the Indians roved up and down the Country, to cause Disturbances and Infurrections. This being difpatched, other matters were to be provided for, and particularly it was thought fit to raife a Fortress, and furnish it with a Garparticularly it was thought fit to rate a Fortrels, and furnish it with a Garison to defend themselves from the Spaniards, who upon the same of the vast Riches of Pern, crouded in great numbers from Panama, and Nicaragua, to take a share thereof with the present possessions; to oppose which the Garrison was provided with Men, and Arms, and Provision sufficient to defend it. As to Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, according to the Articles agreed and published, was to return unto his Ships, and sail along the Coast towards the Southward, there to return and profiles new Dominions of Kingdoms and Provinces declared that conquer and possess new Dominions of Kingdoms and Provinces, declared, that he had a mind to travail by Land, and make a vifit to the Governour Don Franoffe Pierro, and to divert himself a while in the fight and survey of those parts; the which was but a bare pretence, that he might the better colour and conceal the fecret agreement; and upon this occasion it was resolved, that Almagro should fend one of his Officers, who was called Diego de Mora, (with whom I was afterwards acquainted.) to command the Fleet in his place and stead; and accordingly Aburrado dispatched his Orders to Garciholguin, to deliver up the charge of the Fleet into the Hands of Diego de Mora, the Person commissionated and entrusted by both Parties, in regard, that according to the late Agreement, the Ships and Men, and all that belonged unto them, were to be employed in the publick Service, and defrayed at the common expence. Necessary Orders being taken herein, the two Governours proceeded on their way towards Cozco, where we shall have them in their Journey for a while, and return to the Successes of Picarro, who being left at Cozco, as vve have faid, many particulars vvere transacted by him, which we shall mention in order, that so we may keep the due Method of our History, both as to time and place.

Manco Inca, moved by the Advices which his Brother Titu Atauchi, and his Major General Quizquiz had fent to him, (as we have before specified) prepared himself to make a visit to the Governour, and to demand of him the restitution of his Empire, and performance of those Capitulations which his Brother, and the principal Nobles of his Kingdom had made, and concluded with the Spanithe principal Nobles of his Kingdom had made, and concluded with the Spanithe principal Nobles of his Kingdom had made, and concluded with his Confidents, and upon which point entring into divers Confultations with his Confidents, whether it were better to go in a peaceable and friendly manner, or attended with a strong and powerfull Army; in which matter the Counsels were much divided, fometimes being of one Opinion, and fometimes of another; though the generality followed the Advice of Quizquiz, who was of opinion, that the Inca ought to be well guarded, left his Fate thould be like to that of his Brother Arabnalpa, who trusting to the good Nature and generous Disposition of Strangers, fell into those fnares wherein he perished. But whilst they were thus in Dispute, and con-

troverting the matter, the Inca spake to them in this manner:

Sons and Brethren of mine, We are now going to demand Justice of those whom we estem for Persons who are descended from our God Viracochia, and who at their first entrance into these our Countries, declared, that it was their sole and proper Design to administer fullis to all the World; fo that I cannot imagine that they should refuse the concession and grant of that which is so just and ressonable as our Claim and Title to the Kingdom: for if these bear ple are of the true Race and Off-spring of the Sun, as our Foresathers were, who tanoh w Truth for a Principle, and that our Actions are to Square and correspond with our ward. and Promises, then certainly they cannot deny what they have so solemnly engaged to berform. for if they do, why should we longer esteem them Godlike, or to have any thing of Divinits in them, who so palpably disown it by their Tyranny and falseness? For my part, I would rather confide in the Reason and Instice of our Cause, than in our Power and Arms; for if they be, as they pretend, Messengers from the God Pachacamac, they will fear to offend him, knowing that there is nothing more inconsistent with the Divine Nature than Iniustice and especially in those who being made his Ministers for the execution thereof, do usurb that to themselves, which is the Right and Property of another. Let us therefore go to them. armed with the Justice of our Cause, for if they are Gods, (as we believe them to be) they will alt like the true and legitimate Off-spring of the Sun, and like our Incas, will readily yield our Empire to su. For our Ancestours did never deprive the Curacas of their Hereditary Rights, nor take a Forsciture of them in the Case of Rebellion; much less ought these Spaniards to develt us of our Inheritance, and of our Empire, who did never oppose them. but rather yield and resign up all upon their sirst Summons. Let us therefore go to them in a peaceable manner; for if we go armed, they will imagine we intend to make War unon them, and with that pretence deny the most reasonable thing we can demand; for coverous Men, armed with Power, are glad of the least excuse, or pretence to deny that which is no quired of them. Instead of our Arms let we carry fuch Presents with us, as may serve to appeale the Anger of enraged Men, and pacific the Displeasure of offended Gods. Let us salver what Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones we can gather; let us take what Birds and Beafts we can get, as also the best and most delitious Fruits that our Countrey yields; and with these let us in the best manner we are able present our selves before them, for though the Ancient Power, and force of our Kings is low, and failing, yet let us still keep up the Honour of a truly Noble and Royal Spirit of the Incas. And if all this will not prevail with them to n. flore unto us our Empire, we may then absolutely conclude, that the Prophecy left unto usb our Father Huavna Capac is accomplished; that our Monarchy is to be translated to a for reign and stranger Nation, our political Government destroyed, and our Religion abolished. part of which Prophecy we our felves have feen fulfilled; and if the Pachacamac hath fo adained these things, what can we doe but submit and obey? Let them doe what the please. but let not us be wanting either to the Rules of Reason, or Justice.

When the Inca had uttered these Words with a Majesty becoming his Quality and Condition, the Captains and Curacus burst out into Tears, lamenting to confider, that the time was now coming, which would be the ultimate Term and Per riod of their Empire. Having wept a while, and dried their Eyes, the Curacu and Officers made provision of such things as the Inca had appointed, and prepared fuch an Equipage as might become the Majesty of their King, though inferious to the Train and Magnificence of his Ancestours. In this manner he travelled to Cozco, attended with many Curacus and Lords, together with their Relations and Dependents; for of his own Kindred there remained but few, who had escaped from the Cruelty and Tyranny of Atabualpa. At the News of their near approach, all the Spaniards, both Horie and Foot, came forth to meet and receive them at a far diffance from the City. So foon as the Governour was come near to the Inca, he alighted from his Horse; as also the Inca did from his Chair, which was not, as formerly, made of Gold, but of Wood; for though the Counsellours of the Inca advifed him to take his Chair of Gold, and march in that State which became the Dignity, and wear the coloured Wreath about his Head; yet he refused both one and the other, efteeming it very improper for him, who was a Petitioner, and came to ask the Restitution of his Kingdom, to appear before them with the Ensigns of his Regality, as if he intended in despight of the Spaniards, by appearing with the Badge of his Regal Power, to affume and vindicate the Poffession and Dominion of his Em pire; wherefore he judged it more proper for him to wear the Wreath of a pale yellow Colour, for that, as he faid, the Viraccobas, meaning the Spaniards, would underfland him thereby to be the true Heir apparent of the Kingdom. In short, being come near one to the other, the Governour made his Reverence to the Inca after the Cafillian manner, and bid him welcome; and the Inca replied, that he was come to ferve and adore those whom they efteemed for Gods, and as Messengers sent from the supreme *Pachacamae*. Their Words were few, and their Discourse short, for want of good Interpreters; after which the Governour prefently retired to give place to the other Spaniards, and to his two Brothers, John and Gonçalo Picarro. The Inca being advertised that these two were Brothers of the Apu, which is, Captain General, he embraced and thewed them great respect; for it is observable, that the Inca, before he came to this Interview with the Spaniards, had provided himfelf with a certain Indian, who was well acquainted with the Spaniards, and gave him notice of the feveral Captains, and Commanders, and Officers, and of their Degrees and Qualities: This Indian was Servant to a Spaniard, and informed their Degrees and Quanties. This toman was servant to a symmara, and mornied a Curaca which flood near to the King of every Man's condition, which he accordingly whitpered him, fo that being advertised thereof, he treated every Man with some kind of difference, testisying to all in general his Love and Affection for them, which he expressed by the chearfulness of his Countenance, his Words and Gestures. And at last, turning to his own People, he said to the same purpole as Arabualpa had done, when he first saw Hernando Picarro, and Hernando de Soto, These Men (said he) are the true Sons of our God Viracocha, for so they resemble him in their Behaviour, in their Beards and Habits, and therefore do justly challenge all Duty and Service from us, according to the Commands enjoined as by our Father Huayna Capac, as appears by his last Will and Tostament.

#### CHAP. XII.

The Inca demands Restitution of his Empire; and what Answer was returned to him thereupon.

Hese Discourses being ended, the Spaniards mounted on Horseback, and the Inca into his Chair; then the Governour took the Left hand of the Inca and his Brothers, and the other Captains and Souldiers marched in the front, each Company by it self; one Company was commanded to bring up the Rere, and a Guard of twenty four foot-Souldiers were ordered to attend and march by the Chair of the Inca. Thus when the Indians found themselves to join in one Body with the Spaniards, they were highly pleased to be so honoured, and esteemed worthy to affociate and to join company with those whom they adored for Gods. In this order they entred into the City with great Joy and Triumph, the Inhabitants going forth to meet them, with Dances and Songs composed in Praise of the Viracochus; for the poor people were overjoyed to fee their Inca, and to understand that the true and lawfull Heir, which had escaped from the Tyranny of Atahualpa, was now to fucceed into the Throne of his Ancestours. The Street through which the Inca was to pass, was covered with a fort of their Rushes and Canes, and some triumphal Arches erected at a certain distance each from the other, decked with Flowers after the Fashion which they used at the Triumphs of their Kings. The Spaniards conducted the King to one of the Royal Palaces, called Cassana, situate in the Market-place, fronting to the Coloffeo, belonging to the Jefuites, where they left him highly pleafed, and big with expectation to be reftored to his Empire; for measuring the good Intentions of the Spaniards by the kind reception which they gave him, the Inca and his Attendants were fully perfuaded that the days were now returned, in which they should enjoy the ancient Peace, Quiet and Freedom, which flourished in the time of their Ineas. So soon as the King was fettled in his Lodgings, the Officers delivered the Prefents which they had brought to the Governour and his Virnocohus, who received them with fo many Thanks and kind Words, that the Indians were infinitely pleafed and overjoyed

513

at the gratefull acceptance of them. This was the onely happy day, crowned with Honour and Contentment, that this poor bica had ever known in all the course of his former Life; for in the time of his Brother Atahnalpa, he remained under great persecutions, slying from place to place in perpetual dread and sear; and the remainder of his Days, untill the time of his Death, admitted of little more Confolation than the former, as we shall see hereaster in the Sequel of this Story. When the bica had a little reposed himself in his Lodgings, he sent to Francisco Chawer, and his Companions, letting them know, that he was desirous to see, and to be acquainted with them on the good report and character he had received from his People concerning them; so soon as they were come he embraced them with all demonstration of kindness, and having drank with them, according to the custome of the bicas, he told them, besides many other kind expressions, that their Actions shewed them to be the true Off-spring of the God Viracocha, and Brethren of the bicas, because they endeavoured to deliver Ausbualpa from Death, which worthy Act he would ever acknowledge and recompence, desiring them to esteem him for their Brother, considering that they were all descended from the same Race and Lineage of the Sun; and then he presented them with Vesses of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, which he had brought apart for this Gentleman, and his Companions, which were taken so kindly, that Chaves, in the name of the rest, returned his Complement, and said, that they were all Servants of his Highness, and would evidence so much when occasion should offer, and that what they had endeavoured for his Brother, was onely in compliance with their Duty, and Obligation, and that if he doubted of their Reality, they desired him to make a trial of their good-will and services for him. Then the bica embracing them again, dissified them, highly satisfied with the Presents he had made them of Jewels, and of Gold, and Silver, Turquoises, and Emeralds.

Two days after his Arrival, the Prince Manco Inca proposed to the Governour that he might be restored to his Empire, according to the Articles agreed between the Indians and the Spaniards, and that a firm Peace and an Alliance might be made between them: That Priests should be sent to preach and propagate the Law of the Christians unto the Indians, as the Spaniards had themselves proposed; and that for what concerned the Inca to perform, he was ready to give his orders, that they should be well received, and treated with high Veneration and Esteem in all the principal Provinces of the Empire; where they would find the People very docible, and willing to be instructed in their Faith, upon the assume they had received from their Father Hungha Capac, who at the time of his death did attest, that the Law of the Christians was better than our own: And whereas this heir Father had by his last Will and Testament ordained, that his People should obey and serve the Spaniards, they were ready to comply with his Injunctions therein, and to resign so much, and what part of the Kingdom they should desire, into

their Hands.

To which the Governour returned this Answer, That his Highness was welcome to his own Imperial City, and that he should rest, and take his Repose with quietness and security: That he was very well pleased to know his Will and Pleasure, that so the might give him a proof of his readiness to comply with his Defires: And that as to the Capitulations which were agreed, they were so just and reasonable, that nothing could be objected against the performance of them. After which some Discourse past, but very short, for want of an Interpreter. The next day the Governour holding a Consultation with his Brothers, and the rest of the Capitains conclining the days and which were the best for the Capitains conclining the days of the Capitains capitains conclining the days of the Capitains capitains capitains and the capitains capit

The next day the Governour holding a Confultation with his Brothers, and the rest of the Captains, touching the demand which was made by the Inea, several opinions arose upon the Debate, but it being considered, that the possession of the Kingdom had no other meaning than the binding of the Inea's Head with the coloured Wreath; the Governour, with his Attendants, went to the House of the Inea, and without farther Presace, or long Oration, desired him to take immediate possession of his Empire; for had he been acquainted with the custome of his Countrey, he should not have remained one moment without the Ensign of his Royal Dignity upon his Head; and that as to the Division of the Kingdom, they would treat more sully hereaster, when matters were a little better settled in quietness, for that at present the Indians had made Insurrections in divers places, which were not yet appeased; but as to the Services which the Indians were to perform towards the Spaniards, and the modification of the Peace, which was to be maintained, he remitted all to the Disposition of the Inea, to order and design

that which should be most agreeable to his own Good-will and Pleasure, which the Spaniards would embrace with a chearfull readiness; but as to the Preachers which were intended to instruct his People in the Divine Law, they had so sew Priests amongst them, that as yet they could not spare any, but that when a new supply came, which they did shortly expect, they should be immediately dispeeded upon this Errant; for that the chief Design of the Christians was to retract the Indians from the Errous of their ways, and to shew unto them the folly of their Superstition and Idolatry. With these Affurances the Indians were greatly satisfied, and the Inea delayed not immediately to bind his Head with the coloured Wreath; which Ceremony was attended with great Joy and Triumph, though for want of those of the Bloud Royal, and of many Curacas or Barons, who were cut off by the Cruelty of Atabuassa, the solemnity was nothing so splendid and magnificent as in the times of the ancient Ineas, when the great numbers of Nobility added Glory to the Court; yet the young Gallants rejoiced to see that Festival, how mean soever, at which the old Men grieved, who remembred the times of the Great Huansa Capac, and had seen the splendour of his Court.

#### CHAP. XIII.

How the two Governours marched in pursuit of Major General Quizquiz.

IN our former Discourse, we lest Don Pedro de Alvarado, and Don Diego de Almagro, with their brisk Souldiery on their march towards Cozco, where the Governour Don Francisco de Picarro kept his Court; and as they were on their way. News was brought them, that the Major General Quizquiz had ghered great Forces, and was encamped in the Province of Camaris, having with him much Gold, and Silver, and other pretious Commodities, with great Flocks and Herds of Cattel. The Fame hereof increased in the telling, as is usual, wherefore the Governours refolved to march that way to defeat that Army, and destroy the Tyrant, having understood from the Indians, that there was no other Army besides that in all the Empire. Though Quizquiz was strong in his numbus, yet he was not willing, or very ready to engage with the Spaniards; for in regard that both he, and the Inca Titu Atauchi, had fent the Articles and Capitulations to the Governour, which they had concluded and agreed with Francisco de Chaues and his Companions, (as we have before mentioned,) they remained in ex-pectation to hear of a general Peace between the Indians and the Spaniards, and little dreamed of any Forces which were marching to destroy them. This security and confidence was much increased by the persuasion of the Inca Titu Atauchi, on whose Words uttered at the hour of his Death they much relied; for we must know, that this poor *Inca* died a few days after he had difinified *Chaves* and his Companions; his end being haftned by the melancholy, he conceived for the fad fate of his Brother Atabuaha, and by the news of the bloudy Tragedy, acted by that Traytor Rumminavi in Quitu on his Kindred, Brothers, Captains, and on the innocent select Virgins. All which Massacres and Villanies committed by a Valfal on the Bloud Royal, and on the Life of his own Inca, he esteemed to be forerunners of the entire subversion of the Empire, and of the Majesty of his Family, and being overwhelmed with the fense thereof, he called for Quizquiz, and his other Captains, and told them plainly, that they should endeavour to make a Peace with the Virgueothes, and should serve and adore them, according as the Inca Huagna Capac had by his last Will and Testament ordered and commanded them; who being the Oracle of that time, his Ordinances and Rules were esteemed indispensible, therefore they should endeavour to please the Viracochas, who were the Offfring descended from their Father the Sun, and of the same Lineage with the In-

cas all which he farther enforced and confirmed by virtue of the Command and

Charge committed unto him by his Father Huanna Canac

514

With such Arguments as these, and in hopes and expectations that the Capitula-With fuch Arguments as thete, and in nopes and expectations that the Capitulations would be maintained, Quizquiz remained very fecure in the matters of Wars and though he received intelligence that the Governours were marching towards him, yet he apprehended no hurt, nor received an Allarm, onely he detached a bout an hundred Souldiers, under a Centurion or Captain, (which is the smallest number that the Indians have in a Company,) this Centurion the Historians Governous and the Indians have in a Company, and the Indians for Contraction of the Contraction of the Indians and Indians I number that the majors have in a Company, it is Contained the full original  $G_{th}$ , mara and Carate call solarco, which fignifies fix Mountains, for C, oth fignifies fix, and ore a Mountain, for he was born in a Valley between fix lofty Mountains, (such as are common in that Countrey,) and they say, that his Father and Morhey (fuch as are common an that Country,) and they hay, that his rather and Mother were in his company, which must be upon some extraordinary occasion, for Women never go to the War with their Husbands; perhaps it might be to keep up the story of his Birth, and of his Life, for the Indians by such like Names, and by such Sayings, or by Cyphers, or Hieroglyphicks, and by their Verses and Poetry have conserved the Traditions of their History; and have therein comprehended the fuccess of all their Matters in a compendious manner, as for example; the Embaffies fent to their Incas, and their Answer thereunto; the Speeches made in Peace and War; what fuch a King or Governour commanded, with the punish-Peace and War; what fuch a king or Governour commanded, with the punishments inflicted; and in short, whatsoever was transacted in the publick Affairs. All which the Historians, or Notaries, taught unto their Children by Tradition, instructing them in Cyphers, and short Versicles, and in such short Words as the Name of this Captain, and in such other Brief Sayings as we have already declared; by help of which, and of their Knots, an Indian would read or recount the paffages of his Time, as well, or faster than a Spaniard could reade Books writ with Letters, as Asoft restifies in the 8th Chapter of his 6th Books not that these Knots furnished him with Words, but onely called things to his Memory, which having studied day and night, he became versed in every particular, so so be able to render an account of his Office. All which though we have formerly declared at large, yet having so pertinent an Instance as this Name of Captain Collago, we have thought it not impertinent to repeat the fame, that we may verifie what we have formerly reported, and to help the Memory of the Reader. This Captain, as we have faid, was fant by Quizquis for a foout to difcover the March and Force of the Spaniards, and to know their Intentions towards him; but the filly Wretch was not so cautious as he ought to have been, but suffered himself to be surprised, and taken by the Spaniards, who carried him to Alvarado, and by him the Spaniards were informed of the place where Quizquiz was quartered, and of the numbers and force he had with him, so they marched with all expedition towards him, and being near, they watched all night to beat up his Quarters early in the morning. This Exploit was committed to a party of Horfe, which travelling over rocky Hills and Ways, for the space of a Day's Journey, most of the Horse cast their Shoes, so that they were forced to shoe them by candle-light, as the Writers of this matter do generally agree. All the next day they continued their Journey with great haste and expedition, lest 2012quiz should receive intelligence of their March, by return of some of those they met. and so they proceeded until the next day in the Evening, by which time they were come within fight of the Camp of Quizquiz, who upon their appearance immediately fled, with all his Women and Attendants. This is affirmed by Ca rase, and Gomara reports almost the same thing; the which is a sufficient proof, that Quizquiz never intended to make War on the Spaniards, or was provided for it; for if he had, certainly he would have been better guarded, than by a company of Women, and domestick Attendants; nor were his Souldiers so inexpert, or unskilfull in War, as not to have appeared with Arms at the Camp, or Rendezvous upon the Summons of their Captain, which might have been speedily effected by passing the Word from one to the other. But this amusement and stupid security of *Quizquiz* may well be attributed to the Providence of Heaven, which had designed the Sumiards to be Preachers of the Gospel. Moreover Quizquiz depended on the Capitulations which the Indian had made with Francisco Chapter of which those Sumiards who marked against him were not informed. Chaves, of which those Spaniards who marched against him were not informed, for Don Diego de Almagro was departed from Cozco with his Forces, in fearch of Alvarado, before Francisco de Chaves had brought the News thereof. So the Spaniards being ignorant of the Goodwill and Intentions of Quizquiz, went with Defign

rodeftroy him, which had been avoided, had there been a true and right underto denity matters between them; but the Devil, who always delights in Dif. ord and Mischiess, had by his Artifice contrived to prevent the true Information. that so matters proceeding to Bloud and Tyranny, the *Indians* might be possessionable with a similar and prejudicial esteem of the Spaniards; and of the Christian Doctrine they professed to propagate.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Three Battels between the Indians and the Spaniards: and of the Number of the Slain.

Vizquiz observing the haste which the Spaniards made towards him, did imagine that their Design was to engage him to fight, and therefore repenting too late of his Security and Neglect, and being mad, and ashamed for his Folly and flupidity, he retreated as well as he could, unto the top of a craggy and rugged Mountain, which was unpaffable, and inacceffible for Horses, where he seged Mountain, Which was impartable; and in the mean time, to amule and employ the Spaniards, he fent a certain Captain, whom the Spaniards call Guaypalcon, though his proper Name was Huaypallea, the fignification of which I do not well understand, because it is a word of the Language of Quitn; but this Person, as we faid, was sent with Commission to raise what Forces he was able to oppose the Spaniards, and having gathered some numbers together, he durst not assault Alvarado, fearing the great Body of his Horfe, which drew themselves up on such Ground, where they might be most serviceable, and not fight upon a disadvantage. Howsoever he found an opportunity to engage Almagro, who, to encompass Quisquiz between him and Alvarado, was mounted with his Horse to such a craggy and asperous part of a mountain, that he was in danger of being entirely lost and deseated, as Carate consums by these Words: "Huspaleon, fays he, with his Souldiers, went to engage Almagro, who, with his "Horle, was got up to the ridge of a Mountain, the afcent unto which was fo "fleep, that they mounted by turnings and windings, and had wearied and tired "all their Horles; and befides, the Indians threw down from the top mighty" "great Stones, called Galgar, which tumbling five or fix furlongs down, carried thirty or forty more before them, and thele drove innumerable others, before "they came to the bottome. Thus far are the Words of Carate, the which are

confirmed in like manner by Gomara, as we shall see hereaster.

Almagro was greatly incommoded by the fall of these Rocks which killed both his Men and Horse, and he himself also was in great danger of his Life, to avoid which, he was forced to take another way less rugged, that so he might be enabled the better to come at Huapallea, who fearing to fall between the two Commanders, retreated to the safeguard of a steep and craggy Mountain, by help of which he valiantly defended himself untill night; for in such inaccessible places as twose, neither the Horse nor Foot could be of Service; and the Indians had a great advantage of the Viraccehas, or Spaniards, who were laden with Armour and offensive Memory. The sight had a specific and the Indians of the destroyer and the Indians of the Memory. fensive Weapons. The night being come, Huappallea, by help of the darkness re-treated with his Souldiers into more fast and secure places. The Day following the Spaniards fell in with the Rere-guard of Quizquiz, who not dreaming of War or fighting, marched with their Army divided into two Bands, at least fifteen Leagues distant one from the other; as is reported by Carate in the 12th Chapter of his 2d Book, and in the fame Chapter he hath these Words following. "Don "Diego, and D. Pedro rallied all their Forces together, and the Indians, by the obfourity of the night, escaped, and went to join themselves with Quizquiz, and

the 3000 Indians, who taking their way by the Lest-hand, cut off the Heads of

fourteen Spanisteds, whom they had encountred at a distance from the Main Ro dv. and fo marching forward they overtook the Rere-guard of Quicquiz: then the Indians fortified themselves at the Pass of a River, where they faced the sources niards for a whole day, and suffered none of them to pass, whilst others of niards for a whole day, and suffered none of them to pass, whilst others of them passed over above; then the Spaniards intended to make an Attempt upon the Indians, who had taken the side of a very high mountain; but it had like to have proved stall to them, by reason that the Spaniards in that craggy and rugged ground; could not make a Retreat when they pleased; so that many of them were wounded, as namely, Captain Alonso de Alvarado, who was run through the thigh, as was likewise a Lieutenant, and all that night the Indians kept strict Watch. But so soon as it was day, they quitted the pass on the River, and fortified themselves in the Mountains, where the Spanards left them in quiet, because Almagro did not judge it convenient to continue his Quarters in that place. Thus far are the Words of Carate, with whom Gomara agrees, and in the 130th Chapter of his Book hath these Words: "Quizquiz flying, and running away, had not gone many Leagues before the Spaniards sell upon his rere; which when the Indians perceived, they defended the Banks of a River to keep the *Spaniards* from passing. Their numbers were so great, that whilst some maintained the passage of the River, others above got over, and put themselves into a posture of fight, intending to encompass the *Spaniards* on all sides, and to kill and take them as they pleased; then they possessed themselves of a little Hill, which was very rocky, to secure themselves from the Spanish Horse, from "which with some advantage and fresh courage they renewed the Fight, and killed some of the Horse, which could not easily turn or move in that rugged place, and wounded several Spaniards, of which Alonso de Alvarado de Burga was run through the thigh, and Don Diego de Almagro himself narrowly escaped. Thus far are the Words of Gomara. The Spaniards which were killed in this Fight, and died afterwards of their wounds, received in the three late Skirmifhes, were fifty three in all, reckoning the fourteen which Carata mentions, and eighteen were cured of their wounds: The Horses killed were thirty four, one of which was that red of their wounds: The Horles killed were thirty four, one of which was that of Almagro, which was overthrown by the rowling down of a Galga or Rock, which struck him a-thwart his hinder leg, and broke it, with which Man and Horse came to the ground, and had the stone taken them full, both of them had been beaten to pieces. Of the Indian not above fixty were killed, for the Rocks were their protection, on which the Spaniards and their Horse sought with great disadvantage; for which reason Almagro withdew his Forces, and would not farther engage in those places, being troubled at the loss he had received in those two days Engagements, which Congress in the reach Classes of his Rocks mention in days Engagements; which Gomara in the 130th Chapter of his Book mentions in fhort, and describes the unhappy Encounter which our Men had with the Rereguard of Quizquiz, &cc. Blus Valera reckoning up the most Memorable Battels, and which had been the most fatal to the Spaniards of any in Poru, he mentions eight, besides several other Skirmishes of lesser moment; and numbers this in the first place, calling it the Battel of Quitu, because it was sought on the frontiers of that Countrey; and fays, that the opaniards had then been most certainly defeated and destroyed, had not the Divine Providence, which designed by their means to propagate the Golbel in those parts, appeared for them: And also the Spaniards, who were then present in those Engagements confirm the same; and I have heard many of them declare, that they often gave themselves over for lost in their Fights with the Indians 3 and that when things feemed to be desperate, and according to humane reason, without all hopes, and possibility of escape, then presently, and on a fudden, their fortune would turn, and by fome unexpected accident from Heaven they became victorious. And discoursing on these matters, and of the great dangers and hazards they had sustained, they would often say, that if the Indians, who came with no intention to fight, and without any order being divided into four Squadrons, were able to doe them so much hurt, and put them into so much disorder; what would they have done, had they been aware, and had come with design to engage under the Command and Discipline of their Commander Quizquiz, who was accounted a famous, and a renowned Captain, as Gomara reports, when he relates the Story of him, and of the manner whereby he was put to Death by his own Souldiers.

After all which Don Diego de Almagro fent to gather the spoils, which the Historians mention to have been a thousand head of Cattel, and about a thousand

Indian Men and Women for service, which were forced or pressed to attend the Camp; and which sinding themselves free, and at liberty, ran away, and sled to the Spaniards. As to the fine Linen and Cloth, little appeared, for the Indians, rather than be troubled with too great baggage, burnt it; and likewise madaway with the Gold and Silver, and concealed it in such manner, as it never after came to light; of all which Almagro gave intelligence to the Governour, and of the success of the two Battels, and dispatched his Advices by Indians whom he sent with his Letters: And also that Don Pedro de Alvarado was on his Journey towards Cozoo to make him a visit, that so he might accordingly provide for his reception.

#### CHAP. XV.

The Governour departs from Cozco to meet Alvarado; he fees him and pays him the Money according to agreement.

THE Governour Pigarro having received intelligence of the loss of the Men and Horse, which were killed by the Souldiers of Quizquiz, was very much troubled, esteeming it of ill consequence for the Spaniards to be baffled, or the reputation which they had gained, to fuffer and be impaired in the opinion of the Indians; but there being no remedy for what was past, but onely patience, he encouraged his Souldiers, and advised them to proceed more warily for the future. And in regard he was advised that Alvarado was marching towards Cozco, he was delirous to prevent him, and fave him the trouble of a long Journey; and therefore to cut matters short, he provided to make him the payment for which Almagro had agreed, and with that to perfuade him to return; for though he defired to see him, yet it might be inconvenient, and cause some disorders to have three Governours, as in reality there would be within that Jurisdiction. For these Governours, when they were poor, might possibly agree in co-ordinate rule each with other; but being rich and powerfull, and in a condition of Sovereignty, which admits of no equal, and perhaps of no Second, they could not long continue Peace, and a Brotherly Alliance; the which discord caused by Ambition, was the Original of all the misfortunes and fatal calamities which befell them, as will appear in the sequel of this History. On this consideration the Governour, that he might haften the dispatch and return of Alvarado, resolved to go and meet him as far as the Valley of Pachacamac; so that he might neither travel at too far a distance from the Sea-coast, and might excuse him from a Journey of two hundeed and forty Leagues, as the going would be from Pachacamae to Cozco, and the return back again to that place; and befides, he was not willing that he should see the Imperial City, and the Grandeur and Riches thereof, lest the temptations of that Wealth should cause alteration, and a breach of the Articles agreed; and therefore he was impatient untill he saw them again ratified and confirmed. As to the Equipage for his Journey, he took the opinion and fense of his Brothers, and other Officers of his Army; recommending in the mean time the Person of the Land of the La the Inca unto their care, and all other matters which were necessary to conserve their Peace and League with the Indians. And in order thereunto he discoursed with the Inca, and told him, that it was convenient for him to absent himself for some days, whilst he could make a Journey to the Valley of Pachacamac, for performance of some agreements made with the Spaniards, who were lately come into those Countries; on confirmation of which, the Articles made between the Indians and Spaniards did much depend, which should be faithfully complied with

519

object

Воок И.

at his return: and therefore he defired his licence to make that Journey for a few days, leaving in the mean time his Brothers, and other Spaniards, in the Service of his Highness, who, he supposed, would be acceptable to him, in regard he essentially med them for his Kindred, and to be of the same Lineage and Off-spring from the Sun. To which the Inca made answer, that he wished him a prosperous Journev; and as to his two Brothers, and the other Viracochas, he would take them into his care, and treat them with fuch respect and kind usage, as that he should have cause to render him thanks for the same at his return. And having said this, he immediately dispatched a Message to the Commanders of the several plant ces and Countries through which the Governour was to pass, that they should an point their Subjects and Vaffals to attend his coming, and wait on him in the fame point their subjects and varias to drain in cheming, and wat of min in the fame manner, as on his own Perfon; and moreover, that they flould provide a Guard of two hundred Men to attend and conduct the Governour, and to change them every three days, fo that they might be more fresh and active in his Service.

Royal Commentaries.

The Governour having understood what the Inca had appointed in reference unto him, took his leave and farewell of him, making choice of thirty Horse to attend him on this Journey; and being come to Saufta, he received intelligence that Don Diego, and D. Pedro de Alvarado were to pass by the way of Pachacamac, to visit that great Temple in those parts: Wherefore he hastened his Journey, that he might meet them in that pleafant Valley, and there receive and treat Abardad, and demonstrate that honour to him which was due to a famous Captain of his Quality and Renown, and accordingly preparations were made for his reception and treatment. Twenty days after the Governour had been at *Pachacanna*, *Don* and treatment. Twenty days after the Governour had been at Pachacamae, Don Pedro de Alvarado arrived there, being received by him with all the carefles and demonstrations of respect and kindness that could be expressed; for he gave positive command to his People and Officers, to own and acknowledge Alvarado for their Chief and Governour, and to give him that title folely; and as to himself and Almagro, to diffinguish them by no other titles of Honour, than their own proper Names; and accordingly, during all the time that Alvarado remained at Pachacamae, Picarro refused to take cognisance of any cause, matter, or thing, whatsoever, but referred all to the judgment of Alvarado, whom he commanded his people to observe and obey; seeming extremely rejoyced with the fight and presence of fo many Illustrious Cavaliers, who were come in the train and company of Alvarado, and whom he honoured and complemented with all the demonstrations of respect and civility that could be expressed. After some days had passed with ceremony and complement, and with the fatisfaction of mutual contentment, Picarro paid to Alvarado the hundred thousand Pesos of Gold, as was agreed, with an additional Aid of twenty thousand more to pay the charges of his Journey this ther, belides many Emeralds and Torquoifes of confiderable value, and feveral Ryals Plate, there, believes many Emeriants and Torquonies of confiderable value, and leveral which is nine Veffels of Gold for his use and fervice. And indeed the succour and reputation the which Alvarado brought to this enterprise might well deserve such a reward for the Horse, Men and Arms which he brought with him, so terristed and affrighted the Souldiers of Atabuaspa, that they entirely yielded and resigned their whole Empire into the hands of the Spaniards: In consideration of which, the Governour honestly and justly, without farther dispute or scruple, paid the Money, as was agreed, with the other advantages as asoresaid; though others were of opinion (as Gomara and Carate report) that Pigarro had done better if he had not paid the Monev. but rather had taken Alvarado and fent him Prisoner to Spain, for having by force of Arms invaded his Territory, in regard that such a compact which was made with Almagro by force of Arms, was not obligatory; or at least if the Money was to have been paid, yet that he should pay him no more than fifty thoufand Pefos of Gold, (which made one hundred thousand pieces of Eight) because that the Ships and Arms were not more worth, two of the Ships belonging to Picarro himself; and as to the Men, Horses and Arms, they belonged not to Alusrado, but were the Goods and Estates of other Men. Howsoever, Picarro being a Man of honour, and one who more regarded his word and reputation, than the evasions which some would suggest to him, whereby to cause him to violate and break his Faith and Word: He paid Alvarado in that noble and generous manner as we have expressed, with regard to that honour and respect which one Gentleman ought in all dealings to perform towards another. And though the agreement was made by his Partner, yet he efteemed it obligatory to himfelf, preferring his Paroll of Honour before any interest whatsoever. And though some did

object, that Almagro made a blind bargain, and did not well confider of the value object, that Abraggo made a Dima Dargam, and did not well confider of the value of the Ships, or perhaps was inforced to that Engagement; yet Piçarro returned a full answer thereunto, That a Gentleman ought well to confider of his promife before he gave it, and not to pretend afterwards that he was furprized, being before he gave it, and not to pretend afterwards that he was furprized, being by the mless of a Souldier, and of a Gentleman, engaged to a performance of his words. And on the contrary Alvarado might have alledged, that in case they element they proved the statement of the provider of the statement o feemed themselves agrieved, they needed onely to restore things to their former fare, in which they were before the agreement, and leave him then to make his belt advantage. And as to the price of the Ships, which they supposed might be over-charged, were the advantage duly considered, which they brought by the forcours and recruits of Men, Horle, Arms and Guns; the reputation of which brought a terrour on all that Empire, and reduced it to fubjection, nothing could have been esteemed too great to have procured that affistence, much less when it was obtained at fo small a rate, as the bare fraight did amount unto. In fine, Picarre, who was noble and fincere in his dealings, replied to those who gave him contrary advice, that no confideration of benefit or profit could balance or fland in competition with his Faith and Honour; and so with this constancy and resobutton he rejected the low and degenerate counsels of mean-spirited Men, and applied himself to receive and treat Alvarado with all the esteem, kindness and magnificence that he was able.

#### CHAP. XVI.

of the unfortunate Death of Don Pedro de Alvarado.

Dmiral Don Pedro de Alvarado being greatly satisfied with the kind and obli-A ging treatment which Don Francisco de Picarro had made him, they took their leave and farewell each of other with all the kind expressions and complements imaginable, offering mutual fuccours and affiftences as the affairs and emergencies in which they were now engaged, should respectively require. So Alvarado returned to his Government of Huahutimallan, where he reposed not long, or enjoyed the riches and prosperity which he had acquired; but being exalted with his triumphs and his good fortune, which had ever attended him from his Youth, be proceeded to higher Actions and Atchievements, being reftless, and desirous of vain-glory, untill he perished therein, as we shall find hereafter. And though the fuccess hereof doth not properly appertain to this History; yet considering the unhappy and lamentable end of this famous Captain, who had performed so many brave Exploits in divers Countries, which the Renowned John de Grijalva had discovered, and in the Conquest of the Empire of Mexico in company with Hirnando Cortes; and lastly, in the Province of Guatimala, or Huahuimallan, which he conquered by his own Arms, and in other parts of New Spain: Besides all which, we may add the Conquests which he made in Pern, for without his aid and affistence that Empire could never have been secured. Howsoever, he died, as Gomara in the 210th Chapter of his History of the Indies reports, besides many other particulars worthy to be mentioned, which I have extracted verbatim, as

Pedro de Alvarado remaining quiet, and peaceably fettled in his Government of Huahutimallan and Chiapa, the latter of which he exchanged with Francisco "Montejo for his Dominion of the Hondurss, obtained licence of the Emperour to discover and plant a Colony in *Quim*, which was one of the Provinces of *Peru*, and a Countrey which was rich, and not as yet possessed by the *Spaniardi*. On this Adventure, in the year 1535, he armed and fet forth five Ships, upon which and upon two others which he fraighted in Nicaragua, he embarked five which and upon two others which he transpired in Avenue and handed at Puerto Viejo, hundred Spaniards, and many Horses; the which being landed at Puerto Viejo, hundred Spaniards, and many Horses; the

he marched to Quitu, having in that Journey endured much cold and hunger. the news whereof affected the minds of Picarro and Almagro with jealousie and fear. At length he fold the Ships, Guns, &c. for two hundred thousand pieces of Eight; which having received, he returned rich and triumphant unto Hustimallan. After which he built ten or twelve Ships, one Gally, and other Pin. naces which were light, and rowed well with the Ore, with defign to make naces which were fight, and a farther discovery towards the Cape of Vallenas, called by some California. In the year 1538, Friat Marcot de Ni, a, and other Franciscan Friats travelled by Land through the Countrey of Culbinacan, at least three hundred Leagues to the Westward, and much farther than the Spaniards of Xaliveo had as yet discovered, and returned with high commendations of the Countries, and of the Riches and good Air of Sibola, and other Cities Upon the relation of these Friars, they resolved once to send an Army by Sea to those parts under the Command of Don Antonio de Mando, a, Vice-king of New Spain, and Don Fertiando Cortes Marquis de Valle, who was Captain General of New Spain, and first Discoverer of the Coast along the South Sea; but not agreeing upon Articles, they quarrelled, and so Cortes returned into Spain, and Alvarado was fent in his place with the Ships before mentioned; for which the Money, as aforefaid, was paid him. Alvarado failed, as I conceive, with his Flect to the Port of Navidad, and thence travelled by Land to Mixico, where he agreed with the Vice-king upon an adventure to Sibola, without any regard to the gratitude he owed to Cortes, who was the Authour of all his fortune In his return from Mexico, he passed through Xalixco, to subdue and reduce the people of that Kingdom, who had made an Infurrection, and were in defiance against the Spaniards. At length he came to Equilar, where Diego de Lopes was making War against the Rebels, and joyning his Forces with him, they stormed the Indians, who had fortified themselves on the corner of a Rock with such resolution, that having killed thirty of them, they put the rest unto slight; and having climbed up into a high and narrow Rock, many of their Horses came tumbling down the Precipice: And whereas one of them came fliding down just upon the Horse of Alvarado, he, to avoid him, alighted, intending to give him way, and save himself; but the Horse in his fall striking on the edge of a Rock, turned his fall just on Alvarado, and carried him headlong with him down to the bottom; the which misfortune happened on Midsummer-day, in the year 1541, and in a few days after died of the bruifes he had received at Egatlan, which is a place about three hundred Leagues distant from Huatimallan; he conferved his Senses, and the judgment of a Christian, until the last; for being asked where his chief pain was, he answered, in his Soul: As to other matters, he was a Man of a free and chearfull temper. Thus far are the Words of Gomara; and at the end of the same Chapter he adds, "That he lest no Estate, nor did there remain any Memory or Relicks of him, unless what is before re-" cited, and a Daughter which he had by an Indian Woman, which was after-"wards Married to Don Francisco de la Cueva; and so he concludes that Chapter. This Relation is the very fame which is commonly current in Pern, with all the circumstances thereof; onely they differ in this, that one says it was a Horse that tumbled upon him; and the other, that it was a Rock, which was thrown down by the fall of a Horse; 'tis probable that it might be the one as well as the other, and that the Horfe and Stones might come all rowling down together. Belides, I was acquainted with his Daughter, and with one of his Sons, who was a Mongrel or Meflizo (as we call them) born of an Indian Woman, named Don Diego de Alvarado, a Son worthy, and not degenerating from a Father of such great renown, for he refembled his Father in all his Vertues; was a true pattern of him in all circumstances, nor did he differ from him in the very misfortune of his Death; for having with other Spaniards made his escape from the Battel of Chelqui, Inca, he was afterwards killed by the Indians in the pursuit, as we shall hereafter relate in its due place.

Thus ended the Life of this worthy Cavalier Don Pedro de Alvarado, he was Knight of the Habit of St. Jago, and one of the most dexterous with his Lance of any that passed into the New World. His unhappy Death was greatly lamented at Gozco by all those who had been his followers in that Empire; many Masses were said for his Soul at that time, and for several years afterwards; I my self have been present at some, which were said for him, when I was there. Whensoever

any occasion was offered to make mention of him, I have heard several Gentlemen remember him with great praise of his Goodness and Vertue; and some of them specified and recounted the kindnesses and good offices he had shewn to them in particular: And whereas he was very familiarly acquainted, and converfant in my Father's house; I have been an Ear-witness of divers passages relating to his my range strong to the generofity of his great Soul: One of which was this: The in their Voyage to Peru his people suffered much for want of fresh Water: that when they came to Tumpiz, they became very fickly, and many of them were 60 weakned by the Calenture Fever, by reason of the Thirst they had endured, that they were not able to leave the Ship and Land on the shore. Wherefore Alwarado himself landed from the Ship, and provided them with Water: and though he had fuffered as much by Thirst as any of them, yet he would not rafte a drop of Water untill he was affured that the Sick had drank, and all the Ships-company had been provided. Many other generous Acts of this nature were related of this worthy Gentleman; though Gomara in his Writings gives a different character of him, which he must have received from some of those (as there were many) who were envious and emulous of his Vertues and Fortune: And though it was impossible to suppress the same of his Exploits and Adventhree, which were notorious to all the World, yet at least they endeavoured to ediple and disparage the glory of them. Of which this Authour being sensible, did in part excuse and clear himself of the falsity of those reports which were given; and so concludes the 192d Chapter of his Book with these words: He that doth well, and is not praised, lives amongst bad Neighbours, &c. And this he said. becanse he knew that in all estates of Men, there are some who are envious and slandeters, and unworthy the fociety of good Men, being inclined to speak a lve, rather than to utter truth in commendations of another. And now we shall return to the Affairs of Peru, and to the Transactions therein' since the departure of Don Pedro de Alvarado from thence.

#### CHAP. XVII

Of the Foundation of the City de los Reyes, and of the City of Truxillo.

QO foon as the Governour had disimissed Don Pedro de Alvarado, he immediately gave notice thereof to his Partner Don Diego de Almagro, then at Cozco, and therewith sent a great number of those Gentlemen which came with Alvarado, to be entertained in the Service of the Prince Manco Inca, and his Brothers, John and Gonçalo Picarro, defiring them to be serviceable to the Inca, and kind to the Indians; for in regard the Inca surrendred himself voluntarily, and of his own accord, he would not have him lose that confidence and affection which he had conceived of the Spaniards; in the mean time the Governour remained in the Valley of Pachacamac, with design to build a City near the Sea-coast for the better advantage of Trade and Commerce: And having confidered upon this matter with his friends, he dispatched several persons experienced in Maritime affairs, to discover on both fides where was the most convenient place for a Port or Harbour. At length being informed, that four Leagues to the North of Pachacamac, there was a very fafe Port right against the Valley of Rimac; which when the Governour had viewed and surveyed, he transplanted the people which had begun to settle a Colony in the Valley of Sansa, which is thirty Leagues from Rimae within the Land, unto that convenient place where he founded the City of los Reges in the Year 1534.

But as to the precise year, Authours differ very much; for some make it some and others later: and fome will have it in the year 1530, leaving out the a. Rue mor to insist on these several opinions, let us compare the times with the great and notable Actions which succeeded; for it is most certain, and therein all Authorse agree. that it was in the year 1525, when Picarro, Almagro, and the School-mafter Hernando de Luca, did first enter into Articles of their Triumvirate. Three years afterwards were spent in the discovery, before they arrived the first time at Tree viz. Two years farther passed before they could finish their Voyage into Spain to procure their Commission to make a Conquest, and before their return back to Panama with Ammunition and Provisions for such an undertaking. In the year 1531, they invaded the Island Puna, and also Tumpie; and in December of the and in March following, being the year 1532, he was put to Death, in Ottober following they entred into Goezo, where the Governour refided untill April 1533, when news came of the Arrival of Abrae rado: and in September he departed from Cozco to meet him, and pay him the Monev according to agreement. And about the beginning of the year 1534, being Twelfth-day, or the Day of the Kings, he laid the Foundation of that City, and fo called it *la ciudad de los Reyes*, or the City of the Kings: In remembrance of which he made the Arms of the City to be Three Crowns, with a Star thining over them; the Form or Model of it was very beautifull, for the Market place was very wide and large, unless perhaps it was too wide for the City, the Streets also were wide and streight; so that from every corner of them cross-ways, the Fields may be feen on all fides. On the North-fide there is a River, from which several Chanels are cut, to water the Lands round about, and to supply every House in the City with water. This Town, at a distance, makes no good shew, nor appears well, because the Houses are nor covered with Tile, but thatched with a fort of Straw which that Countrey yields; for in regard it never Rains in that Climate, nor for many Leagues distant on either side along the Coast, the coverings of the Houses are all made of a fort of Straw, or Rushes, which grow in that Countrey; on which laying a kind of Mortar, or Earth, mixed with Straw, two or three fingers thick, it makes a good defence against the Heats of the Sun: But as to the Buildings themselves, both within and without, they are good and commodious, and they daily improve their Art in Architecture. This Town is about two small Leagues distant from the Sea; but as the report is, the parts nearest to the Sea are best inhabited. The Climate is hot and moist, and much of the same temperament with that of Andalucia; the difference of which is onely, that the Days there are not fo long, nor the Nights fo short in July and Angul, as they are here; to that the Sun ariting there more late, and fetting more early, hath not time to heat and warm the Earth, as in those Regions where the Days are longer; to that though the fituation be nearer the Sun, yet the Nights being long, the Earth hath more time to become cool, and to be refreshed: But in regard the Heats are constant, and admit of small remissions, the Inhabitants being habituated or accustomed thereunto, do invent and contrive preventions and remedies against the Heats, both in the coolness of their Houses, Garments and Bedding, which they so cover and sence, that the Flies and Gnats ( with which that Countrey is much infelted) can have no passage to hinder or disturb their repose, either by day or night; for in these lbw Grounds and Marshes, the Gnats are extremely busie and troublesome, as well by day as by night; those which are busic at night, make a buzzing, and are of the same colour with such as we have here, onely that they are much greater, and sting so terribly, that the spanards say, that they will bite through a pair of Cordovan Boots; perhaps indeed they may pass a knit Stockin, with a Linen one under it, but not if it were of Cloth or Kerfy; and incleed in some Countries they are much more keen and hungry than they are in others: The Gnats which are troublesome by day, are little, and not much unlike those which are here bred in Shops, and generated from Wine; onely they are of a yellowish colour, and so thirtly of bloud, (that as I have heard credibly reported) many of them have been seen to burst at the same time that they have been fucking: To try this experiment, I have fuffered forme of them to fuck of my bloud, as much as they would; and when they were full; they would drop off, and rowl, but were not able to go or fly: The flings of these Gnats are in some degree poisonous, especially to some forts of shells, in which they will make little wounds, though not dangerous, or of great momentBy reason that the City of los Reyes is of a hot and moist Air, Flesh will immediately corrupt in it; and therefore when it is newly killed and bought, it must be eaten the same day, which are all qualities different to the Climate of Cozco, that being hot, and this cold, or temperate. The Cities and other Colonies of Spatiends, which are fituate along the Coast of Perm, are all of the same temperament with the Town of los Reyes, being under the same degree. All the other Gites within the Land from Quinn, as far as Chaquishaa, which runs for the space of seven hundred Leagues North and South, are of a pleasant Climate, not being cold as Cozco, nor hot like Rimac, but of an equal and moderate temperature; excepting onely the situation of Pososi, where the Mines of Silver are, is extremely old, and the Air penetrating. The Indians call it Puna, which is to say, a Climate, not habitable by reason of coldness; howsoever the love and thirst of Silver had invited such numbers of Spaniards and Indians to that place, that at present it is the most populous, and the best served with Provisions of any Countrey in all Perm. Acosto in the 6th Chapter of his 4th Book, mentioning the Greatness of that Colony, says, that the Town, that is, the place inhabited is two Leagues, ship in the compass.

Thus much shall be sufficient to have spoken in general of all the Cities and Plantations of Perm, fo as that we need not treat farther of any one in particular: But to return to the City of los Reges; we fay, that the Governour Francisco Picarro having founded this City, and divided the Lands, Fields, and Inheritances togethere with the Indians amongst his Spaniards, he descended to the Valley of Chimo, about eighty Leagues Northward from Ios Reyes, along the Sea-coast, and there built another City, which to this day is called Truxillo, and was so named in remembrance of his own Countrey: At which place also he made a division of Lands to the first Conquerours, to whom he marked out the several Provinces. Lands and Possessions, which belonged to every person in reward of the labours and hazards which every person had sustained. The like he persormed in the City and Countrey of los Repas, where he with great applause and satisfaction asfood to every Man his share and due proportion; so that it appeared as if the Land began to be at peace, and all things to dispose themselves towards quietness and enorment: And having thus justly shared to the first Conquerours their dues, it was not to be doubted, but that he would deal with others, who were to follow with the like equality. And being thus well employed, as this famous Cavalier ever was in all the course of his life, we shall now leave him for a while to reat of other matters, which at the same time passed amongst the Indians.

524

How the General Quizquiz was flain by his own Souldiers.

"Hat we may omit nothing material of all those matters which occurred as that time in Peru, it is necessary for us to give an account of what success befell the General Quizquiz, the Captain Huaypallea, and their Forces; who being animated and encouraged by the advantages they had gained over Don Pedro de Alvarado and Almagro in three feveral Skirmishes, began to presume themselves able to drive the Spaniards out of their Empire; and especially Huappallea was the more confident, because in the absence of Quizquiz he had been the Chief Commander in those late Battels, which so vainly puffed him up in his own imagingtion, that he became prefumptuous, and fecure in his strength and fortune. Hereupon these two Commanders marched towards Quin, with design to make new Levies of Men, and Provisions for a War against the Spaniards; but they had not made many days march before they were disappointed of their hopes and expectations; for the Curacas, as well as the common Indians, being affrighted and fore-warned by the late treachery of Rumminavi, and jealous left they should act over the like practices that the others had done, refused either to follow them to the War, or obey their Commands, which were for bringing in of Provisions; for amongst all the Captains of their Army, there was none of the Bloud-Royal that appeared, nor any person with a Title to the Kingdom of Quitn, either derived from Atabualpa, or Manco Inca, who being the onely Lawfull and Universal Heir of all that Empire, might countenance the design. With these difficulties, and in straits of Provisions, Quizquiz was labouring when his Purveyors fell into the hands of Sebastian de Belalcagar, by the Advices which his friends the Indians had given 3 for they being generally defirous of a Peace, were troubled at all acts and motions which tended to a War 3 and in regard that there was no Army afoot against the Spaniards, but this onely, they were desirous to see it deseated; fo that upon this advice Belalençar surprized the Foragers, and easily destroyed them, and took many of them Prisoners; such as escaped, carried the news of their defeat, and that the Viracochas were very numerous and strong; for having but the day before found fo many of them in a body together, they were undeceived in the reports they had, that the Spaniards, or greatest part of them, were departed out of the Countrey with Alvarado and Almagro. Upon this advice Quizquiz affembled all his Captains to confider what would be most expedient in this case, proposing it necessary to make a retreat for the present, in order to gather Provisions, which were greatly wanting, and then on a fudden to affault the Viracochas, and profecute them untill they had entirely destroyed and extirpated them out of their Countrey; but the Captains amongst whom Huaypallea, (who ever fince the late successes, was acknowledged the Chief) were of a different opinion, 'esteeming it their best course to render and submit themselves unto the Spaniards, to defire Peace and Friendship with them; whom to subdue, it was a madness to imagine, fince experience had thewn them to be Invincible; and that it was impossible to get Provisions from the Indians, who had withdrawn themselves from their obedience; and in that starving condition, how difficult would it be for them to make War upon a victorious Army; and which it were more easie to overcome with fair words, and kind treatment, than to resist a people come from Heaven, which upon submission would readily entertain Friendship and Peace with them. And in regard the Prophecy foretold by the Inca Huayna Capac (namely, that a stranger Nation should be Lords of that Nation) was now fulfilled, it was in vain to tempt the fortune of War longer. But Quizquiz being a frout Man, and a Souldier, declared against this manner of submission, upbraiding his Souldiers with cowardife and pulillanimity of spirit; and

BOOK II. Royal Commentaries.

with haughty and proud Language told them plainly, that he had no need of their Counsel in this case, nor in any other whatsoever; and therefore he required them as their General to obey and follow him, if they hoped for Success and Victory as their General to obey and follow him, if they hoped for Success and Victory in this Enterprise. But the Captains, who from the time that they had been worsted in several Skirmishes, which they had had with Alvarado, and Almago, began to lose much of the Respect and Honour which once they conceived for beingings, because they believed he had not behaved himself with that Courage which he professed in divers Engagements against the Spaniards; so that now, quitting all Respect towards him, they told him plainly, That since he was so averse to all Peace and Friendship with the Virscochus, and so resolute to maintain the War, and consident of Victory, that he should make no Delays, but immediately engage in Fight with the Spaniards, which would be much better than cowardly to retire, and rather honourably to dye like brave Souldiers, than to perish in the Mountains and Desarts with hunger, like miserable People: And

this they declared to be their ultimate Resolution in the Case.

Jacobi ev

obioribas Salaisis Valgos

e degace.

Quizquiz was not a little nettled to find his, Captains replying fo briskly twon him, the which confirmed him in the belief of what he had for some days sufpeded, that there was fome Mutiny contriving against him in the Army, and therefore he told them, That he plainly perceived that they passed or transferred the respect they had for him unto Captain *Huapallea*, the which he could not endure, and thereof admonished them to amend speedily, before he proceeded to punish this cheir Offence. And in the mean time he gave them to understand. That he took notice of the liberty they used in their insolent Discourse, which sayoured of Rebellion and Disobedience towards their Commander; into which would make a ftrict Enquiry, and Examination, and punish both the Mutiniers, and the chief Leader of them. Huappallea thinking himself reflected upon by this Discourse, began to huff, and be very angry; and being elated, and his Spirits raifed by his late Successes, and being sensible of the great Esteem which the Captains had for him, he made an Attempt, which none believed he had Courage to doe, and wrested the Javelin which Quizquiz held in his Hand, and societ is from him; the which Weapon was the Ensign of his Command, like those Truncheons which our Generals carry in their Hands, and is called by the lidion Chaquiapu; with this Lance, or Javelin, Hunpallea ran him through the Breast, and being in like manner seconded by the other Commanders, every one mean, and being in like manner reconnect by the other Commanders, every one of which had a blow at him with his Weapon, he was foon dispatched. Thus Quequite ended his Days, being the laft and the most famous Souldier of all the Captains and Servants of Atabushpas, his Fate was like that of his other Companions for the Justice of Heaven allways provides punishments agreeable to Mens Offeness, and raises up one Tyrant to punish and afflict another. Hereupon Hustice and the other Companions disharded their American and contract of the con galla, and the other Captains disbanded their Army, and every one in a difguile thifted for himfelf, retiring into places where they thought they might live most hidden and obscure; howsoever they lived in perpetual fear and apprehenfion of being betrayed by their own People.

CHAP

526

#### CHAP. XIX.

Don Diego de Almagro makes himself Governour with out the King's Commission; and what Agreement was made between him and Marquis Picarro.

Discord having now produced one of its effects amongst the Indians, which was the Death of Quizquiz, did endeavour to avail in like manner amongst the Spaniards, had not Peace and Friendship, which are an opposite party thereunto, countermined its Works: For it is to be noted, that some Months after the News came to Perm of the Arrival of Hernando Piçarro in Spain, and of the kind reception which the Treasure he carried had made for him, and of the Honour and Respect which was shewed him in his Negotiations with His Majesty, who was pleased to bestow the Title of Marquis on his Brother, of which Augustin Carate gives an Account in the 5th Chapter of his 3d Book, in this manner:

"Amongst other things for which the Governour Don Francisco Picarro petitioned His Hajesty, one was, That in reward of his great Services, performed in the Conquest of Perit, he would be pleased to grant to him and his Heirs, the perpetual Vassalage of twenty thousand Indians in the Province of Atabilios, together with the Rents, Tribute and Jurisdiction belonging there unto, and with the Title of Marquiss. In Answer hereunto His Majesty readily bestowed on him the Title of Marquis of that Province; but as to the Command over the Indians, he would first inform himself of the nature and quality of the Countrey, and of what Damage or Prejudice such a Concession might prove; and that then he would shew him all the Grace and Favour which was convenient: From which time the Patent of his Marquisate taking date, we shall for the suture style him with the Honour of that Title. Thus far are the Words of Carate, who also affirms, that besides this Honour, his Government was enlarged for many Leagues, but yet doth not tell us how far.

Hernando Piçarro obtained for himself a Knighthood, with the Habit of St. Jago, with other savours; and for Almagro he acquired the Title of Mareschal of Perry, with the extent of Government, reaching an hundred Leagues North and South, distinct from the Jurisdiction of Marquis Piçarro; the which second Government was called New Toledo, as the other was New Cafile. The Advices hereof being wrote from Spain, Almagro received them at Cozco, where he resided with Prince Manco Inca, and with John and Gamçalo Piçarro, Brothers of the Marquiss, and being, as is the nature of all ambitious Men, impatient for Government and Command, he never staid for Commission from His Majesty, nor Confirmation of the News, but immediately from that time took on him the Title of Governour. And whereas (it was reported) that the Jurisdiction of the Marquiss Piçarro was to extend 200 Leagues in length from the Equinoctial Southward whether the same be measured along the Coast, or within Land, or by the degrees of latitude, it would fall out, that the City of Cozco would not be comprehended within his Lot, but would belong to Almagro; on considence of which, without other Considerations, he laid asside the Deputation he had received from Almagro, and in virtue of his own Right assumed to himself the Government of that City, and shared the Vassage of the Indians amongs his own Creatures by Authority from himself. All which he acted by the Advice and Counsel of

feveral Spaniards, who being desirous of Novelty, and Dissention, moved and incited him thereunto. On the other side John and Gonçala Piçarro, and other Gentlemen, which came in with Alwarado, made head, and opposed him; of which were Graviel de Rojaa, Garcilalo de la Vega, Antonio Altinirano, Alonso de Alwarado, and the greatest part of that Regiment, and the Dissentions arose so high amongst them, and to that Rage, that many of them were often killed and wounded in the Scusses. Of which intelligence being brought to the Marquiss then at Travillo, he immediately departed thence, being carried from one stages to another on the Shouldets of Indiana, for the space of two hundred Leagues, which is the distance of that place from Cosco. In this Journey the Marquiss travelled alone, and trusted himself to the Faithfulness of the Indiana, on Considence and Security of Manco Inca, who remained as a Pawn in the Hands of his Brothers, whom we call Prince, and not king, because he was never permitted to Responsards, in hopes that by such Compliances, they might be induced to restore the Empire unto their Inca. The Matquis being arrived, the Discontents quickly vanished; for these two great Men having sworn Friendship, and ancient Brotherhood together, were immediately reconciled, and brought to a better understanding, by removal of evil Counsellours, and of such as designed to make a Benesit by their Differences.

And now Almagro was become sensible of his too hasty Declaration, and that he had been too sorward in carving out a Jurisdiction to himself, upon a bate Information, before he had been authorized to claim his Right thereunto by His Majesty's Commission; on which acknowledgment the Marquis pardoned him, and both of them became as perfect Friends as if there had never passed any Difference between them: And for better Security and Conservation of this Consederacy, they renewed their Vows at the Holy Sastament never more to violate their Faith each to the other, and by mutual consent never more to violate their Faith each to the other, and by mutual consent never more to whether he and their parties respectively, That Almagra should undertake the Conness of the Kingdom of Chili, which abounded with Gold, and appetrained to the linear; upon which conditions they agreed to join together in their Petition to His Majesty, to grant unto him that Dominion; and in case that could not be obtained, that then they would make an equal Division of Peru between themselves.

On these Terms both Parties remained well fatisfied, though some malitious persons suggested, that Almagro, who had been so good a Companion, and so necessary an Instrument in this Conquest, had been unjustly treated, and thrown out of all Right in the Division of Peru, and that the Pigarros, under the pretence of an hundred Leagues, had engroffed and appropriated the whole Dominion thereof unto themselves, And whereas upon the Fame and Noise which the Riches of that Empire had made in the World, great numbers of Spaniards had flocked from all places, and that the parts already conquered did farce yield a Tract of Land, sufficient to satisfie the Merits and Expectations of the first Conquerours; it was therefore judged necessary to enlarge the extent of the Possessing by new Conquests; and that as Almagro was to subdue the Kingdom of Chiti, to also Captain Alonfo de Alvarado was designed for the Pro-vince of the Chachapuyas; which, though under the Command of the Inca, yet trusting to the Security of the Mountains, where Horse can doe little Service, and to their own Skilfulness, and Valour in War, refused to yield any Obedience to the Spaniards. Captain Garcilasso de la Vega was designed for the Province which the Spaniards, by Irony, or contraries, call the Province of Good Fortune. Captain John Porcel was fent into the Countrey called by the Spaniand Bracamoros, and by the Indians Pacamuru. And farther, it was ordered, That Recruits should be sent to Sepassian de Belascaçar, for his Assistance in the Conquest of Quin; by which means Provisions would not onely be made to fatisfie the Defires and Expectations of all Persons, but the Minds of the Adventurers employed, and amused in new Acquisitions and Enterpises, which remaining in Idleness and Sloth, would be inclinable to Mutinies and Sedition. Thefe

These Articles being concluded and agreed between Almagro and the Marquis Picarro, the foregoing Designs were published, so that the Captains prepared themselves for their respective Enterprises, and accordingly raised and enrolled their Men. Alonso de Alvarado listed three hundred Men for his Conquest, Garcisasso de la Vega two hundred and fifty for his; and he that was intended for the Pacamarus, was provided with a like number; and all three entred into their respective Divisions, where they sustained great Labours, and Hardships, by reason of the high Mountains and Interruption of Rivers, as we shall hereafter shew in their due places. The Recruits sent to Sebassian de Belaleagar consisted of one hundred and fifty Men. But Almagro made up a Force five hundred and fifty, amongst which several of them had already Lands set out to them, and commands over Indians, yet in hopes of better Fortune in Chili, of whose Riches there was great talk, they less their Pose sets of the condition of a common Souldier, thought all Pern but a mean Share and Reward of his Labours. Almagro lent thirty Thousand Pesos of Gold to his Souldiers, to buy Horses, and Arms, and other necessaries; so that they were all very well provided.

John de Saavedra, a Native of Seville, (with whom I was well acquainted) was fent in the Van, or Forlorn Hope, with one hundred and fifty Men, to discover the Countrey, which they found to be very quiet, and in a peace, able posture, by reason that their Inca, Prince Manco, remained in the Hands of the Spaniards, and that the Indians were in very great hopes of his Restauration to the Empire.

Almagro left Captain Ruy Diaz, and John de Herrada, his intimate Friend, to refide as Agents for him in the City of Cozco, to raife Men, and to fend him Recruits, and fupply him with what was necessary for the War against the Kingdom of Chili, it being reported to be a Countrey mountainous, and the People Warlike.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XX.

Almagro enters Chili with the great detriment of his Army; but is well received by the People of the Inca.

Atters being defigned, as before related, Almagro departed from Cozco about the beginning of the Year 1535, carrying in his company with him Paullu the Brother of Manco Inca, of whom we have formerly made mention; as also the High Priest, which was as yet maintained in Honour, called Villac Omu by the Indians, but by the Spaniards Villa Oma. He was also accompanied with many Indian Nobles, and many of the common fort, who carried Arms and Baggage to the number of 15000 Men; all which were fent by the Command of Manco Inca, who imagined, that fuch Services as these would oblige the Spaniards. and ni common Gratitude engage them to furrender his Kingdom to him. On this expectation he enjoined his Brother, and the High Priest to attend the Viracochas. whereby the Indians were much more ready to honour and doe them Service. But in the Relation of this passage, Historians mistake in nor rightly timing matters, saving, That the Inca gave Instructions to his Brother to kill Almagro in the Charcas, or in some other convenient place. But this was afterwards certified, when the Inca perceived that the Spaniards never intended to restore him to his Kingdom, as we hall relate in its due place. But as to the present Assair, Saavedra, who led the Van besore, came to the Charcas, which is about two hundred Leagues distant from Cocco, without the least misfortune, or unhappy accident by the way, worthy the notice; for the Indians received them with all amicable and kind Treatment in every place where they came. It was his fortune to meet in the Charcas with Gabriel de Rojus, fent thither by Marquis Picarro, with a Force of about feventy Men, the which Saavedra would have taken without just reason, for fince the Vice of Discord could not find entrance into the peaceable Minds of the Indians, it would make its way into the Humour of the Spaniards, to put all into Flame and Combustion; but Gabriel de Rojus having information hereof, took another way to the City of los Reyes, and so wisely avoided the Plot intended against him; but the most part of his Souldiers joined with Almagro in his Enterprise against Chili. In like manner Almagro came to the Charcas, without any Accident which befell him on the way worthy the notice: And now to proceed in his March, he caused every thing that was necessary to be provided, and because the Journey was a much nearer cut over Mountains, than by the Sea-Coast, he resolved to take that way, and though Paullu, and Villac Umu informed him, that the way over the famous Mountain of the Cordillera was not paffable, by reason of the Snows, but at a certain season of the Year, yet he would give no credence to their Words, but told them, that the Countrey of Peru was to yield, and be obedient to the Discoverers and Conquerours of it, and that the very Elements, the Region, and Climates, and Heaven it felf was to become propitious, and favourable to their Defigns, as it had hitherto

With this Resolution Almago departed from the Charcas, and proceeded on his Journey by way of the Mountains; for being jealous, that Paullu did not faithfully advise him, he flighted the Counsel which he had given him; but they had not passed many days Journey through the Mountains, before they began to repent of the Way they had taken, by reason of the many Difficulties sustained therein. The first that lead the Way, being not able to pass by reason of the Depths of Snow, were forced to throw it aside with their Hands and Arms, which was the cause that they made short Days Journies. At length their Provisions began to fail, by reason that they were in the Way three times

longer than they expected; but their greatest inconvenience was the Extremity of Cold; for, according to the Description of Cosmographers, the Top of that fnowy Mountain reaches as high as the middle Region of the Air; the which being extremely cold, and the ground covered with Snow, and the Season of the Year being about the time of our Midfummer, when the Days are at the shortest it froze so excessively, that Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians, and many Horses were frozen to Death. The poor *Indians* fuffered most, being ill provided with warm Garments, so that ten thousand of the fifteen thousand Indians dyed with the Cold; nor did the Spaniards escape, who were better clothed, for of them also one hundred and fifty dyed; and so cruel and severe was the Frost, that their Fingers and Toes were fo benumbed, that they were infenfible of the freezing thereof, until they rotted off from their Hands and Feet. I was acquainted with one of these persons, called Jeronimo Castilla, born at Camora, of as good a Family as any is in that City. Many of them loft their baggage, not by violence of an Enemy, because there was none in those parts to oppose them, but were forced to relinquish and leave them, the Indians being dead who carried their Burthens.

In fine, after a tedious Journey the Spaniards passed the Mountain, harassed and tired with their Travels and Labour, and being come to the other side, instead of Enemies they fell into the Hands of the Indians, who were their Friends, and who received them as kindly, and treated them as well as if they had been their Countrey-Men, and of their own Bloud; for they being Inhabitants of Copagapa, and Subjects of the Inca, did, in respect to Paully Inca, and the High Prieft, Feast and entertain the Spaniards with all the plenty and variety of Curiofities which their Countrey could afford. And most happy was it for the Spaniards, for had the Indians proved Enemies, and not Friends, and taken them unprovided, and at that advantage they might all have perished, and

530

During the time that the Viracochas refreshed theinselves, after their late Sufferings and Labours, which were greater than can be expressed. Panilu Inca, and his Kinsiman Villac Unm, entertained Discourse with the Captains and Curacus of the Empire, and gave them to understand all that passed in Peru, relating to the Story of Husfear Inca, and Atabusapa; and how the Spaniards put lim to Death in Revenge of the Murther he had committed on his King, and all his Family, that at present the Prince Manco Inca, the lawfull Heir, was in their Hands and Custody, and treated by them with all imaginable Respect and Honour, and with Promifes of being reftored unto his Empire, and to the Height and Grandeur of Majefty; in expectation of which, all Indians were obliged to affift and ferve them, the better to engage them unto a performance of their Promife to the Inca: And farther, they informed them, that these were Men descended from their Father the Sun, and for that Reason they called them Incas, and owned them for Kindred and Relations, with the Name of their God Viracocha. And in regard their General was Brother and Associate with him, that resided at Cozco, the Services and Kindnesses which were shewed to one, would be accepted by the other; and that the greatest Presents, and best Treatment, that could be given them, would be much Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, for they loved those things very much; and fince their Countrey yielded nothing befides Gold, they would doe well to gather as much of it, as they could, and prefent it to the Spaniards, who would not onely kindly accept it, but the Prince Manco Inca would likewife esteem himself very well ferved by those Gifts.

Upon this Information the Indians of Copayapa were infinitely rejoiced with the Hopes to fee their Inca restored to his Empire, so that the same day they amassed together above the value of two hundred thousand Ducats, in Vessels of Gold, the which having been defigned for the accustomary Presents which were due to their Incas, were referved untill that time; for fo foon as News came to Chili of the Wars between Huafear and Atahualpa; the Incas, who were the Captains, and ruled that Kingdom, defifted from their Services, and from making Prefents to the Inca, untill fuch time as the Controversie about the

Government was decided.

Paullu having amasted the Gold, carried it to Almagro, and prefented it to him in the Name of his Brother Manco Incs, and of all the Kingdom of Chili; which in the Name or his prouter vianco mea, and or all the Ningoom of Chili; which much rejoiced and encouraged Almagro, and his Souldiers to fee, that a finall People, in 60 short a time was able to provide fucl a quantity of Gold, which was a clear evidence of the Riches of that Countrey. When Almagro faw the Gold, he finited, and heartily thanked Paullu, telling him, that fuch Gifts as dold, ne named, and nearthy thanked ramin, tening min, that such Gitts as there were so acceptable to him, as would oblige him for the future, as they did at prefent, to make him such gratefull returns as would be much to his

advantage.

Paully berceiving that these Presents extorted kind Words and Promises from Almagro, all which he believed, endeavoured more and more to oblige him with Prefents of that nature, and accordingly fent to the Villages, and inhabited Valresearch of that had been adjoining, to bring in all the Gold they had conferved for the hom, for that he had occasion thereof, to make Presents unto the Firecoches; who wessel Brothers to the Inca, Upon the Orders the Indians, in a few days, brought in three hundred thousand Ducats of Gold over and above the former quantity, and laid them before Almagro; which when he faw, he hugged himself with the thoughts of that rich Countrey, which was faln to his log the which effeeming now for his own, in gratitude to his happy Fortune, be became munificent in a high degree, both to acquire Honour and Fame, of which he was very ambitious, and to gain the Good-will and Affection of his which he was very ambutions, and to gain the Good-wan and Attection of his Souldiers and Companions, which that he might procure, he, in prefence of them all, took, out the Obligations and Bonds which every one of them, both before and on occasion of this Enterprise, had given him, which amounted unto above an bundred thousand Ducats, the which he tore and cancelled one after the other; telling those who were bound to him in those Papers, That he remitted, and made Presents to them of their Debts, wishing that the Summs had been greater, that he might have had occasion to have obliged them farther; and to those who were not indebted to him, he gave Money to detay their Charges, and make such Provisions as were then necessary; with which liberality all the Souldiers were greatly satisfied and pleased.

Lipe de Gomara, in the 142d Chapter of his Book, says, That this act of Li-

beality was a piece of Magnificence, rather of a Prince than of a Souldier, yet when he dyed, there was not any who would cover him with a rag of Cloth athe place where he was beheaded, &c.

Yyya

CHAP.

#### XXI CHAP.

New Pretentions obstruct the Conquest of Chili. designs to return unto Peru; and the Reasons who

Lmagro having reposed a while, and refreshed himself, his Men, and his Horses, after the Hardship sustained in the late Conquests, he then confolias, and the trading resolution in the last configuration of the miles and Method how to subdue the other Vallies and Provinces of the Kingdom of Chili, which were not subject to the Dominion of the lines. for those that were, upon appearance of Paullu, Brother of their King, needed no other force to render them obedient; wherefore Almagro communicated unro Paullu his Intentions, who confidering that fuch Conquests would be Enlargements of his Brother's Empire, readily affented, and in order to that Defian drew one from the Garrisons, and places of Defence, all the Force that were in them, and iffued out his Commands for making Providions, and bringing them to the Camp, which having done, he accompanied Almagio to the Conquest of the Provinces of Purumanca, Antilli, Pincin Ganqui, and the Pures adjacent, as far as to the Province of Arauci. In this Enterprise they had many Skarmishes with the Natives, who behaved themselves valiantly, and like Souldiers, being in a fignal manner dexterous in their Bows and Arrows, with which they would floor with admirable aim; but the particulars thereof we shall not relate, nor yet the Battels, onely in general, that they were very bloudy, and ftoutly fought, because we must basten to our History of Peru. In shore therefore, though the Enemies made good reliftence, yet the Spaniards gained upon them with happy Success by the Affiltence and Good-will of Paulin, and his Indiant. But these happy and prosperous proceedings were soon obstructed by Discord, which always blowed the Flames of Feuds and Diffention between these two samous Brothers, which were never quenched, untill both of them were confumed, as will appear in the fequel of this Hiftory.

Thus Almagro proceeding in a prosperous course of Victory, though at the expence of Spanish and Indian Bloud; at the end of five Months, from the time that he entred Chili, Recruits of an hundred Men were brought to him, under the Command and Conduct of Ruis Dias, and John de Herrada, who (as we have faid) were appointed to remain in Cozco, to make Levies of Men, and fend him Sucwere appointed to remain in Cozco, to make Levies or ivien, and icid initi ouccours. Their paffage was over the fame Mountains, and by the fame way that Almagro had traversed before; and though it happened at a better season of the Year, that is, in the month of November, which is Summer in that Climate, when the Snows were not so deep, nor the Colds so intense, yet many Indians, and some Spaniards were frozen to Death; and those that escaped had perished with Hunger, had they not been fustained by the Flesh of those Horses which were found dead in the way, where having been frozen ever fince the time that Almagro passed that way, the slesh thereof was as fresh and good, after five Months, as

if they had been killed that very day.

The Difficulties of this Journey being overcome, (which were greater than we are able to express,) they were received by their General with all imaginable Joy and Contentment; and better was their wellcome, when it was known that Herrada brought with him His Majesty's Commission, which invested Almagroin the Government and Jurisdiction of an hundred Leagues of Land, exempt and distinct from the Territories of Marquis Picarro. This Commission was brought by Hernando Picarro, when he last returned from Spain unto Peru, the which he sent from los Reges to Herrada by the Post, knowing that he was then upon his departure for Chili. This particular is related by Gomara in the 135th Chapter of his Book, the which Words we have extracted verbatim in this manner.

"Minagro being employed in his Wars in Chili, John de Herrada came to him with a Committeen for his Government, which was brought from Spain by " with a Communion 101 ms Government, which was brought from spain by a fluminal Pigarro, which, though it cost him his Life, yet he more rejoiced and " triumbled that with all the Gold and Silver he had gained, for he was more monotions of Honour than coverous of Riches. Hereupon he entred into conamountous of the course he was to steer, whether to remain in Chili, or return to a deter some debate thereupon, the latter was resolved, namely, to return " wind Occes, to take possession thereof, since the Government of that place fell not been, and been better for him if he had followed the Advice and Request of those who pertuaded him to remain in chili, or in the Charcas, which is a very lich and fruitful Countrey, and from thence to have fent and " known the Will and Pleasure of Francisco Picarro, and his Affistants at Cozco, before he attempted a marrier, which proved a breach of their Association. The " Perfort who perfunded him to return, were thiefly Gonet and Diego de Alvarado. " and Rodrigo Organios, his familiar and intimate Priend. In fine, Almagro refolved to "return to Cosco, and affirme the Government thereof by force, in case the Pi-4 ware should not easily render and relign the same. Thus far are the Words of

BOOK II.

The Motives which incited Almagro and his Captains to retilin unto Peru, were not the bate Command and Jurisdiction over, a hundred Leagues of Land, for they possessed that, and much more, already in Chili, where the People received and wested them with excesses of Kindness and Service, and where their Domihiors acceeded, and were daily enlarged with new Conquests over Countries that abounded with Gold, and other Riches; but the ambition of being Prince over the Imperial City of Cocco, over-balanced all other confiderations; and was that Bone of Differition thrown in by the Devil between those two Governours, from whence arose the Civil Wars which interrupted the propagation of the Gof-pel, and occasioned the Death of many Christians, and was the Caule that an innumemble company of others dyed without the Sacrametre of Baptilm; but the palnemote company of others dyed without the Sactameric of Daphinis out the particular with a defire to return into Pers, not by the way they came, for the Difficulty thereof, and their Sufferings were full fresh in their memory, but taking their passage over a Sandy Desart, in which they endired extremity of Hear, with want of Water, the Sufferings were as great as when they sustained the containes of Snow, Frost, and craggy Mountains; as we shall hereafter more parricularly relate, and in the mean time we cannot but take notice of the different manner that these Historians, Carate and Gomara relate this Expedition of Almagre into Chili, for they fay that he returned by the same way, and that he made several Lether Bottels, or Jacks, to carry Water, which was much wanting in those dy Defarts, in which there is a plain mistake; for where there is abundance of Snow, there can be no want of Water: But these Authours confound the going with the return of Almagro, which were two different ways, subject to contrary inconveniencies. And farther they fay, that the Gold which Paullu presented to Almagro in Chili, was forced from the Indians of Charcas by Saavedra, as they were carrying It for a Present to their King; for that ever fince the beginning of the War between the two Brothers, Huascar and Atahnalpa, they had conserved their Gold, and had stopped all intercourse and correspondences by that way. Upon all which matter, that ancient Conquerour, (of whom we have made mention in the former part) taking notice in his Marginal Notes on the History of Gomara of the confused Relation of these passages; in a kind of anger makes the Exceptions

following to the Chapter 135.

"In the Relation which this Authour gives of Cozco and Chile, there are many
"In the Relation which this Authour gives of Cozco and Chile, there are many "things that might be added, and many things omitted; for in writing his Hiflory, he feems to have taken his information from fuch as were as ignorant of matters as hunself; the which appears in this particular passage; the truth of which is this : Almagro, as is evident, did not return from Chile, by the way that he went thither, which was by a paffage over that Mountain, on which they the thing the entrance into Copayapu, which is the first Valley of Chile on that side, where sell so much Snow, that many Indians, Spaniards and Horses were frozen to death; and many of those who escaped, lost their Toes and Fingers, benumbed by the Frost, but by another way, as we shall hereafter declare. Five Months after which, Ruy-dia, and BOOKIL

"John de Herrada, who were left in Pern for Agents to Almagro, passed that way with their people, and in like manner endured much extremity both by hunger and cold; for the passes is long, and of at least five or six days continuance, with hard travel; during which time they wanted Provisions very much, be cause the Indiana, which carried them, were frozen to death: And yet they passed at a better season than did Almagro, the Snows not being so deep, nor the cold so intense; howsover they suffered much, and many died: Their chief relief and remedy against Hunger they received from the Flesh of chose Horses, which being trozen, were conserved from corruption. But Almagro, (as is said) returned not by this way of the Mountain by which he came, but by the Plains, which run along by the Sea-coast, where the Countrey is defart, and uninhabited from Alacama, which is the most remote people of Pern, untill you come to Copapapa, which is eighty Leagues distant from thence, and in the way there are certain Pools of stagnated, or standing Waters which defined the seasons and the way there are certain Pools of stagnated, or standing Waters which defined the seasons are certain Pools of stagnated, or standing Waters which defined the way there are certain Pools of stagnated, or standing Waters which defined the process of the process of the seasons. in the way there are certain Pools of stagnated, or standing Waters, which do an the way there are certain Pools of traginated, or training vyaters, which do not run: For which reason, and because they are not drawn, they stink, and are corrupted, and are about fix or seven Leagues distant one from the other; wherefore for better Accommodation of the whole Army, Almagro ordered, that the Horse should lead the Van, and be the first to pass the Desart in small Parties of five and fix in a Company of that the Wells being drawn by the first, the Waters became sweet and wholsome for the use of those that followed, and were again filled with a new fupply of Water fufficient for a finall Company, by which means the whole Army passed without much inconvenience; but Almagra himself, to avoid the Desart embarked on a small Vessel. which was brought for him by Noguerol de Olloa, one of his Captains, who was Son of the Alcayde, or chief Constable of Simancus, whom the Bishop of Camora "Son of the Alcayde, or chief Constable of Simancus, whom the Bishop of Camora put to death. Geronino de Alderete, who many years after was Governour of Chile, observing when he was at Copayapu, that the passage over the Mountains was clear of Snow, resolved to, pass that way; and having many others in his company, they made search for the Remains and Relicks of that great Mortality which happened to those who passed with Almagro; and there they found a Negro standing against a Rock on his seet bolt upright, as also a Horse on his seet, as if it had been a Figure set up of Straw, and the Negro holding the Reins in his hands, which were rotten, the skin and fielh being sallen from the bones; and this was five or six years after that Valdivia had been Governour there, whom Aldereis succeeded. And thus far are the Words of that ancient Conquerour, who made Marginal Notes on the History of Gomara, and farther expresses himself in the following Chapter. presses himself in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXII.

Almagro leaves Chili, and returns to Cozco. Prince Manco Inca demands a second time to be restored to his Empire; and what Answer was made thereunto. Hernando Picarro travels into Peru; and the Inca is imprisoned.

A Linagro refolving to return unto Peru, (which in the end proved fatal to him) acquainted Paulu Inca with his intention, because he had found him faithfull and ulefull to him, asking his opinion, by which way it might be most convenient to return, that he might avoid the like danger as before; for having confidered the late disastrure, for want of credence or belief to the words of the Inca. dered the late disafture, for want of credence or belief to the words of the *Inca*, and that he and all his company had certainly perished therein, had not God, who designed to make them Preachers of the Gospel, and instruments to propagate the Catholick Faith, rescued them by his infinite mercy from such destruction; he therefore consulted *Pauliu* and his *Indians*; who for answer gave him a description of the way by the Sea-coast, and told him, that since the Wars between *Hunsar*, and his *Brother Anhunsya*, that way was rendred impassable for want of Water, for that the Wells and Fountains of which Travellers were used to drink, were filled in and covered with Sand and for want of drawing were become filled up and covered with Sand, and for want of drawing were become dry, or nied up and covered with Sand, and for want of drawing were become dry, or yielded little Water, which also was corrupted and stinking. Howsever, he would fend some Indians before, who should open and cleanse the Wells, and drain the filthy Water thence, so that sweet and wholsome Water might spring in the place thereof; and that according to the Advices he should receive from these Indians, concerning the quantity of Water which these Pools yielded, he might proportion the number of his several Squadrons; for that Wells, the more they are drained, the more and the better Water they yield, and that he needed not fear to divide his people, for that there was no Enemy in all that Countrey to oppose them. And in regard that these Pools, or Wells, are some six, some seven Leagues distant one from the other; he would cause Leather Bottles to be made for carrying Water to supply their necessities by the way; in which manner the Incus his Ancestours did use to travel over those defarts. This discourse and proposal of Paullu Inca, Almagro and his Captains judged very rational, and therefore they defired him to order matters in the same course and method herein for the commands of the Governour and his *Spaniards*, and that they were pleafed to repole such a confidence in him, in a matter where their lives and safeties were wrepote tuen a confidence in him, in a matter where their lives and taleties were concerned, he inftantly fet to work, and with all diligence dispatched away his Indians to open and cleanse the Wells and Springs, with Orders to return him Advices according as they succeeded therein. And farther, he gave order to see some Sheep, that with their Skins they might make Vessels for carrying Water, and that Provisions of food should be made sufficient to supply their necessities during their Leagues of design Countries. while the provincing of tood inound be made furnicient to supply their necessities during their Journey, and travel over those eighty Leagues of desart Countrey. Whilst these matters were preparing, the Indiana which were sent before to open and cleanse the Wells and Springs, sent Advices of their proceedings, and that the Spaniards might, when they were pleased, begin their Journey.

But Almagro did not think sit so absolutely to conside in a matter of such importance, where it is the sent state whole Army did constitution to the bare

But Almagro did not think fit to abfolutely to confide in a matter of fuch importance, wherein the life and fafety of his whole Army did confift, unto the bare report of the Indian; but for more fecurity, and better caution, he dispatched four Horse-men before with Orders to advise him from the end of every days

lourney

Воск II.

Journey of the Waters, and of the way, not trufting to Advices by word of mouth, but to avoid mistakes to send all by writing. Upon the certainty of these Informations the Spaniards adventured to begin their Journey in greater and leffer Parties, untill they were all departed out of Chili. In this manner they travelled untill they came to Tacama, where Almagro received intelligence, that Moguerol de Ulloa was not far diffant, who was that person whom the Marquis of Pi carro had employed in a Ship to make discovery of the Ports which were on that Coaft, and to proceed as far as Chili, that he might from thence bring him intelligence of the proceedings and successes of Almagro, and accordingly send him regence of the proceedings and nuccenes of zamagro, and accordingly lend nim re-cruits and provisions as his occasions required. Almagro (as we have said) hearing that Noguerol de Olloa was near, wrote him a Letter, desiring to see him, that he might inform himself of all the Transactions in Peru since his departure. In anfiver whereunto, Noguerol gave Almagro a meeting, at which they had opportunity of discourse together at large; but that they might have more time mutually to relate the fuccesses of both Kingdoms, and not retard the March of the Army; and that he might also oblige Noguerol, who was very much his friend; he told him, that he would go aboard his Ship, where he would be his Souldier and Seaman for three or four Days; and in the mean time his Army might proceed in their March to that place, where he defigned to cross upon them by Sea, and again iovn with them. With this intention Almagro embarked on the Ship to the great contentment of Noguerol, and having a good paffage by Sea, he speedily overtook his Army, where we shall leave him for a while, untill we have given an account of the general infurrection of the Indians, who, after the departure of Almagro out of Chili, revolted from the subjection of the Spaniards.

In order unto which, we must call to mind, that so soon as Almaero was departed from Cocco on his way to Chili, and the other Captains on their respective Enterprises; that Prince Manco Inca finding the Governour Pigarro at leisure and ease, moved him a second time to comply with those Capitulations which were agreed between the Indians and the Spaniards, and which he himself had promised to fee executed and performed, that is, to fee him reftored unto the possession and enjoyment of his Empire; the which he now more earnestly urged, that so his people might live in peace and quietness, and be encouraged by such obligations to affift and ferve the Spaniards. The Governour and his Brothers were much out of countenance at this motion, not knowing what substantial reply to make to this demand, nor how to entertain the Inca longer with vain hopes and expectations: Howfoever, not to make him desperate, they told him, that though they were not unmindfull of the Capitulations, to a performance of which they had obliged themselves; yet several accidents having lately happened, which had disappointed as yet the performance of the agreement, they could not put the same in execution, untill they had received an answer from the Emperour their Lord and Master; to whom having given intelligence of these Capitulations, and that one point of them was his Restauration to the Empire, they could not in good manners, and in duty, but attend his Majesty's pleasure therein, which they did not doubt but would speedily be brought by Hernando Picarro, and prove to the satisfaction of the Inca, in regard that a Prince so just and religious as their Emperour, could not doe less than confirm and ratifie that agreement; and therefore defired him to have patience untill the Arrival of Hernando, who would clear and remove all the obstructions which at present retarded the execution of this agreement. In the mean time intelligence coming of the Arrival of Hernando Pigarro at Tumpiz, and the Marquis finding hereby a good excuse to leave Cozco, as he had long defired, that he might avoid the importunity of the Inca, and visit his new Plantation of los Reyes, which he had lately begun, and defired to fee finiihed; he told him, that to expedite the Commands of his Imperial Majefty in order to his Restauration, it was necessary for him to meet and receive his Brother Hernando Piçarro; and therefore he defired his leave for a short time to make that Journey, affuring him, that his fray should not be long, before he returned again to perform and comply with the Capitulations agreed; and in the mean time, that his Highness would be pleased to retire into his Fortress for his own better quiet, and fatisfaction, and fecurity of the *Spaniards*, and to remain in that place untill his return, where his Brothers and Companions would attend and ferve him according to their duty and obligation.

In this manner the Marquis and the others, thought fit to amuse the mind of the hea Mance, and flatter his humour with gentle hopes, left being a Person of a great spirit and courage, though he had long diffembled the abuses and affirms. agree space and elutions had been imposed upon him, he should at length grow inner by variation and plot and attempt formething towards his Restau-inguishent of longer delays, and plot and attempt formething towards his Restau-ration, and to the execution of the agreement established. Though the Inca did notes, the this manner of proceedings, nor efteem them for good figus or symptoms of real intentions rowards his Restauration; yet not to anger the Marquis, or prowhole matter, confenting to whatfoever the Marquis required of him; and fo putting a good countenance on it, he chearfully went to the Fortres; and to shew his humility and plain dealing, he walked a foot up the Hill unto the Castle: So soon as the Spaniards faw him there, they made him a Prifoner, as Gomara alledges in Chapter 134, according to these words following:

" Mango, the Son of Guayna Capac, to whom Francisto Picarro gave the coloured "Wreath at Vilcas, thewing himfelf to be a Man of Valour, and of a Spirit to "refent affronts, was clapt into Irons, and imprisoned in the Castle of Cozco. Thus far Gomara.

So foon as the Indians perceived that their Inca was in Prison, and that their hopes were vain, and all the promifes vanished, they made sad complaints and lamentations; but Prince Manco Inca comforted them, faying, that he was refolved to obey the Spaniards in every thing with a ready, and with a willing mind, and exhorted them to doe the like, in regard that fuch was the Command of Huayna Capac, specified in his last Will and Testament; and therefore that they should not be inflant, or precipitate matters, until they had feen the ultimate iffue of this resolution; hoping that the Spaniards had put him under this restraint, that their munificence and generofity might be more evident to the World, when at the ame time they should restore him to his liberty, and to his Empire; and in the man time, that they should entertain no thoughts of the Viracochus, but such as were just and good, considering that they were a people descended from Heaven. Thus the Marquis fairly took his leave of the Inca, but privately enjoyned his Brothers, John and Gonçalo Picarro, and the Guards to take care of his Person, and secure him: And so he proceeded on his Journey to the City of los Reyes, where he regived his Brother Hernando, who brought him his new Commission, Honours and Tiks, and welcomed him with Magnificence and Triumph; which Gomara in the 133d Chapter relates in these words:

" Soon after that Almagro was departed from Chili, Fernando Piçarro arrived at " Lima, a Caty of los Reyes, bringing to Francisco Picarro the Title of Marquis de los " Atavillos, and to D. Diego de Almagro Commission for the Government of the "New Kingdom of Toledo, which was bounded by the Territories of the New Caffile, then under the Command and Jurisdiction of Picarro, and did extend a " hundred Leagues South-East from thence. Moreover, Hernando required from "the Conquerours, in behalf of the Emperour, the whole fum received for ran-" fome of Atabaliba, for that the ransome of one King is the sole right of another To which demand answer was made, that the Emperour had already received " his Fifth, which was as much as his Right came to, and that nothing more was "due to him. And herein they grew fo warm, that matters proceeded almost to a Mutiny, faying, that in the Court of Spain their Services were despised and vilified, and that they were efteemed rather for Slaves, than for Souldiers and Adventurers, who deserved the Countrey and Riches they had Atchieved by their Industry and Valour: But to appeale them, Francisco Picarro told them, that what they had gained by their Bravery and Virtue, they deserved to enjoy and that they merited the same Franchises and Dignities as those who affisted the King Don Pelayo, and his Successours, to recover Spain out of the hands of the Moors; and therefore he told his Brother, that he was to feek and contrive some other expedient to satisfie the promise he had made to the Emperour; for that none of them would willingly refund, nor would he force any person to relinquish his right. Then Hernando demanded so much per cent. out of the Gold which was melted down, by which he incurred the great displeasure and Z 2 Z

" harred of the people; but that not being granted, he went to Cocco, and endeavoured to gain the good will of Mango Inca, that by his favour he might procure a confiderable quantity of Gold for the Emperour, whose Coffess were greatly exhausted by the expence of his Coronation, and by his Wars against the *Turk* before *Vienna*, and by his Expedition against *Tunia*. Thus far are the Words of *Gomara*, with which he concludes that Chapter. But we say that the Margnis fent his Brother to Cozco, with Commission to be Governour there in his flead, and with Instructions to be carefull to secure the Inca, whilst he him. felf remained at los Reres to people and increase that Plantation.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

The Means which Prince Manco Inca practifed in order to his Restauration unto the Empire.

THE Prince Manco Inca being now a Priloner in that Fortress which his Ancestours had built, (for oftentation of their Glory, and as a Trophy of Third rouns had built, (for orientation of their Groty) and as a frophy of their Greatness, little imagining that it should ever become a Prison for any of those descended from them) did by his prudence and patience of mind endeavour to sweeten the bitterness of his Prison, by careffing and treating the symmetry, both Commanders and Inseriours, with gifts and presents not onely of Fruit, Birds, Flesh, and other Provisions; but likewise with Gold and Silver, Emergence of the provisions of the supplier of the provisions of the provisions of their Groups and as a frophy of their Groups of the provision of their Groty, and as a frophy of their Groty, and their G ralds and Torquoifes: And moreover, his communication with them was so affable and obliging, and with figns of fo little regret and discontent for his Imprisonment, that the Officers being well affured that he would not endeavour an escape, gave him the liberty to walk freely within the Precincts of the Fortress. During which time the Inca received intelligence, that Hernando Picarro was upon his Journey to Cozco to be Commander in Chief in that City; upon which advice he made more urgent instances, that he might have the liberty to live in one of his Houses within the City; the which he easily obtained, for he was so much in favour with the Spaniards, that they resulted him nothing of what he desired: And this request the *Inca* more earnestly pressed at that time, that *Hernando* at his coming might not find him a Prisoner, and under that notion suspect him, and cause him to pay his ransome, and not give him credit or belief in any thing that he should promise. In which particular we shall quote the testimony of Go mara and Carate, who relate the matter almost in the same words. Carate in the third Chapter of his third Book, faith as follows:

" Hernando Picarro being arrived at Cozco, made great Courtship to the Inca; and though he treated him very kindly, yet he always had an eye upon him: We may believe that this extraordinary kindness was to introduce and usher in the Request he had to make him for some Gold, both for the Emperour and himself. Two Months after that Hernando arrived at Cozco, the Inca desired leave of him, that he might go into the Country of Jucaya, where a certain Festival was celebrated; whence he promised to bring him a Statue of Massy. Gold, which was made in reprefentation of his Father Guaynacava; and being on his Journey thither, he then completed that which he had meditated, ever fince the departure of Almagro from Chili. Thus far are the Words of Carate.

It is certain that the Inca did ask and obtain leave to go unto Yncaya, which, as we have formerly mentioned, was the Garden of those Kings, and about a League from thence, near the River fide, was the place of their Sepulchres, called Tampus where their Bowels were buried, when taken out, in order to embalm their Bowhere then bowels were builted, what the Statue of Gold which was to reprefent his Father, might be placed there. The Inea being at Tuesya on pretence of celebrating this Feaft, he summoned together some old Captains, which remained of those this reality to his Father, and others of principal note; and at a full Affembly complained of the treachery and perfidiouffiels of the *Spaniards*, for not complying with the Articles and Capitulations which they had agreed and contracted with with the Anticies and Capitalacted which the Brother Titu Atauchi, likewife of his Imprifonment under Irons, and of the absence of the Captain-General, who had twice when he was upon his departure, promised to restore him to his Empire, and had failed, entertaining him onely promited to renote that to his Emphe, and had lance, entertaining him onely with vain hopes and delutions. Moreover, he affirmed, that though he was from the beginning fentible of the falle and perfidious intentions of the Spaniards, yet he was willing to temporize and diffemble with them, that so he might justifie himfelf before God and his people, that he had been in no manner acceffory to the breach of that peace which had been agreed between the Incas and the Spaniards; that he well observed how the Spaniards divided the Lands of the Countrey amongst themselves both in Cozco, Rimac and Tumpic; whereby it plainly appeared, that they had no intention to restore unto him the Empire; and that if he had diffembled compliance and contentment in all things towards the Spaniards. it was with delign to secure his own Person, which without any occasion, or offence, they had imprisoned, and cast into Irons. Wherefore as loyal Subjects and saithfull Vassals, he conjured them to give counsel to him their Prince in an enterprife of such grand importance; for that his design was to vindicate his Right to the Empire by force of Arms, hoping that neither the Pachacamac, nor his Father the Sun, would defert him in defence of his righteous cause: For answer whereunto, the Captains and Currecus made choice of one of the most Ancient amongst them to be Speaker, and deliver the common Sentiments of them all thereupon; who having first made his due Obeisance unto the Inca, discoursed in

It never was, Sir, the Advice of your Council, nor esteemed by them either feare or decent, that your Majesty should commit your Person into the hands "of Strangers, or trust unto them for restitution of your Empire: Howsoever, "they were willing to comply, and concur with your Majefty's humour, which "they found inclining to the maintenance of that peace and concord which was concerted with them by your Brother Titu Atauchi ; from which we can now expect little benefit, if we take our measures from the Treatment of your Bro-"ther Arabualpa, who having contracted for, and paid his ransome, was afterwards put to death. And we must attribute it to the Mercy and Provi-"dence of the Pachacamac, that they treated not your own Royal Person, when in their power, and under custody, in the same manner as they had done "your Brother. As to your Restauration to the Empire, there is little to be expected from a Nation fo entirely given over to Avarice; for it is not to "be imagined that those who are greedy of the fruit, should restore the tree unto "the true Proprietor; but it is more probable they should destroy, and put him " and his out of the way, left they should aspire to that Empire, which they refolve to enjoy. Wherefore fince the Spaniards themselves have given just cause to suspect, and doubt the performance of their promises, your Majesty ought immediately, without delay, to raise as many Souldiers as is possible, and make such other provisions as are necessary for War, wherein no time is to be lost; for that they being now divided into feveral parties, may be more eafily Maffacred, and cut to pieces, than when united in one body: In management of which delign, we must agree to attack them all at the same time in several places, so that they may not be able to affift or succour each other. We must also secure the ways, and stop and hinder all intercourse and correspondence between them: And in regard your Souldiers are fo numerous, that their Multitudes may eafily overwhelm fuch a handfull as are the Spaniards, and are able to throw the very Mountains upon them, if your Majesty to commands, nay if they refuse to grant them Succours onely, and Provisions, they must necessarily perish with famine, being as it were besieged by your Subjects, who encompass them on all sides: But this resolution is to be speedily executed, for the success of the whole design depends thereupon; of which we need not doubt, if we consider the justice of our cause.

Z Z Z 2

Which

539

Which having faid, the Captain ended his Discourse, whereupon a general Infurrection was concluded and resolved. In pursuance whereof, Messengers Infurrection was concluded and reloved. In purhance whereon, Mellengers were dispatched with great secrecy to the Captains and Officers in all parts of the Kingdom, enjoyning them to raise what Souldiers they were able, and upon one and the same day to surprize and massacre all their New-come Guests, and to furnish and supply the publick Granaries, or Magazines, with all the Provise. ons they could amass and gather. And in regard those Repositories were much one they could allias and gather. This is the state of the state of the late of the late Wars of Arabualpa, they ought to be again furnished and fupplied from private Stores 3 for which satisfaction and reparation was promised to be made to every particular person, after these Enemies and Tyrants were defroved and confounded. That in the performance of this Exploit, the life. fafety and liberty of them all did confift from the least to the greatest of them. even to the very Inca. Upon which Command of Prince Manco Inca, all the Souldiers which inhabit the Countrey from the City of los Reyes to the Chichae which is three hundred Leagues and more in length, made a general Insurrection. and out themselves into a posture of War: But on the other side of the Kingdom, which is front to Reject to Quitin, all was quiet, for that the people were destroyed by the Wars of Aubnaips, and by the slaughter the Spaniards had made of them on occasion of the Imprisonment and Death of that King. In like manner Advices were fent by difguifed Messengers to the Kingdom of Chili, who were publickly to pretend, that they were fent to enquire of the Health of Paulty. and the High Priest Villac Uma, but were secretly to inform them of the truth and depth of the design, whose part therein was to fall upon Almagro and his people. and utterly to destroy them; without which there was no hopes for the Inca of Restauration to his Empire. The people being in Arms, the Inca gave unto the people their respective tasks and parts of the work; those who were the In-land Inhabitants, as far as from Atahuaylla, and those along the Coast from Nanafes. which were on the fide of Chinchasinin, were to attempt Rimac, and kill the Governour and his Company. The people of Cuntifurn, and Collasurn, and Antiform were to undertake Cozco, and there to kill Hernando Picarro, and his Brothers, and all the Spaniards with them, which were not above two hundred in all; and Captains were named with inferiour Officers both for one and the other Army. The success of which, as to what relates to the City, we shall declare in the Chapter following, wherein the Mercifull hand of God did manifeltly appear in favour of the spaniards, that the Gospel might be propagated amongst the Gentiles, and their Idolatry confounded.

CHAP

#### CHAP. XXIV.

The Insurrection of Prince Manco Inca; and of the Two Miracles which were wrought in favour of the Christians.

HE Plot being thus laid, the *Inca* gave Command that the Souldiers now leavied, and in a posture of War should man be a transfer or when the sould man be a leavied, and in a posture of War should march towards Cozco. and to the City of los Reges, to kill, flay and destroy the Spaniards therein; and also as many of them as they found scattered and dispersed over the Kingdom; for by the great kindness and peaceable disposition which the Indians had shewn to them hitherto, the Spaniards became secure, and without sear or jealousse of any Mischief, employed themselves in digging Gold out of the Mines, with as much confidence as if they had been in their own Countrey. The War having taken its beginning from the flaughter of many Spaniards, that were labouring in divers places, they marched to Cozco, with all the privacy they were able, and came thither on the day appointed; and that very night following they fuddenly fell on the Spaniard with doud Noise and Shouts, being two hundred thousand in num-ber, many of which were armed with Bows and Arrows, which they shot with Fireballs into all the Houses of the City, not sparing the very Palaces of their Kings, nor any other, excepting onely the Temple of the Sun, and the Chambers belonging to it, and also the Convent of the Select Virgins, and the Shops of the four Streets, where this House was situate; and though these Houses were defooiled of their Riches, and without Inhabitants, yet their Reverence and Devotion towards those facred places, caused them to abstain from all fort of Sacrikge or violence thereunto. They also thought fit to conserve from Fire the stree great Halls in the Market-place, where they usually celebrated their Festivals in rainy Weather, intending to maintain them for the like use again, after they had freed themselves from the Tyranny of the Spaniards. One of these Halls was structe in the highest part of the City, adjoining to the Houses of the first Inu, Manco Capac, as we have described in the Model of the City: The other Hall appertained to the Houses of Inca Pachacutec, called Cass-ana: The third Hall was belonging to the Edifice of Huama Capac, which they called Amarucancha, where now the Jesuites have their College. And moreover they preserved a handlome round Cupolo, which was built on the Front of these Houses; all the other Buildings were burnt, and not to much as one left standing. To burn the House of the Inca Viracocha, where the Spaniards were quartered, the stoutest and most valiant Indians were chosen, who stormed it with great Fury, and shooting their Arrows at far distance, set it on fire, and entirely consumed it. The great Hall thereof, which is now the Cathedral, and then a Chapel, where the Chriflians faid Mals, was by the Providence of God defended from the Bire; and though innumerable Arrows, carrying Fire, were shot into it, and began to burn it, in feveral parts, yet in a miraculous manner it quenched of it felf, as if Water in flouds had been thrown upon it: And this was one of the Miracles which God wrought for us, to make way for the Propagation of the Gospel, in that City, where certainly is now fettled the most devout and religious society of Men that is in all the New World, both for Spaniards and Indians.

Hemando Picarra, and his two Brothers, with their Souldiers, which in all did not make above two hundred, which was an inconfiderable number against for mighty a Force, keep close in a Body; and like good Souldiers were always upon the Guard, placing their Centinels at every Aenue, and Watchmen upon the Tower. As oft as the Noise of the Indians allarm'd them, they stood to their Arms, and bridled their Horses, of which every night thirty stood ready sadled, to make stilles on the Enemy, and survey their Force. When they had discovered their

great

ok II.

542

great multitude, but not as yet the Weapons they carried, wherewith to offend the Horfe, (which were the Creatures they most dreaded,) they resolved to retreat into the Market-place, which being wide and spacious, was much more advantageous for receiving the Enemy, than in the narrow Streets: And being there drawn up in Battalia, the Body of Instarty, consisting of one hundred and twenty Men, was placed in the middle, slanked on each side with the Horse, not being above Eighty in all; of which two Troops, of twenty in a Troop, were placed in the Van, and two Troops, of the like number, were drawn up in the Rere, so that they might charge the Enemy on whatsoever side they should be attacked by them.

The Indians feeing the Spaniards in a Body, affaulted them on every part with great fury, intending to over-run them in an inflant; but the Horfe fallying out upon them, made frout refiftance, and fought with them untill Break of Day, when the Indians again reinforced the Battel, and rained showers of Arrows upon them, with Vollies of Stones discharged from their Slings, howfoever the Horfe, (which is wonderfull to consider) revenged themselves upon them with their Lances, killing in every onset, an hundred and fifty, or two hundred Indians; by reason that they neither carried defensive Arms, nor used Pikes to keep off the Horse, though they were armed with them; for not being used to fight against Cavalry, but onely Foot to Foot, and naked Men against naked Men; the Spaniards by their Horse and Armour prevailed over the Indians with great Slaughter, who hoped notwithstanding by their numbers to become Conquerous in the end.

In this posture of War the Indians continued for the space of seventeen Days to straiten and besiege the Spaniards in the Market-place of Coxco, not permitting them to sally forth; during which time, as well by night as by Day, the Spaniards continued in their Ranks and Squadrons, to be in a readiness against the Enemy, and as often as they went to drink, they were forced to go in Compassies to the Stream, which runs through the Streets of the City; and to search into the Ruines of the Houses, which were burnt, for Mayz, which was the onely Food they had to sustain them; but Provender for their Horses was more wanting than Victuals for themselves, howsoever they sound some Provision for support both of one and the other, though much damaged by the Fire, which Hunger and Necessity made passable. On which particular Carate reports as solloweth.

"In this manner the Inca attempted Cozco with all his Force, and befieged it for eight Months, and at every Full of the Moon he stormed the Spaniards on all sides, but Hernando Picarro, and his Brothers, with many Gentlemen and Captains, that were vithin the City, made stout resistance, and repulsed the Indians vith great Valour; in vyhich Actions those vyhich were most signalized, were Gabriel de Rojus, Hernan Ponce de Leon, Don Alonso Enriquez, and the Treasurer Riquelme, vytich many others; all vyhich, vyith their Souldiers, behaved themselves vyith Courage and Bravery, and none of them unbracing their Armour, either by day or night, sighting like desperate Men, vyho had given all over for lost; for having received intelligence, that the Governour, and all the Spaniards, were cut off, and sain by the Indians, who had made a general Insurrection in all parts, they expected no Relief or Succour, but from God, nor Sasety, but in their oven Arms, though they killed and vyounded the Indians very truch, and daily diminished their numbers.

Thus far are the Words of Carate, vvho briefly relates the great Danger and the many Straits to vvhich these Conquerours vvere reduced in this Siege, vvherein, though they used all the diligence imaginable to provide themselves vvith Food, yet all had not sufficed to free them from Famine, had not their Indian Servaints, vvho lived vvith them in their Houses, like good and faithfull Friends, supplied their vvants; for by day they passed over to the Enemy, in vvhom to beget a Considence of them, they seemed to fight against the Spania-ards, and by night they returned to them laden vvith Provisions; all vvhich is construed by the Testimony of Gomara and Carate, though that and the other Enterprises of the Inca are touched onely in short by them, vvho are silent also in the account of those Miracles vvhich our Lord Jesus Christ vvorked at Corto

our of the Spaniards, where was most danger, and where the Indians spent me fierceness of their Fury. And indeed the Danger was so great, that in the sift eleven or twelve Days of the Siege, the Spaniards were so harassed and tired out, as well Horse as Foot, by the continual Skirmishes in which they were engged, and for want of Provisions, that they were reduced to the last extreminty; for by this time thirty Christians were killed, and almost all wounded, without Remedies or Salves for their Care; so that in a few days not being able longer to hold out, they all expected to perish, having no hopes of Relief or Succour from other places, or means, than onely from Heaven, to which they listed up their Cries, and offered their daily Prayers, begging the Mercy and Defence of God, and the Intercession and Protection of the ever blessed Virgin

Mars.

The Indians having observed, that the Night when they burned all the Town, yet the Gallery in which the Spaniards were quartered still remained untouched by the Flames, wherefore they attempted to burn that also, (and might easily perform it, in regard there was none to make Head, or Opposition to prevent them,) and for several Days and Nights, at all hours, they continually put fire to it, but it would not burn; which the Indians much admiring, said, That the Fire had lost its Force and Virtue, and could not consume that House in which the Virtues had lived and quartered. At length the Spaniards sound themselves so hard put to it, and so affailed on all sides, that they resolved to put it to the issue of Battel, and rather dye fighting, with their Arms in their Hands, than linger out a miserable Death, and at length perish with Famine or faintness, permitting the Enemy tamely to cut their Throats, after they had no farther Force or Spirit to

relift them. Having thus refolved, they confessed their fins to three Priests, that were with them, and for want of time, such as could not, confessed one to the other, and all called upon the Name of God, and upon those Saints to which they had devoted themselves; and being thus prepared to dye like Christians, so soon as it was day, the Indians, who were a thousand to one, being ashamed to be so long opposed by such a handfull of Men, assailed the Spaniards with their usual Furv. resolving not to quit or remit the Battel, untill they had totally destroyed them; and the Spaniards, on the contrary, with loud Cries calling upon the Name of the Virgin, and the Apostle St. James, theil Champions maintained the Fight with such Resolution, that the Slaughter was great on both sides, and many Spaniards wounded. At last, after five hours Fight, the Christians became so weary, and their Horses so spent with the Engagement of that Day, that they expected nothing less than Death. The Faintness and Relaxation of the Spaniards gave new Courage to the Indians to reinforce and renew the Fight, for Prince Manco Inca observing the Passages of the Battel from an high place, animated his People, calling upon them by the Names of their feveral Provinces, and inciting them to renew the Fight, being, as it were, certain with the Success of that Day to recover his Empire. When on a sudden, and in this Extremity, it pleased God to own the Cause of his faithfull People, by sending to their Affiltence the blessed Appelle St. 2 and the Champing and Broadland of Science who with the content of the champing and Broadland of Science who with the champing and the Champing and Broadland of Science who with the champing and the Apostle St. James, the Champion and Protectour of Spain, who visibly appeared both to the Spaniards, and the Indians, mounted on a White Horse, carrying a Target, with the fign of his Military Order thereon inscribed, and in his Right Hand a Sword, which, by the gliftering of it, feemed like Lightning. The Indians, greatly affrighted to fee this new Cavalier enter the Lifts, asked one the other, what Viracocha that was, which carried the Illapa, in his Hand; which Word fignifies Thunder, and Lightning, and the Thunderbolt. Wherefoever this new Cavalier affailed the Indians, they ran like Men amazed, trampling one upon the other, and on what part foever the Indians affaulted the Christians, the Saint immediately appeared in the Front, to fuccour and defend them from the Indians, who, affrighted with the Apparition, fled and forfook the Battel; and the Spaniards herewith taking courage, renewed the Fight, and killed an innumerable number of the Enemies, who being possessed with a fear, ran away, and for-

Thus were the Christians delivered this day by this bleffed Apostle, and the Victory wrested out of the Hands of the Insidels; the same was the Success of the day following, and as often as the *Indians* adventured to sight; for so so they began to engage, they became amazed with consusion, and not knowing where

io

545

where to go, or what to doe, they returned to their Quarters, asking one the other, what the meaning of these matters was, and how it came to pass that they were thus \*Viic, Campa, Llaclla, which is as much as to say, foolish, cowardly, pusillanimous. Howsoever all this did not deter them from their purpose; for they continued the Siege for the space of eight Months after all these Actions, as will appear in the Sequel of this History.

#### CHAP. XXV.

The Miracle which was wrought by our Lady in favour of the Christians; and of a signal Combate between two Indians.

THE Indians being retreated into their Camp, the Inca called the Captains before him, and publickly reprehended them for the Cowardife and Publickly lanimity which they had shewn in that days Battel, telling them what a shame in was that such a multitude of Indians should fly from before the Face of a small number of Viracochas, who were already tired out, and haraffed and weakned with Famine and Hunger; wherefore they should now look to it, and endeavour to repair the Honour which they had loft in the late Battel, and acquit themselves like Men; for otherwise he would fend them to spin with the Women, and chuse other Captains in their places, of better Courage and Bravery. The Indians, in excuse of what was past, alledged, that there appeared a new Viracocha, carrying Thunder and Lightning in his Hand, who so terrified and amazed them that they knew not what they did, whether they fought, or were put to flight, but promifed to behave themselves better in the next Engagement; on which assurance the Inca ordered them to put their Souldiers into a readiness against the third night, when he resolved to make another attempt on the Viracochas, hoping that by the Darkness they should not see or distinguish the Viracocha who so lately affrighted them. The Christians on the other side with humble Thankfulness acknowledged the Mercy of Divine Providence in their Delivery, and became so encouraged and heartned by their Success, that having well fixed their Arms, and refelhed their Horses, they believed, and were assured that Heaven had bestowed that Kingdom on them, in testimony and in earnest vvhereof he had given them the late unexpected Victory.

The night being come, which the *Inca* had appointed for another Exploit, the *Indians* fallied forth with furious Rage, threatning to revenge and make amends for the late Difgrace, and not to spare, or give quarter to one of the *Viracochas*: of all vyhich the *Spaniards* having intelligence from the *Indians*, who had been their Menial Servants, (and novv served them for Spies,) put themselves into a posture to receive them at the time appointed, calling vvith great Devotion upon the Name of Christ our Lord, the blessed Virgin, and the Apostle St. *James* to succour and defend them in that time of Extremity. The *Indians* being drawn up in Battel, and ready to assail the Christians, behold, there appeared in the Air our Lady, vvith the Child Jesus in her Armes, vvith so much lustre and brightness, that the Insidels beholding the Apparition, vvere strucken vvith amazement, and looking up stedsastly upon it, such a Dust, or Sand, sell like a Devy from above into their Eyes, that they knevy not the place in vyhich they vvere, and for returned again to their quarters, from vyhence for many days they durst not adventure to fally forth.

This was now the seventeenth night that the Indians had so straitned the Spaniards within the compass of the Market-place, that neither by Day or Night

they could adventure out, unless in strong Parties; but after this Apparition the Indians became so amazed, that the Spaniards afterwards had the liberty of a greater compass, and their Quarters were much enlarged. But as Insidelity is always blind, so in a sew days the Impression made by the late Wonder beginning to wear away, the Inca persuaded his Souldiers to make another attempt upon the Christians, to which they were zealously moved, out of an earnest Desire to see their Inca restored to his Empire: Howsoever such was the sense they conceived from the late Apparitions, that their Hearts sailed them, so soon as they put themselves into a posture of Fight, so that all their Resolutions and Designs produced nothing more than Noise and Allarms, which served to keep the Spaniards in a continual Watchfulness, who seeing that the Indians durst not engage them, they retired again to the Gallery, which was their head Quarter; and so often as they returned thither, they blessed God, who had conserved that narrow place for them, wherein to cure their wounded, and to shelter those who were as yet sound and well; and for that reason they made a Vow to dedicate that place for a Chapel to the Service of God, so soon as he should have freed and delivered them som the Hands of his Enemies.

In all which necessities the Indian Servants were very usefull, bringing Herbs to one the sick and wounded, and Food to relieve the healthfull; for (as we have said in the first part of this History) there are many skilfull Herbalists amongst the Indian, so that the Spaniards themselves conses, that unless the Indian had succoured them in their Distress, relieving their Hunger with Mayz, and Herbs, and other Provisions, and had served them for Spies, and as it were Centinels to give them signals, when the Enemy moved either by day or night; it had fared worse with them, and perhaps it had been impossible for them to have subssisted; all which Service and Fidelity of the Indians to Strangers in their Countrey, and to Enemies of their Kings and Religion, is to be attributed to the wonderfull Providence of God, who was pleased to insufe such Fidelity and ardent Affection into the Hearts of these poor Wretches towards the Spaniards their Masters, that they would dye an hundred times, and suffer all imaginable tortures, rather than berry them.

After the Infurrection of the *Indians* was suppressed, both the Natives of *Cozco*, and all the other Nations, who were present at that Siege, consessed themselves to have been overcome by the appearance of the Virgin  $Mar_J$ , the Lustre of whose beautiful Countenance, which darted Rays from her sparkling Eyes, charmed them with such Love and Affection towards them, as not onely caused them to lay down their Weapons, but likewise to accept and embrace the Catholick Faith, and willingly to learn her Names and Titles both in the *Latin* and *Cassilian* Tongues, which to understand the better, they have translated into their own Language all the Names and Titles given to our Lady, which they repeat as often as they have occasion to pray and ask blessings from her.

But to return again to Prince Manco Inca, his Captains and Souldiers, it is certain, that they were fo terribly affrighted with the Visions they had seen, that they durst not so much as mention them, for the very thought and remembrance of them was full of Amazement. Howfoever they continued the Siege in hopes of better fortune, though they durst not adventure to engage, having been often worsted by St. James, who always appeared in the Front of the Spaniards, which the Indians observing, and that the new-come Cavalier affrighted and terrified them more than all the others, they called out with loud voices, and faid, Keep but up and restrain that Viracocha which rides upon the White Horse, that he fall not upwith, and you shall quickly see how we will dispatch and deal with all the others. After the Siege had continued for the space of tive Months, a certain Indian Captain, who was possessed with a great opinion of his own Valour, was desirous to signalize himself, and try whether Fortune would be more favourable in a single Combate, than in a common Fight; and upon this presumption he asked leave of his Superiour Officers to challenge any Viracocha what soever to a fingle Duel; and in regard he observed that the *Spaniards* fought on Horseback with Lances, he armed himself with the like Weapon, and with a little Hatchet, or Pole Axe, by his fide, called Champi, which were all the Arms that he would use. And in this manner he presented himself before the Guards, which were always set for Centinels, at every Avenue of the Market-place, which was the head Quarters

of the Spaniards, and there with a loud Voice cried out, That if any Viracocha had Courage to engage with him in a fingle Duel, that he should come forth and fight with him, for he there attended him with his Arms: But the Spaniards efteeming it a condescention too mean, and no Honour to kill a filly Indian, scorned to accept the Challenge.

But at length a Noble *Indian*, of the Nation of *Cannari*, who from his Infan. cv had been bred up a Page in the Court of the great Huayna Capac, and then professed himself a Servant to the Marquis Don Francisco Piçarro; for ha ving vielded himself to him in one of the late Skirmishes, he ever after acknowledged him for his Master; with this Person I had an Acquaintance, and less ledged him for his Matter; with this Person I had an Acquantance, and less him alive in Cocco, when I came thence for Spain. This Camarian, I say, asked leave of Hernando, and solin, and Gongalo Picarro, Brothers of his Lord, to answer the Challenge, saying, That since that I ellow had the boldness to defie the Viracochas, that he, who was a Servant of theirs, would undertake the Duel, not doubting but, by virtue of their propitious Fortune, to return victor rious. Hernando Picarro, and his Brother, applauding his Courage and Refolution, granted him licence; upon which he took the like Arms which the other carried, and went forth to meet him: And having fought together a long while. they closed three or four times, and wrestled, but being not able to throw one the other, they loofed, and again returned to the management of their Arms: with which the Cannarian being most dextrous, thrust his Enemy into the Breast with his Lance, and then cutting off his Head, he carried it by the Hairs thereof unto the Spaniards, with which testimony of Conquest he was received with that Triumph which his Victory deferved.

The Inca, and his People, were much ashamed of the Victory which the Cannarian had gained; for had it been a Spaniard, the Dishonour had been much less, but to be overcome by one of their own Indian Vassals, was an Affront and Disgrace which could portend nothing but ill fortune; and being a People naturally superstitious, and terrified with the apprehension of such Omens, they never afterwards attempted any thing of Moment, during the remainder of the Siege; nor did any thing remarkable succeed, unless the unfortunate Death of that wor-

thy John Picarro, as we shall hereafter relate.

So often as I call to mind these Miracles, and several others, which God was pleased to work in favour of the Christians, both at the Siege of Cozco, and of los Reyes, as we shall see hereaster, I cannot but wonder that the Historians should be so silent therein, especially since they were so clear and evident to all the World, having in my youth heard them reported both by Indians and Spaniards, with great admiration; in memory of which, after the Siege, they dedicated unto our Lady that Gallery wherein the Spaniards were quartered, and where now the Cathedral Church is built, called by the Name of St. Many of the Assumption and Advocation; and the City it self they dedicated to St. James of Spain; to both which Saints Anniversary Days of Feasts are appointed, in thankfull remembrance for the gratious Benefits received; the which Festivals begin in the morning with a solemn Procession, and Sermon, and then High Massis celebrated; and lastly, the Day is concluded with the Sport of Bulls, and other Recreations.

In the Porch of this Church, which leads to the Market-place, the Picture of St. James is painted, mounted on a White Horse, with his Buckler on his Arme, and a Serpentine Sword in his Hand, with many Indians dead and wounded under his Feet; which Picture when the Indians beheld, they said that a Viracocha like this, was he that destroyed us in the Market-place. In the Year 1560 when I departed from Cozco, to go into Spain, the Picture was then fresh; the Insurrection of the Inca began in the Year 1535, and ended in 1536, and I was born in the Year 1539, so that I might well be acquainted both with Indians and Spainsards, who had been actually in those Wars, and Witnesses of those Apparitions, which we have declared; and I my self, for five Years together, have always been present at the Sports and Pastimes of those Festivals; for which Reasons from plain demonstration, I cannot but wonder why Historians have been silent in these particulars, unless it be, that they would attribute unto the valour of the Spaniards all the Honour of those Days, without making due return of shankfull acknowledgment unto God for the Victories so miraculously obtained.

Many days after I had wrote this Chapter, turning over the Leaves of the Book of Acofta, I met with fome thing to this purpose, in confirmation of the Miracles which our Lord Jesus Christ, and his Mother the Virgin Mary, Queen of the Angels, had wrought in the New World, in favour of our holy Faith and Religion; which when I had read, and found my own Reports confirmed by his Authority, I cannot express the Joy I conceived by this happy concurrence. For since the Delivery of truth is my chief Aim and Design, I cannot but be greatly delighted when I find my Relations confirmed either in part, or in whole, by the Authority of other Historians; for I hate the Character of being either a Flatterer, or a fabulous Writer; which to avoid, I have thought fit to produce the World of Acosta in the 27th Chapter of his 7th Book, which are as followeth.

" When the Spaniards were befieged in the City of Cozco, and fo closely pref-" fed and fraitned, that without the Affistence of Heaven it was impossible for "them to escape, I have heard from very credible Persons, that the Indians "threw Fire on the Roof of that House where the Spaniards were lodged, and " where now the Cathedral Church is built; and though the Covering of the "House was a fort of Thatch, (which they call Chicho, or rather Tchu,) and that "the Fire was made with a rafimy kind of burning Wood, yet it took no hold "on that combustible matter; for our Lady appearing from above, kept a con-" flant Guard over that place, and immediately extinguished the Fire; all which "the Indians visibly saw, and remained with astonishment. All the Relations " and Hiltories, which are wrote on this Subject, report for a certain truth, that " in divers Battels, which the Spaniards fought in New Spain, and in Peru, the " Indians plainly discovered in the Air, a Cavalier, mounted on a white Horse, " with a Sword in his Hand, fighting for the Spaniards; whence it that in all "parts of the West-Indies great Devotion and Honour is paid to that glorious Apostle St. James; and at other times in several difficult Encounters, the Image " of our Lady hath presented it self, from which Christians have received inex-"pressible Benefits; and were all these Apparitions and Wonders of Heaven particularly described, they would swell a Volume too large for this History,

Thus far are the Words of Acosta, who reports, that almost fourty years after these matters were transacted he made a Voyage into Pern, where he received Information of all these particulars. And having said thus much, we will return again to our Spaniard, who remaining under such propitious circumstances of the Divine Providence, were enabled to become the Masters of an hundred New Worlds.

Aaaa 2 CHAP.

548

#### XXVI. CHAP.

The Spaniards gain the Fortress with the Death of the worthy John Picarro.

N the 5th Chapter of the 8th Book of the first part, we there mentioned the Lovalty which the Natives of the Cannaris bore towards their Kings the Incas, and we then promifed to declare, how that on occasion of the great Love and Friendship which one of that Nation professed towards the Spaniards, all the In the 37th Chapter of the 9th Book of the first part, we described the great Loyalty of that People towards their Princes; we are now to give an account of the reason, for which the same was afterwards denied. The Cause was this

When the Indians, after the Victory observed the many Favours and Honours which the Spaniards bestowed on the Person of the Cannarian, who sought the duel, they became so entirely affectionated and devoted to the Spaniards, that they denied all farther Service and Duty to their own Inca., and from that time became Spies, Informers and Betrayers of the other Indians, and in the very civil Wars which the Soniards had one with the other, even to the time of Francisco Hernandee Giron; the Cannarians which lived in Cozco, under the Command of this Don Francifco the Cannarian, and were then very numerous, ferved for Spies, and Informers against the Indians; and in all the civil Wars which the Spaniards waged one against the other, to that very War of Hernandez Giron; the Cannarians (who were very numerous at Cozeo, and lived there under the Command of Don Francifco Camari,) did all that time ferve for Spies; and dividing themselves into two Parties, some took the Kings party, and others sided with the Tyrane; so that at the end of the War, they to thuffled their matters together, that they all pretended to have been of the strongest and the conquering side; and whereas they are naturally a fore of differnbling People, they all rejoiced, and congratulated the Success of the Victorious, which piece of Fraud and Diffimulation the summitae could hardly discover amongst them, because they always treated with their Contmanders, and not with the Commonalty, so that they could not know their Faces, or diftinguish their Persons; and yet these fawning Rascals, who were all of a Bloud and Kindred, conferred together, and communicated intelligence of all that paffed in one or the other Army. And thus much I was given to underfland from one of the Natives of Cannaris, who after the War of Hernandez discovered all these secret Cabals, and Intrigues to another, who asked him, how it fared with those who had taken part with the Tyrant; but as to Don Francisco Cannari himfelf, he became so proud, and insolent, by that favour and countenance which the Spaniards had shewn to him, that some Years afterwards he adventured (as is commonly reported) to poison Philip Inca, the Son of Huayna Capac, of whom we have formerly made mention; and this matter is the more fulplcious, because he afterwards married the Wife of this Philip Inca, who was a very beautifull Woman, and took her rather by force, than by Courthip, caufing his Creatures and Confidents to threaten her into the Match, to which the was forced to yield against the Consent and Approbation of the Incas; but now there was nothing but Patience, for their Empire and Command was taken from them. We shall hereafter tell of another Atchievement of this infolent Indian, to the great scandal of all the other Indian Inhabitants of that City.

The spatiands finding themselves daily favoured by the miraculous Hand of Divine Providence, and the Indians so cowed and terrified, that they durft not make any Attempt upon them, but onely to keep them, as it were, blocked up, they refolved at length to fally forth, and thew, that though their numbers could bear no comparison with the multitudes of the Indians, yet that they entertained no dread or apprehensions of them; to evidence which, they made frequent

Sallies, forcing them to retreat to what place, and as far as they pleafed with which at length they became fo amazed and affrighted, that they would make no which at length they oceane to annually and amplified, that they would make no Defence, so that twenty five or thirty Spaniards were able to deal with great Squadons of the Indians, and kill and put them to flight, as if they had been so many Infinity or Children. For if God be for us, who can be against us? In this manner the Indians left the Siege of the City, being driven from the Fields, and all the Quarters thereabouts; and not one appearing, unless in the Rocks and Mountains, where the Horse could doe but little service: And yet the Rocks were not a suffiwhere the task and protection for them, because the Horse trotted over them the formany Goats: This, I fay, is a comparison of my own, but I have heard mother, much more apt to this purpose, from one of the Conquerours of those another, much those are to this purpose, from one of those thirteen who remained with Francisco Picarro, when all his other companions deserted and abandoned

him, as we have formerly related.

This Cavalier, with divers others, going one day to bring feveral Gentlemen on their way, that were travelling into Spain, I also remember to have been with them, though but a Youth, it being then towards the end of the year 1552; and being on the Road which leads to Arequepa, Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte, during all the time that he was travelling from Cozco to Quespecancha, which are three Leagues. related the many successes which occurred in the late Siege; pointing with his finger at the places where fuch and fuch Actions had paffed, telling that there fuch a person personned such an Exploit, at such a place another acted such a piece of bravery; and, amongst others, which were very strange and wonderfull, he repravery; and, among tothers, which were very firange and wonderfull, he reconned one of *Gonçalo Piçarro* on the very ground where it was performed; the which we shall mention in its due place. And having made us a Narrative of many strange Atchievements, he added, that we ought not to disbelieve these matters as incredible, for that God was pleased visibly to affist, and favour us with his Miracles; among t which it was none of the leaft, that our Horses were nimble, and tripped over the Rocks and Precipices of those Mountains with such ease and activity, as if they had been Doves or Pigeons; and yet those Mountains. which are to the East-fide of the way, are very steep and craggy. I wish I had not forgot many particulars which he related to us that day, for they would have funished me with fufficient matter to have filled many leaves of Paper touching the many Exploits performed by the Spaniards in that Siege: Howfoever, in geneal, it is worthy our admiration that a hundred and seventy Men onely should be able to oppose two hundred thousand fighting Men, and contend with them under the many sufferings of Hunger, Watchings by continual Allarums, tired out with Labours, wounded without the help and cure of Chirurgeons, and many other inconveniences which attend straitned and distressed Sieges: And more than all this, the Reader may fansie in his imagination, considering that it is impossible to describe all the particular difficulties which the Spaniards endured, and overcame by the invincible Valour of their Spirits, which were supported by the fole Power of God, who was pleased to make choice of this people, for those who were to preach and plant the Gospel in that Empire.

The Indians having now quitted the Siege, the Spaniards judged it no complete Victory, unless they made themselves in like manner Masters of the Fortress: Wherefore having left a sufficient Guard in the City, they mounted the Hill towards the Fort, which was valiantly defended by the Indians for five or fix Days together: At last one night after they had fought stoutly the whole day, so that the Spaniards were retired to their Quarters, and that Don John Pigarro, who some days before had been wounded, had for his better ease taken off his Helmet; it happened, that a Stone thrown at random from a Sling strook him on the head, of which unhappy wound he died in three days afterwards.

"This was a loss (Augustine Carate reports) which sensibly touched all those Spaniards, who were Adventurers in that Countrey, for that this Picarro had the reputation of a valiant Person, and an experienced Souldier in the Wars against the Indians, and was generally beloved and esteemed by all. Thus far are the Words of Carate.

And thus did this Worthy Gentleman end his days, to the great grief and forrow of all that knew him; for he had the fame and reputation of a generous Person, valiant and courteous, being adorned with all those Vertues which become a Gentleman, and a Person of Honour. His Body was buried in the great Chapel of the Cathedral of that City, and over it was laid a great Marble Stone of an Azure blew, without any Inscription; though his Merits deserved a fair Epitaph, which perhaps might have been omitted, for want of Engravers in Stone; for at that time, and many years after, they knew not the Art to Engrave; nor to use any other sharp tool, unless the Sword and Lance. At this great loss and expence the Spaniards gained the Fortress of Cozco, and drove the Indians from thence. The Historians in the relations they make of this Siege, declare the taking of this Fortress in the first place; but the Indians report it to have been afterwards; which is the truth of the History, but in other matters they agree with the Spaniards.

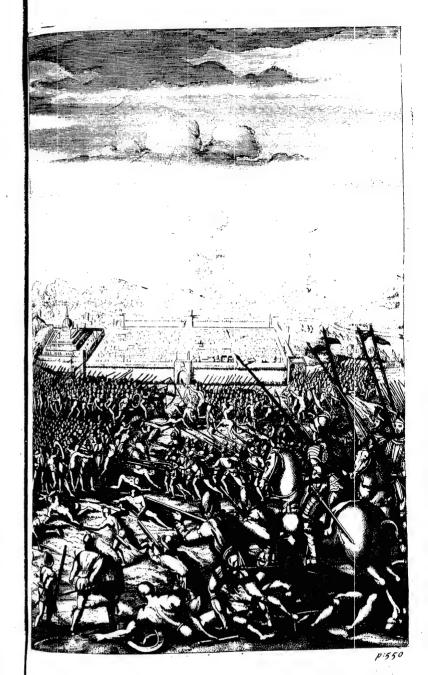
#### CHAP. XXVII.

Of the several Exploits performed both by Indians and Spaniards during the Siege of Cozco.

THE Death of John Piçarro, who was Brother to the Governour, and a Perfon of principal note, gave spirit and encouragement to the Indians, who from such successes these, were apt to conceive new hopes and expectations, to that they resolved to adventure again another Battel; for though they had been worsted and soiled in every one, yet still the desire they had to be revenged on the Spaniards, and restore the Empire again to their Inca, prevailed above the apprehension of their ill successes, and caused them still to persevere in their obstinate resistence. Howsoever, the Christians were not mow so narrowly besieged by the Indians, but that they had liberty to sally forth, and range for a League round; and yet they still troubled and molested them, not suffering the Indian Servants to carry them Victuals, or other resembnents: To supply which, the Spaniards were forced to make frequent Excursions into the Country for Provisions and Forage; of which they were always in want during the Siege; for though the Indian Servants stole something for them, which they privately conveyed into the Town; yet it was so little, as could not satisfie their necessities. Angustine Carrate relates one of these Sallies in this manner following:

"During this War and Siege, Gonçalo Piçarro made a fally with twenty Horle, and an in-road as far as to the Lake of Chinchero, which is about five Leagues from Cozco, where he was affailed and overwhelmed with fuch multitudes of people, (having engaged farther with them, than prudence and due regard to his finall company did require) that he had certainly been taken, had not Hornando Piçarro, and Alonfo de Toro, with fome few Horle, feafonably come in to his refcue. Thus far are the Words of Carate.

This Lake of Chinchirn (so called by the Indians) is about two Leagues distant from the City Northward, it is a Water extremely delightfull; and which anciently, by the Munificence of the Incas, was furnished with several Pipes and Aqueducts to convey the Water into divers parts of those Plains, which refreshed the Grounds which were sowed, and made all that Valley of Cozco to become finitfull, until Wars and Troubles amongst the Spaniards themselves caused them to be neglected, and for want of care became wholly useles. Afterwards in the



200

years 1555, and 56, they were repaired by my Lord and Father Garcitaffo de 18 Vega, being then Mayor of that City; and in that good condition I left them; when I departed thence, and fo I hope they will be conferved, because that Water is greatly beneficial to all that Valley. But to return again to what Carate speaks of the danger in which Gonçalo Piçarro was engaged, when he was rescued by his Brother; it is to be noted (as we have mentioned in our History of Florida) that he was the most dextrous Man with his Lance of any of those who had passed into the New World; in considence of which, both he and his people sought stoudy that day, and adventured so far, that they had been overwhelmed by the multitude of Indians, had they not been succoured beyond all expectation; and indeed twas a mercy wholly to be attributed to Divine Providence; for neither sid Gonçalo require it, nor Hernando Piçarro know that his Brother was engaged so far to all extremity.

Another day when the Spaniards and Indians engaged in the Field of Salinas. which is about a finall League diffant from Cozco to the Southward, many brave Actions were performed by both parties; and though the Indians were many, and made front reliftence, vet they were at length overcome, and put to flight: Howforegree forme resolute Captains amongst them, who chose rather to dve, than cowardly to run away in fight of their *Inca*, who from a high Tower beheld and observed the Actions of the day, continued in the Field, and fought with undainted courage: One of which posting himself in the middle of the road which leads to Collab. attended the coming of a certain Cavalier (whom I knew) as he was making up to him on Horfe-back with his Lance in his hand; the Indian with a fierce countenance, like an undaunted Souldier, stood ready with his Bow drawn to receive him; and at the same time that the Spaniard made a thrust at him with his Lance, he strook the point of it down to the ground, and catching hold of it, forced it from his hands. Another Gentleman of my acquaintance standing by, and observing a fingle Combat between a Spaniard and an Indian. did not concern himself, because they were one to one, untill he saw that the Indian had wrested the Lance out of the hand of the Spaniard; and then he thought it time to take part with his companion, and so made at him with his Lance; but the Indian bearing off the blow with what he had in his hands, wrested also the Spear from the Spaniard, and defended himself from both of them at the same time; their Names I shall conceal out of respect to their posterity; one of which was a Schollar with me at the Grammar School. Gongalo Pigarro, who was engaged in another place, and had put his Enemies to flight, happened to come in at the same time, and be a Spectator of this Action; and seeing how matters passed, he cried out with a loud voice. Out for thame, what two to one! The Spaniards knowing the voice of Gonçalo Piçarro, made a stop, untill he himself came up to make trial, whether he could deal better with him than they had done: The Indian feeing another Horse-man come upon him, set his footing on the first Lance he had gained, and with the other he encountred the third Cavalier; who before he could come to wound him, he gave such a stroke with his Lance at the head of the Horse, as raised him bolt upright, and almost threw him back upon his hanches. The Indian finding himself thus hardly befet, quitted his Lance, and catched hold of that in the hand of Pigarro, intending to wrest it from him, as he had done the others; but Picarro keeping fast hold thereof with his left hand, drew his Sword with his right to cut off the hands of the Indian; but he being aware thereof, feeing the Sword over his head, loofed the Lance, and catched up the other, which was under his feet. And now the two Cavaliers, which were Spectators, thought it time to dally no longer, but to come in, and without other complement to kill the Indian : but Gonçalo Picarro cried out against it, saying, That it was pity so brave a Man should dye; and that he deserved rather Honour and Reward, than Death. The Indian observing that the two other Cavaliers were restrained by the words of Pigarro, and that he had faved his life; he immediately threw away his Lance, and in token of submission went to him, and kissed his right leg, saying, Henceforth thou shalt be my Inca, and I will be thy Servant : And for ever afterwards he served him with great fidelity; and Gongalo Pigarro loved him as his own Son, untill fuch time as he was killed in the Battel of Canela, as we shall hereafter understand. This Story I heard from the Mouth of Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte, who was present

in that Battel; and the fame was confirmed by the report of many others. And Goncalo Picarro confessed himself, that in all the Wars in which he had been engaged, he had never been so hard put to it, nor never so endangered as he had been hy that Indian.

Not far from this place to the Southward, another Action happened as strange as the former, which Rodriguez de Villa-fuerte related that day unto us: which was this: A certain Cavalier riding foftly on his Horse upon the way, for the Indiana were all fled, and not one of them appeared; on a fudden the Horfe fell under were an ned, and not of their appeared; on a tudent the role reil under him; and though the Rider nimbly leaped from his back, yet the Horse with some difficulty recovered himself, and stood upon three legs, an Arrow having wounded him in the sinews of one of his foremost legs; the Spaniard looking about him to see from whence this Arrow was shot, could not for a great while discover any person, until at length on the East-side of the way, they found an Indian leaning against the side of a bank within a great Water-gall; (of which there are many in that Country) but howfoever the distance was so great, that it was judged almost impossible, that an Arrow could be shot so far, as to the place where the Horse sell: But looking more narrowly into the matter, and considering that the Arrow must necessarily come from that part, they went that way, and found an Indian dead standing right upon his legs, leaning against the side of the bank, grasping his Bow in one hand, and his Arrow in the other! This Indian. it feems, had received a thrust with a Lance, which passed from his shoulder to the bottom of his wafte; and to avoid the Horfe, had thrown himself into that Water-channel; and finding himself in a languishing condition, was resolved to make one bolt or shot more before he died. This Indian had certainly made a good flot of it, had not the distance been far, and his spirits fainting; for had the Arrow been drawn with full force, he had either wounded the Spaniard in the face, or in the body; but being weak, it flew low, and shot the Horse in the fore-leg. These two notable Exploits were performed by Indians on that day, which was the last of the Siege. And so leaving the Affairs of Cocco, we shall proceed on to the Transactions of Rimae, where the Covernour Don Francisco Pigarro was then refiding. At first he was ignorant, and not informed of the many dangers with which his Brothers were encompassed; but so soon as he was advertifed thereof, he performed the office and part of a carefull and able Commander, as we shall make appear by that which follows.

CHAP.

### XXVIII CHAP.

Royal Commentaries.

What Number of Spaniards the Indians might kill in the ways; and what succeeded at the Siege of the City of los Reves.

CO foon as Marquis Picarro perceived that the usual correspondence and interourse of Letters between him and his Brothers ceased, he immediately sufpecked some milchief in the way; and to prove and try the truth thereof, he employed several *Indians*, who were Domestick Servants to *Spaniards*, to enquire of their Kindred and Relations, and inform themselves of the News of Cozco, and of all the Transactions of that Kingdom; for it was not without just suspicion of mischief that the Ways and Avenues were all stopped. The Yanacunas (for so they call the Indian Servants) enquiring into the matter, understood that the Inca had made an Infurrection, and with a strong Army was Master of Cozco; but as to the Particulars thereof, they gave no other account to the Marquis, but onely in a confused manner, without head or tail; howsoever, he thought fit with all diligence to write unto Panama, Nicaragua, Mexico, and Santo Doningo, defiring that Succours should be sent with all speed. Upon which passage Carate hath these Words:

"The Marquis feeing the Number of Indians to increase, and Multitudes of " them ready to Affault the City of los Reyes, he gave it for granted that Hernando " Picarro, and all those of Cozco, were perished; and that this Insurrection had been so general over all Chis, that Almagro and all his Souldiers were defeated and destroyed: Howsoever, to undeceive the Indians in their belief, that the "Ships were detained on purpose to make an escape, and that the Spaniards also might despair of other safety than in their Arms, he dispatched away the Ships "for Panama with Letters to the Vice-king of New Spain, and to all the Gover-nous of the Indies, acquainting them with the dangers and difficulties in which they were engaged, and defired Succours and Relief from them in that diffress. Thus far Carate.

But belides these Dispatches, he wrote also by conveyance of the faithfull Yanatunas, to Alonso de Alvarado, who was then employed in the Conquest of the Chachapuyas, and to Sebastian de Belalcaçar, who was then in Peru, the Affairs of both which succeeded prosperously. He wrote also to Garcilasso de la Vega, whose Aflairs on the other side were not so happy in the Conquest of that Countrey, or Province, which by contraries they called the Buena Ventura, or the Countrey of Good Fortune, where the five Rivers called *Quiximites* empty themselves into the Sea, and are plentifull and rapid streams. In these parts matters did not succeed ill with him, by reason that he found little resistence from the Inhabitants, for there were few or none in all that Countrey; onely the Mountains were fo high, barren and cragged, that it was fcarce inhabitable: of which, and of the difficulties he fultained in this Expedition, we shall discourse more at large hereafter. He wrote also to John Porcel, who was employed in the Conquest of the Pacamurus, instantly conjuring them with all speed to come unto the City of so Reyes, that being united together they might make the better reliftence against the Indians. In the mean time, not knowing to what distress his Brothers might be reduced, he with all diligence diffiatched away feventy Horse under the Command of his Kinfman Captain Diego Piçarro, which was all the force that he was able to spare, with an Addition of thirty Foot-Souldiers, as Carate reports.

The Indians, whose design was to destroy the Marquis, and all his people, understanding by their Spies, that he was sending Succours to relieve his Brothers, Bbbb changed

554

changed their resolution of affaulting los Reyes, and determined to stop and intertunt them in their passage, and to that end to take possession of all the parrow Paffes and Avenues; for in the Road from Cozco to Quin, there are many frair ways, which are not paffable without much difficulty. The Plot being thus laid. they suffered Diego Picarro, and his Company, to travel seventy Leagues viithout giving them the least interruption or disturbance; for though there were many difficult Paffes before they had proceeded so far, yet they thought fit to trole them on to some considerable distance from the Governour, that hearing no newscore them, he might believe that they were arrived in fafety at Cozco: So at length taking them on the fide of a stony Mountain called the Parcos, they threvy from the top mighty Stones, and pieces of Rocks upon them, called Galgas, against which no Armour being proof sufficient, they overvyhelmed them all vyithour use of Lance or Syvord, not one of them escaping. In the same manner they served Captain Morgovejo de Quinnones with fixty Horse and seventy Foot; and after that they over-threvy Captain Gonçalo de Tapia, as he vvas marching with five Foor-Souldiers, and eighty Horse; and soon after that they deseated Captain Alorse de Gabere with forty Horse, and likey Foot under his Command. So that on the veral paffages of the yeay, four hundred and seventy Spaniards vvere loft, of which tyvo hundred and fifty were Horfe. Carate reckons them to have been three bundred, and two hundred and twenty Foot: But Peter de Cinça making up the account of the number of opiniards which the Indians killed in this general fulurrection, declares in the 82d Chapter of his Book, as follows:

"It is faid that the Indians of this Province of Cunchucus were a flour, and a warlike people; for which reason the Incas finding some difficulty to stibble them, did labour to win and allure them by fair words, and obliging actions. These Indians killed many Spaniards in divers parts; to revenge which, Marquis Piçarro sent Francis de Chaves to make War on the Indians in a most crue! and terrible manner; in pursuance of which, as some Writers report, he burned and empaled great numbers of them. The truth is, about that time, or a little before, a general Insurection was made in all the Provinces; and on the way or road between Cozco and Quisu, they killed above seven hundred Spaniards; and such of them as they took alive, they put to death with cruel Tortures. God deliver us from the rage of the Indians, for certainly they are a surious and bloudy people, where they can get the Mastery, and effect their destres; though, to excuse themselves, they alledged, that they sought for their Liberty, and to free themselves from the Slavery and Tyranny of the Spaniards, Sec.

Thus far are the Words of de Cieca; which are confirmed by Blas Valera, who reports, that above feven hundred Spaniards were killed in the late Infurrection; of which above three hundred were Affafinated in the Mines, and in their Poffessions and Lands, wherein they were scattered in pursuit of their gains and benefits; and that four hundred and feventy which were fent for Succours, were killed in the Mountains: but these were not all dispeeded together, but in several Detachments, that so the first might arrive with better speed and diligence; for it was never imagined that so much danger was in the way; or that the Indians, who were able to contend with, and overcome ten Horse-men, should be capable to overthrow fixty, feventy or eighty Horse in a body, besides the Infantry. And though he prefumed much on this opinion, and on the confidence he had of his own people; yet not having received intelligence of the first, nor yet of the second that were fent, he was greatly troubled; wherefore to fatisfie himself therein, and to understand some news from his Brothers, he dispatched away another Captain called Francis de Godoy, a Native of Carceres, with a Party of forty five light Horse without baggage or other incumbrance; not that they should proceed fo far as Cozco, but onely to enquire on the ways, and get the best intelligence they could concerning their Companions. Of which passage Gomara speaking in the 136th Chapter, hath these Words:

"thereof. Godoy returned (as they fay) with his tail between his legs, and with two Spaniards in company with, him, who had belonged to Gahete, and by help of their Horses had made an escape; the ill news hereof, which greatly troubled picture, was speedily seconded by Diego d Aguero, who sled for safety to los Rejes, and gave a relation, that all the Indians were in Arms, and had burned all his Plantations, and were very near with a most powerfull Army. The news hereof greatly terrified the whole city, in regard the Number of the Spaniards was much diminished; howsoever, Picarro dispeeded Peter de Lerma de Burgos with seventy Horse, and many Indians who were Friends, and were become Christians to intercept them in their passage, and hinder them from making too near an approach towards the City, and he himself marched in the Rere with all the Spaniards that remained; but Lerma sighting with good success, drove the Enemy into the Rocks, where he might have totally destroyed them, had not Picarro sounded a retreat.

"Int day one Spanish Horse-man was killed in the Fight, but many were wounded; and Pedro de Lerma had his Teeth beaten out: Howsoever, the Indian teturned many thanks to their God the Sun, who had delivered them from those dangers; and in testimony thereof, offered many Sacrifices unto him. Then they removed their Camp to a certain Mountain near unto lor Rejet, through the middle of which runs a River, where they continued for the face of ten Days, fighting and skitmishing with the Spaniards; but with the Indians, who were their Enemies, they avoided all Engagements.

Thus far are the Words of Gomara; the which is confirmed by Carate almost in the same words, and which (if we well observe) is more in savour to the Indians, than to the Spaniards. The truth of all which is this; The Infidels having killed and destroyed many Spaniards on the Ways and Roads, became so encouaged by their fuccess, that they resolved to attempt los Reyes, and destroy the Marquis and all his people; and being on their March thither with this intention, about eight or ten Leagues from the City, they encountred Pedro de Lerma and his Forces, and engaged valiantly with them: And in regard the Fight began in a Plain, the Spanish Horse had a great advantage on the Indians, and killed many of them; but they afterwards making a retreat into the Mountains, with loud flours, and with the found of Trumpets and Drums allarum'd all the Indians round, so that they encreased to the number of forty thousand: And in regard the Mountains were sharp and craggy, and that the Horses began to be tired and weary, the Indians adventured to fally out upon them, and to renew the Fight. Pedro de Lerma had the misfortune to have his Teeth beaten out with a Stone hurled from a Sling, befides which many Spaniards were wounded, of which thirty two died, to the great grief and forrow of all; likewise eight Horses died of their wounds, though actually in the Battel there was but one Man, and one Horse that was flain. The Governour who came in the Rere, observing how his Souldiers were distressed, founded a retreat, which served for a Signal to the Enemy, that he was marching to the Succour of his Friends; at which the Indians being affrighted, made a retreat, and so ended the Battel of that day, which was very bloudy. The Spaniards hereupon returned to the City, and the Indians to their Quarter and Rendezvous, where the Countrey flocking in, they quickly made a Body of fixty thousand Indians under Command of their General Titu Inpanqui, called by Carate Tico Yupangui, and by Gomara Tizoro; and with this force they pitched their Camp near the City, having the River between to keep and defend them from the Spanish Horse.

There they offered Sacrifices, and returned thanks to the Sun for having, as they imagined, given them an advantage over the Spaniards, and caufed them to retreat into their City, and to give over the Fight. The Historians who write of these matters say, that the Indians offered their Sacrifices in thanks for deliverance from their dangers; and sarther they add, that they continually skirmished with the Spaniards, and not with the Indians, who took part with the Spaniards, scorning, as it were, to engage and fight against their own Vassas, after they had had the Honour to fight with the Firacochus; and though daily Encounters passed between them of little or no damage to the Spaniards, because on the Plains the Horse had great advantage, and could hem in and encompass the Indians on all sides; yet the continual Allarums which were given the Spaniards both by Night and Day, kept

Bbbb 2

<sup>&</sup>quot;Pigarro being much troubled that he received no Letters from his Brothers, nor from his other Captains; and being jealous of the misfortune which then had happened, he dispatched away forty Horse under Command of Francis de Godor to make enquiries of what had succeeded, and to bring him intelligence

them still watchfull, and tired them out with constant labour. Moreover, they fuffered much for want of Provisions; though they received some supplies from the Indians, who were their Menial Servants, and would every Night (as they had practifed at the Siege of Cozco) go forth into the Enemy's Camp, where pretending, that they had revolted from their Mafters, would return back with Provisions, and with intelligence of all the deligns and intentions of the Enemy: which was of great use to them, for that when the Indians made any Attack upon them, they were always in a readiness to receive them; and it was by advice from them that Diego de Aguero, and many others who had Plantations near los Reve were not surprized, before they had time, by help of their Horses, to secure their retreat within the Walls of the City. But belies these humane Assistences, God was pleased to work Miracles at that Siege in favour of the Christians, as he had formerly done in that of Cozco ; for that the River to which they trufted much for their fafety, and was their best defence, was the occasion of ruine, and turned for their latery, and was their periodicine, was the occanion of tunie, and turned to their entire deftruction; for during the time of the Siege, the Waters fivelled above the banks, to that whenfoever they paffed over to the Spaniard, or were forced to return, they received a lots; for that being often put to flight, many with fear cast themselves into the Waters, and were drowned; and yet this River was not fo deed as many others are in that Countrey, being commonly shallow. unless in the Winter, when the falls of the Land-waters make great Flouds; howfoever, the Spaniards made nothing to pass and re-pass it at their pleasure; which when the Indians observed, they concluded that the very Elements fought against them, and were reconciled to the party of the Viracochus; and that the Pachacomac, who is the God which fultains the Universe, had forfaken their Cause, and favoured the Enemy. Farther they confidered, that fo foon as they faw the Viracochas drawn up in the Field, their hearts failed them; and that though they were a thousand to one, yet they durft not engage with them; all which were clear evidences, that the great Creatour of the World did interest himself in favour of the cause and quarrel of the Spaniards.

The Indians being affected with these Apprehensions, and with a clear manifestation of the Miracles of God, they every day abated in their Courage, and became so cowed and disheartned, that from that time afterwards they attempted nothing of any moment a and though they continued their Camp on the fide of the River, it was rather in obedience to their Commanders, than in hopes of performing any thing to the ruine of their Enemies, and the good of themselves, In the mean time the Indian Domestick Servants gave intelligence to their Masters of all that was discoursed and designed in the Camp of the Indians; and the Spaniards being sensible of the great Miracles which God wrought for them, and that their Enemies observed the same, they returned thanks for all those Wonders, comparing their deliverance by means of this River, to that which the Children of Ifrail received from the Egyptians at the Red Sea. And in regard their greatest Battels and Victories succeeded on the banks of this River, they conceived a most especial devotion for the Blessed St. Christopher, calling unto remembrance all the Wonders which are recorded of that Saint, and which are painted commonly in Churches, to describe and set forth the Miracles which are proposed in the Richards and set forth the Miracles which are painted commonly in Churches, to describe and set forth the Miracles which Sod performed in the Richards and set forth the Miracles which Sod performed in the Richards and set forth the Miracles which Sod performed in the Richards and ver by means of that Saint; and afterwards in all their Battels and Skirmishes, they invoked the Name of St. Christopher equally with that of St. James: And after this Siege, they called those Hills in which the Indians kept their Head quarters, the Mountains of St. Christopher, because they were so near, that nothing but the River parted them and the City, and were the places where the Spaniards put an

end to the War, having entirely subjected and conquered the Indians.

#### XXIX. CHAP.

The Flight of Villac Umu. Philip the Interpreter punished. The Prince Manco Inca leaves his Empire, and remains an Exile in foreign parts.

WE have in the foregoing Chapters declared, how that Prince Manco Inca fent Messengers into Chili, to advite his Brother Paullu, and the High Prieft, Villac Umn, of his Design, to kill and destroy all the Spaniards that were in Peru, as being the onely means thereby to recover his Empire, desiring them to take the same course with Almagro, and his People, who were in those

Now we must know, that this Intimation was brought to Chili, before Almagro was departed thence, howfoever Paullu having confulted with his Friends. did conclude and agree, that they were not then in a condition to fight the Spanigrals, in regard that having lost above ten thousand Indians, by Colds, and Snow, in passing the Mountains, (as we have formerly mentioned,) their Force was much decreated, and not capable to oppose the Spaniards in open Field; and that such was the Vigilancy of the Enemy, as well by night as by day, being always on the Guard, that there was little hopes to take an advantage on them by furprises wherefore it was thought most convenient to dissemble their Discontents with a colour of Service and Fidelity to the Spaniards, untill a more fit opportunity did happen for execution of their Defign; in order whereunto, Paully and Villac Umu being then together in Tacama, (which is a Countrey of Pan, distinct from the Desarts of Chili, as we have mentioned in the 22d Chapter of this Book,) they agreed, that the High Priest should leave the Spawards, and be gone, but that Paullu should continue with them for a Spie, to give Intelligence to the Inca, his Brother, of all the Defigns, which were contrived against him.

Gomara reports, that both of them fled away together, but Carate faith otherwile; for in the first Chapter of his third Book, he mentions none but the High Prieft, and in the fourth Chapter of the same Book, speaking of Paulla, he hath these Words.

" Almagro made Paullu Inca, and bestowed on him the Imperial Wreath; because that Mano Inca, being conscious of his evil Intentions, was fled with many Souldiers into the high Mountains of Andes.

Thus far are the Words of Carate, whose Testimony (as we have said) we shall always follow, where Authours disagree, because he was resident in Peru, and the other was not. In like manner Philip the Interpreter, who was with Almage, made his Escape; for that ever fince the Death of Atahualpa, he was fearful of the Spaniards, and defined to get as far from them as he was able, not that he kept a Correspondence with the Indians, for they were always jealous of him, left he should betray them; but he was desirous to imitate the other Indians. and cast off the Spaniards, whom he abhorred in his very Soul. But this Flight was fatal to him; for not being acquainted with the Countrey, he fell into the Hands of Almagro, and his Souldiers, who calling to mind how he once deferred Alvarado, and having a suspicion that he was privy to the Escape of the High Priest, and would not reveal it, he was sentenced to be hanged and quartered. Upon this paffage, though not according to the order of time, Gomara, in

558

the 135th Chapter of his Book, hath these Words, which we have extracted verbatim.

"This unhappy Wretch confessed at the time of his death, that he had given false Evidence against the good King Anabaliba, that he might enjoy one of his Wives with security. This Philipilio de Pobechos was an ill Man, treacherous, inconstant, false, desirous of Mutinies, bloudy, and had little of a Chriftian, though he had been bavitzed.

Thus far are the Words of Gomara, whence we may confider, how lamentable a thing it is, that the first Interpreter that was chosen to preach the God pel in those parts, should prove such a Villain. But Almagro little regarding the Flight of Villac Umn, fo long as Paullu remained with him, proceeded in his March towards Cozco; when he received intelligence of the Infurrection which the Indians had made, of which though formerly he entertained fome suspicions ver he was not so inquisitive as was fit, because he depended for these Advices. on that Fidelity and Service which Paullu and his People professed towards them. The way which he took in his March was by Collao, where the Country being open, and plain, was not fo dangerous for Ambushes, as the way between Gazco and los Reyes. When he arrived near Cozco, he found that the Prince Manco Inca had quitted the Siege; for not knowing the Defign against the Picarros, he imagined, that the Intention of Almagro was to relieve and Succour his Friends. Almaero took this occasion to see and treat with the Inca; for having had former acquaintance with him, he believed that he might be able to draw him to his Party. The Inca, who hoped to take this opportunity to kill Almagro, and all his Followers, confented to an Interview; but fuch was the Prudence and Caution of Almaero, that he was always so well guarded with his Souldiers, both Horse and Foot, that the Indians durst not attempt any thing upon them. Nor would the Inca hearken to the Proposition that was made, to take part with Almagra, but told him plainly, That his Intention was to recover the Empire for himself. and therefore was refolved not to be concerned, either for one fide, or the other.

Howfoever when he and Almagro were parted, the Indians would have perfus ded him to accept the Proposal, and to foment the Civil War between the Spaniards, faying, That when they had killed and weakned each other, he might then be better able to subdue and master the prevailing Party. To which the Prince made this Reply, That it became not the Honour of an Inca to diffemble, or fail in his Word, unto those to whom it was given, and that he would rather lose his Empire, than maintain it with Falsity, or Treachery, to those whom he had received into his Favour, and under his Pro-

Whilst Almagro was thus in treaty with the Inca, Hernando Pigarro fent privately to try the Pulse of Shavedra, who was then with Almagro, promising, that if he would revolt unto his Party, he should neither want Honours nor Benefits. But this John de Saavedra, who was of as Noble Bloud, as any that owns that Name in Seville, rejected the Proposals that were made him of Advantage, rather than stain his Honour with the least blemish. And thus these three Parties flood at a Gaze, without any Attempt made by one or other. At length the Inca confidering that Almagro was returned from Chili, and had brought with him four hundred and fifty Spaniards, though he had lost two hundred, or thereabout, in his Paffage over the Snowy Mountains, in the Wars, and by other Accidents; and that if in many Months he was not able to subdue the Spaniards, when they overe not more than one hundred and feventy, hovy much more vould they prove an unequal match to them, at this time, when they were encreased to fix hundred: And though they were divided by private Quarrels, and Civil Diffentions, yet they vould quickly unite, and be cemented again, so soon as the Indians, vvho are their common Enemy, should appear in a formidable manner against them. And as to the matter of carrying on the War, Experience had taught them already, that it would prove fatal, and of most ruinous Consequence; for that in the space of one Year, since this Infurrection first began, they had lost above fourty thousand Men, which had perished by the Syvords of the Enemy, by Famine, and other Calamities,

which attend the success of War; and therefore in Compassion to his People, he would rather chuse to give over his Pretensions, as desperate, than engolf himself in such a Design which was every day attended with new Diffi-

callies.

And having duly confidered these things, and consulted on them with some few of his Relations, he resolved to give over the War; and that he might intended to the Officers of his Army, he assembled the principal of them the opener, and publickly discoursed with them to this effect:

"Breiwen, and Sons of mine, I have vvell observed, and proved the great "Affection and Zeal ye have demonstrated tovvards my Service, having with much Alacrity, and Readiness, offered your Lives and Fortunes, Wives and "Children, that ye might again establish me in the Throne of my Empire; but since it is apparent, that the Pachacamae visibly sights against us, and hath decreed that I should not be King, there is no reason for us to withstand and

oppose his Divine Will. I am well affured, and I believe ve are all sensible, that my Desires to reign and govern, are not grounded on Principles of Ambition; but that "my Kingdoms may recover that Peace and Liberty which they enjoyed "under the gentle and easie Government of my Ancestours; it being the Du-"ty of every good King to study the Prosperity and Welfare of his People; "and according to the practice of the Incas, to prefer that before any other "Consideration whatsoever. But I have good reason to suspect and fear. "that the Deligns of these Men, whom we call Gods, and say they were " fent from Heaven, are very much different from these Principles. How-" foever, for my part, I cannot, but with much Regret and Tenderness towards you, feek to gain my point at the cost of your Lives, and would "rather live in a private manner, despoiled of my Empire, which is my Inheriance, than to recover it at the expence of their Bloud, whom I love "as dearly as my own Children. And now therefore, that the Viracochas may not treat you ill for my fake, I am resolved to retire my self, and to " live an Exile from my Countrey, that fo all Cause of Jealousie and Sufpicion being removed by my Absence, ye may be received into their good Grace and Payour.

"And now I find the Prophecy of my Father Huayna Capae fully accomlisted, which was, That a Stranger Nation should deprive us of our
"Empire, and destroy our Laws, and Religion. Had we well considered
this, before we began the War, we should have acquiesced, and submitted, because my Father, the King, enjoined us to obey and serve the Vi"trauchar, whose Laws, as he said, were better than ours, and their Arms
"more powerfull than our force. Both which things have proved true, for so
"soon as they entred into this Empire, Our Oracles became filent, which is a
"sign that they yielded unto theirs: And as to their Arms they have had
"an advantage over ours; for though at the beginning we had the fortune
to kill some sew of them, yet at length one hundred and seventy onely
"which survived, were able to deal with us, nay as we may say, did conquer us,

"feeing that in the end we are forced to retreat.
"The truth is, it cannot well be faid that they conquered us, nor can "The truth is, it cannot well be faid that they conquered us, nor can "they boalt much of their Victories; for fetting afide the Miracles which appeared in their Favour, they of themselves gained no advantage over us. For what can we say to the Fire, which burned our own Houses, and became extinct, so soon as it touched theirs? What can we think of that Cavalier, who, at the Extremity of the Siege, appeared with Thunder and Lightning in his Hand, and routed and destroyed all before him? And then in the Night, a most beautifull Princess appeared in the Clouds, with an Iusant in her Armes; which, with that associations Brightness she datted from her Eyes, dismayed and blinded us in such manner, that we knew not what we did, and even feared to return unto our own Quarters; how much less durst we adventure to give Battel to these Viracochus?

Book II.

"Moreover, we have feen, and tried, how fuch a handfull of Men have been able to defend themselves against such multitudes of ours, without Food. been able to defend themselves against their minimudes of ours, without Food, Sleep, or Rest; that when we imagined, they were wearied, faint, and ready to yield, they appeared formidable, and refreshed with new Vigour. All which being considered, 'tis apparent that the Hand of God is in it, and that the Pachacamac, who favours them, doth discourage and insuse fear into our Minds: wherefore let us yield our felves, rather than bring fo many calamities upon our own Heads. For my part, I am refolved to retire within the Mountains of Antis, and there secure and defend my self better, than I am able to doe with all my power; and there living quietly, and without of fence, I shall not provoke those Strangers to doe Hurt and Mischief unto you "for any Cause or Reason of mine. In this my Solitude and Banishment it will be my Comfort to hear that it passets well with you, and that ye live " with Liberty and Contentment under this new Government of the Spaniards. " wherefore instead of my last Will and Testament, and in pursuance of that Command left us by my Father, I do conjure you to ferve and obey them, to the utmost of your power, so shall ye be well treated and used by them: And so farewell, and remain in peace; and now methinks I am very forry "to leave you in the Hands of Strangers, wishing with all my Heart, that I were able to take you all with me.

When the Inca had ended his Speech, his People dropped a Floud of Tears with fuch Groans and Sighs, that the fulness of Sorrow stopped the utterance of Words; nor durst they distinate him from this resolution, perceiving that he determined so to doe; wherefore in the first place he disbanded all his Souldiers, that were under Command of their respective Caciques, advising them to repair unto their feveral Provinces, and there patiently submit unto, and obey, and ferve the Spaniards; but the Inca collecting as many as he could together of his own Bloud, and Family, both Men and Women, fled with them into the wild Mountains of Ania, and feated himself at a certain place, called Villenpumpa; where he passed his time (as we may imagine) in Solitude, like a Prince deposed and dispossessed of his Sceptre, and there lived, until he was killed by a certain Spaniard, to whom he had given Protection, and conserved from his Enemies, and who most inhumanely fought his Life: As we shall see in its due place.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XXX.

What a certain Authour reports of the Incan Kines and their Subjects.

BLas Valera discoursing of the Wisedom, Abilities, Prowess and Valour of the Indians of Peru, he gives this Character of them, as follows, which I the rather mentions because it conduces much to the matter in hand, and will free to confirm what we have already faid, and what we shall hereafter report.

" The People of Peru exceed most Nations of the World in quickness of Wit. "and strength of Judgment, the which appears in that they have been able without the help of Letters, to attain unto the knowledge of many things. "which the learning of the Egyptians, Caldeans and Greeks could never reach; fo that if in place of their Knots, they had made use of Letters, they had sur-"paffed the Romans, and Galls, and other Nations, in all points of Learning " whatfoever. That rudeness of Manners which appears in them at present, is "not for want of Natural Parts, or Endowments of Mind, but for want of prac-"tice in the Falhions and Customs of Europe, and of Instructours in Liberal Sci-"ences, being taught nothing but what relates to Interest and Gain; for such of "them as have Masters, or Teachers, and leisure time, and liberty to learn; nay, "if they do but see a thing, they will imitate it so exactly, without being taught, "that they become better Artists and Mechanicks than the Spaniards themselves, "and would become better Scholars in reading and Writing, and be more expert in all forts of musical Instruments than the Spaniards, had they onely the ad-" vantage of being taught; nor would they prove ill Scholars in the Latin Tongue: " And moreover they are not more ignorant in our Books, than we are in the "knowledge of theirs; for though we have now lived amongst them, and have "had Conversation with them for seventy Years, yet have not attained to the "knowledge of their Knots, nor the nature of their Accounts; when they in a "short time have attained to the knowledge of our Letters and Ciphers; which "are evidences of their Ingenuity, and good capacity: And as to their Memory, they generally exceed the Spaniards, having by their Knots, and Joints of their "Fingers, figured several Common places, out of which they do extract particulars in their due Order for the help and benefit of the Memory. And what is more strange, the same Knots serve for divers Passages, and Arguments of Hiltory; and giving them onely the Subject, they will run on with a Hiltory as currently as a Reader can his Book; which is an Art unto which no Spamind as yet hath been able to attain, nor know in what manner, it is performed; and are all good Arguments of the acute Judgment and great Memory of the Indians.

As to their Art in Military Affairs, take all things in their due Circumstances, the People of Peru are more expert than those of Europe; for shew me the most brave and famous Captains of Spain or France, on Foot without Horses, without Armour, without Lance, Sword, Piftol, or other Fire-arms; let them appear in their Shirts without Cloths, with a Sling instead of a Girdle, and their Heads covered with a Cap of Feathers, or Garland of Flowers, inftead of a Head-piece, or Steel Bergandine; let them march with their bare Feet over Briers, or Thorns; let their Diet be Herbs, and Roots of the Field, carrying a piece of a Mat in their Left hands instead of a Buckler; and in this manner let them enter the Field to blunt the Edges of Swords, and Halbards, and Pikes with three Forks; and let them stand the Stone-slings, the poisoned Arrows, and the skilfull Archer, which will hit the Eye, or the Heart, or anything; if in this naked and simple condition they become Conquerours, I will then say, that "they deserve the Fame and Reputation of valiant Captains above the Indians.

Cece

561

"but in regard it is impossible to put the Europeans in this state and condition, or to persuade them to the use of such Arms, Customs, or Habit, so humanely speaking, they will never make trial or essay to gain Victories with such tools or instruments. And, on the contrary, were the Indians armed as are the Europeans, trained up with the same Military Discipline, and instructed in the Art of War, both by Sea and Land, they would be more invincible than the Turke Of the Truth hereof Experience is the best proof of whensoever the Spaniard and Indians were equal in their Arms, the Spaniards were flain in great numbers and malans were educated the street of the s "Arms, and the Indians free and light, the Spaniards have been often defeated in open Battel; as in Quits, in Chachaphapa, in Chaquifaca, in Truma, in Conni, in Sanfa, in Parcus, in Chili, and other parts. Wherefore in comparing the Vailour and Prowers of the Spaniards with that of the Indians, both of Mexico and Peru, there can be no measure or trial made by the Success or Conquests, by reason of the great inequality in their Arms, and above all, the Invention of Fire-arms was more terrible to them than all the rest, and seems something more than what is humane or natural; and in reality the Victories which have been obtained in most parts of the stew World, and especially in Peru, were wonderfull Effects of Divine Providence, and rather to be attributed to the Power of God in favor of the Grentlet. But of God, in favour of the Gospel, than to the Valour of the Spaniards. But "though we may compare the Europeans and the Aftitaticks together in the point of Arms, yet we cannot admit of any Comparition between the Spaniards and the Indians, as to the Art of War, in which, no doubt but the Spaniards have much the advantage: But to let pass this point, and compare Indian with Indians, there is no doubt but the Inom, and the People of Pern, were much the better Souldiers; of which they have given us sufficient Testimonies by the many Conquests they made over the many Countries they reduced to their Obedience, and enjoyed; nor were they lignalized for their Valour of late Years onely, (as some People vainly imagine) but for above five or six hundred Years past, amongst which many Kings of them have been very powerfull; namely Manco Capae, Inca Roca, Piracocha Inca, Pachacute, and those descended from that Line to the great Hunyna Capae, who was Emperour, besides many other Captains of the same Bloud, of whom we have treated at large in other places.

Thus far are the Words of Blus Valera; after which short digression let us return again to our Spaniards.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XXXI.

Royal Commentaries.

of the differences which arose between the Almagro's, and the Picarro's; and of the Imprisonment of Hernando Picarro.

So foon as Almagro and Picarro saw that the Inca had disbanded his Army, and was fled, and had left unto them free possession of the Empira; they began then openly to discover their Passions, and turn their Arms each against the other; me affected to rule and govern absolutely alone, and the other prepared to prewent and disappoint him of the Possession of that supreme Power which neither war and disappoint that of the Fortenand of that imperite Fower within fieldler admits a Superiour nor a Rival. Thus Almagro required Hernando Piçarro to furtender the City to him, and leave him in free possession thereof, pretending, that it was the Part and Division which belonged to him, and not to his Brother; as not being comprehended within the two hundred Leagues of Land belonging to the Marquis, which were to be measured, and set out from the Equinoctial Southward, along the Sea-coast, according to the Capes, and Points, and Bays, runsing by the Sea-shore; but certainly Land was never measured in that manner, or by other Lines than by the High-ways. Howfoever the party of Abnagro infifted on this point, and would understand no other Measures than by the Sea-coast, which if Pigarro had granted and condescended unto, though His Majesty should lave enlarged his Jurisdiction an hundred Leagues farther, yet his Dominion would not have reached fo far as tor Reges, much less could it have extended unto Grae. Howfoever these groundless Reasons and Funcies had so far possessed the Mind of Almagro, and his Party, that they would fuffer no Contradiction, or harken to any Arguments to the contrary, but violently refolved to abandon the Kingdom of Chili, and return to Pern, and Cozco, from whence afterwards fo maby Ruines and Mischiefs did ensue.

To this Derivand Hernando Picarro made Answer, that he did not command that City by virtue of his own Authority, but by a Power derived from the Governour, who was his Captain General, to whom having made Oath never to furtender up that City into any other hands, than his own; he could neither perform thepart of a Gentleman, nor of a Souldier, in case he should betray his Trust by such a base surrender, which was an absolute Breach of his Oath; but in case they would write to the Marquis, and obtain his Order, he would immediately yield all compliance to his Commands. But waving that particular, he infifted, that the Imperial City belonged to his Brother, and was comprehended within the Limits of his Jurifdiction; for that the measures he propounded by Capes, and Gulfs, and Bays, along the Sea coast; were mere fancies, and fallacies, and fich as never were admitted amongst any rational Geographers; for the turnings and windings of the Land will take up above half the extent of Ground, as same windings of the Land win take up above half the extent of Ground, as a manifest by experience of the doubling of the Lands onely from the Isle of halms to the Cape of St. Francis. Nor ought the Lands to be measured by the High-ways, which often turn and wind, and are steep, and oftentimes ascend three or four Leagues, and then again descend as many more; which upon a steight Line from one Hill to another; will not make half a League. But the High ways the league were Phero did not approve of this kind of Measure, alledging, that the Leagues were to be reckened according to the Degrees of the Equinoctial, as Mariners mete out by their Compaties the diffrances at Sea; allowing to every Degree feventeen largues and an half, in fathing plain North and South: Now whereas there were not above eleven Degrees of South latitude from the Equinoctial to the City of thinker, which make not more than an hundred ninety two Leagues and an half; and that to Cotco, which stands in sourceen Degrees, it will not make above two hundred forty five Leagues in all; fo that both Cities of los Rejes, and Cocco, were Cccc 2

to be comprehended within the new Enlargement which His Majesty gave to Pi-

carro, though the number of Leagues were not specified in that Grant Hereunto the Party of Almagro replied, that in case the distances were to be meted by the Heavens, and not by the Land, they were not to be taken North and South, but Eaft and West, which gives Eighty Leagues to a Degree: But in regard that neither side would agree to that Measure, the matter, as they said, ought to be accommodated, and forty nine Leagues allowed to a Degree, and then the Iurisdiction of Picarro would not reach farther than fix Degrees from the Equinoctial, yielding forty nine Leagues to every Degree, now in case the Pi-carros yielded to any of these three sorts of Measures, neither Cozco, nor to Regge.

would be comprehended within his Jurisdiction.

In these Debates, pro & con, many Days were spent, which were oftentimes so warmly argued, that had it not been for the Moderation and Discretion of Diego de Alvarado, Uncle to the General Don Pedro de Alvarado, and Gomez de Alvarado a Person of great worth, they had proceeded to Arms, and open violence: he came in company with Almagro unto Chili, and being sensible of the evil Consequences which a Breach or Misunderstanding of this nature between the Governours would produce, he so laboured to beget a good correspondence between them, that at length, by confent of the major part, it was agreed that Hernands should intimate to the Marquis his Brother the Demands and Pretentions of Almagro; and that until an Answer should be returned thereunto, all matters should remain in suspence, and Acts of Hostility should cease, which accordingly was observed for some days; but some Men of an unquiet humour, who were desirous to diffurb that Union and Friendship which was established between those two Companions, suggested to Almagro, that he had done ill, and to the prejudice of his own right, by referring the Title and Claim which he justly had by Grant from the Emperour, to the Will and Pleasure of another. That Hernando Picarra had resolved what to doe before he wrote, and that this pretence of Writing was onely to keep himself in his station so long as he could; for it could not be expected that the Marquis should ever be contented to refign and quit the Imperial City of Corco, and that the Agreement which was made, being without limitation of time, might bind Almago for ever, in case Picarro should not return an Answer thereunto. Wherefore in regard his Claim to the Government of that City was clear, and without dispute, he was advised without farther Ceremonies, or paule, to take Possession thereof, it not being probable that ever the contrary party should affent to the Surrender of a Jewel so rich and important as that City; and therefore, that he should look to his own Interest, and not make delays in a matter which so much concerned him.

Almagro, who had no need of Sparks to enflame the burning heat of Ambition, which was smothered in his Minds immediately took Fire at these Incentives, and embraced the Advices, which were given him by his evil Companions, for fuch Counsels as these are never projected by good Men: Wherefore without farther Consultation with his wise and true Friends, he rashly attempted the lodgings of Hernando and Gonçalo Piçarro, and in a dark night, and with armed Forces, broke in upon them, for the Guards were afleep, and fecure, on confidence of the Truce which was so lately made; howsoever the matter was not so covertly carried, but that Intelligence was brought by one of Almagro's Men of the danger approaching, the which Hernando Pigarro would not believe at first, or conceive it possible, that a Gentleman should so manifestly violate his Word, and the Faith; he had given; but whilft Hernando was thus arguing, a noise and combustion was heard without, and then he that brought the News faid, Sir, fince you give to credit to what you hear with your Ears, believe what you fee with your Eyes, for, beheld,

Hereupon an Allarm was given to the Servants and People belonging to the Pigarros, who instantly armed, and ran to defend the Doors of the House, which had been fortified, and strongly barred, as were all the Quarters of the City where the Spaniards lodged, ever fince the time that the Inca departed. The Almagnique not finding a speedy Entrance, set Fire to the House in several places: Hereup on the Defendants giving themselves for lost, opened the Doors, and so Hernands and Gonçalo Piçarro, with many of their Friends and Relations, who were all of the Countrey of Estremenno, or Estremadura, vvere taken, and put together into:3 firait Chamber of the Castana, which they made secure with bars and bolts of Iron:

Royal Commentaries. BOOK II.

Some evil Counfellours which loved to make and foment differences, advised Almetro to kill Hernando Piçarro, for that ever fince the first time that he came from Spain, they had discovered in him a strange malice towards his Person, haying never mentioned him with any kind character; and that he was a Man of wing never in the revenue full to the utmost, and of a different temper to his Brothers, and therefore that it was dangerous to fuffer such a Man to live.

Almagro was ready to have executed this counsel, but that Diego, and Gomez de Annago van cang to have executed this counter, but that Diego, and Geronimo de Capita, and Geronimo de Costilla, and others, who were all Gentlemen of Noble descent, and friends to prace and quietness, restrained this violence; telling him, that there was no reafor in that open manner to break with the Marquis, who had been his faithfull form that open manner to break with the transpars, who had been his randhulf friend and confederate in all Enterprifes; for perhaps the reputation he had ble-milhed by breach of the Truce might be falved again, and the feizure he had made on the Government might be accommodated 3 but the Affaffination of Herwanda Picarro was a thing so odious to the World, and so infamous to his Name. that the stain thereof could never be blotted out; and therefore he would doe well to confult with Reason and Prudence, rather than with his Anger and Revenge, which would carry him to more dangerous extremities.

With these and the like Reasons these Gentlemen persuaded Almagro to desist from this cruel intention, contenting himself with the Government of the City which having taken upon him, he caused all the Officers of the Corporation, and the people a hundred Leagues round, according to the limits prefixed to him by his Majesty, to swear Fealty and Allegiance to him. Where we will leave him for a while, and pass forwards to other matters which hapned at the same time.

### CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Hardships and Difficulties which Garcilasso de la Vega, and his Companions, sustained to Discover the Countrey of Buena-ventura, which fignifies Good Fortune.

E have formerly related how that Don Francis Picarro finding himself befieged by the Indians, who had made a general Infurrection, greatly feared, that his Brothers in Cozco, and Almagro in Chili, were destroyed by them; and therefore with all diligence dispatched Advices to Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, St. Domingo, and the other Islands of Barlovento, to demand succours and relief; he likewise sent Orders to recall his Captains, namely, Alonso de Alvarado, Sebastian de Relukaçar, Garçilasso de la Vega, and John Porcell, requiring them to desitt from their Conquests; and to return to him with all their force, having need of their Aid against the power of the Indians. Alonso de Alvarado, who was the nearest of any to his Quarters, was the first that came in, but not timely enough to yield his affiftence before the Indians began to flag, and withdraw their force from the City of hor Reges, which they totally abandoned, so soon as he appeared; but neither Captain Sebastian de Belalcacar, nor Captain de los Bracamoros, nor John Porcell, were present at this Action, by reason that the Indians, who carried the Command, were killed by the way, to that the Order or Summons never came to their hands: besides, Garcilaso de la Vega arrived not long after the coming of Alonso de Alvarado from the Bay, which is called St. Mathem's Bay, and Buena-ventura; the which Countrey (as we have touched before) was bad, and almost uninhabitaBook II

ble, so that the people which were sent thither sustained much difficulty and hardship a for the Mountains were incredibly high, and covered with lofty trees, of such a sort of hard Timber, as would not yield to the Harchet; and the Bushes so thick and close, that they were like a Wall, that neither Man or Beast could pass through them; and the Rains were so constant, and made such a perpetual Deluge, that when they intended to have burnt them, the fire was extinguished.

and would not take.

At first when the Spaniards entired upon that Conquest, they expected to have found many Indians within the Country; and so passed, as well as they were able, opening the ways by force of Arms and Labour, rifing and defcending by the Chanels which were made by Waters falling from the Mountain. And with these Difficulties they proceeded for many days, though they were sufficiently informed by the Indians, whom they brought out of Peru to serve them, that it was all labour loft, that there were no people in many Leagues diffart from that it was that the Region being unimhabitable, was Abandoned by all people, and never that the Region being unimabitable, was Abandoned by all people, and never planted by the Incan Kings: How/foever, the Spaniards would not hearken to them, effecting it a differentiation to their Enterprife to return back to the Countrey of their Companions. Wherefore perfifting in this refolution to proceed, they travelled at leaft a hundred Leagues, being reduced to fuch a want of all Provisions, that they were forced to ear Herbs and Roots, Toads, Serpents, and other Infects, which, as they faid, in that time of Famine, had as good a reliable as flares or Cowhich, is they fail, in the great Serpents were much better Meat than the finaller Snakes. At length, after a long and tedious Journey, in which they had no profpect of a better condition; but that ftill their Familie and Hardflips encreated, the Officers of the Army, and of the King's Treature, went to the Captain, and told him, That fince they had learned by experience, that the Hardthips of that discovery were not longer to be sustained; for that having now wandred for above five Months within those Mountains, they had not seen so much as one Indian to conquer, nor an Acre of Land to cultivate, but had onely met with Mountains, and Rivers, and Lakes, and Brooks, and a perpetual Deluge of Rain; wherefore they conceived it better to conful his own, and the lafety of his people by a return, that out of an oblitical humour to throw away the Lives of his people by Famine, and other Hardfhips. To which the Captain made answer, That he had many days past observed and considered all those Difficulties which they haid before him; and that about the time of two Months after they had entried within those Mountains, he had conceived some thoughts of making a return; but confidering that fuch a retreat would have been difficnourable to them, and to himfelf, he had perfifted in this Enterprise until this very time; and fall must continue to intreat, and importune them to take courage and proceed forward, so that their Companions, who are emulous of their great undertakings, might not have occasion to revile them with form, and bid them to begone to their Riches, and delicious Dwellings of Peru. Wherefore he again requested and conjured them not now to relinquish their design, or turn again requested and conjured them not now to relinquish their delign, or turn their backs to a work which they had almost overcome; for the more learning the more honour, and since Fame and Cipry is the reward of Victory, they should pression and like good Souldiers to obtain at, at least persist so that, in the profection of it, until at appeared desperate, and drive it, so far, as that, their Adversaries and eyll Topplies might have nothing to object against them, for which they would have sufficient subject and cause, in case they should so soon return with their buffnets uneffected; in the mean time he could non-but have a fenfeard feeling of their Labours and Flardfhips, more than of his own, a how foever, finte they law that he did not flinch, nor retreat a ftep backward, he defired them to they law that he did not funct, one retreat a tenturackward, the defined mem to follow him, who was their Captain, being thereupto obliged as Cavaliers, good Spained. With which good words, and prefing inflances, being overcome, they complied with his defires, and proceeded other three Months in their discovery: As their Journey lengthined, to Sickness understand of for the bodies of Meninot being able to fulfain fuch Hardfhips, many, as well Indian as specified, fell lick and died, more of Hunger, than of any other Distemper. Thus feeing that their Men fell lick, and died every day, so that they were not believed to proceed the reachest and the control of t able to proceed forward, they refolved by common confent to return, yet not by the same way; but taking a compass to the Eastward; they came about by the South, that for their better fatisfaction they might take a round, and bring all

within their discovery: Their way was now over other Mountains, not better than those already passed, but worse, if worse could be: And still Famine and Morality pressed them hard with great discouragement, so that they were forced will their worst Horses, and with ther Flesh to make Broth for their sick peo-But what was most lamentable to see, was Men dying and perishing with nuere weakness; for not having strength to walk, they were left to themselves in the Mountains; and not being able to help one the other, every one shifted for himself: One day they left eleven Men alive in this manner, and another day thirwent. When they were almost starved, and were forced to yield to their weakness. the under-law fell in that manner, that they could not thut their mouths a fo when they lest them, all they said was, God rest, and remain with you, and the poor Weatches would answer with an imperfect pronunciation, God go with you, not having strength to move their Tongues. All these particulars, besides the common report, were related to me by a certain Souldier called ---- de Fortalva: I heard in repeated more than once, and I could not but weep at the fadites of the story: And be further faid, that it did not fo much trouble him when he left them dead, but mahandon Men in that condition alive, was more grievous than could be expresto available in that condition anye, was more greevous than count pe expressed. In this manner above eighty *Spaniards* perished, besides *Indians*, in a far greater number. Moreover, they had another difficulty to pass the River *Quiximis*; for the Timbers which they cut for that purpose, were so heavy, being sappy and green, that they would not float, but fink to the bottom; nor were there any places where it might be waded over, being a very swift and rapid stream, and much insested with Alligators, which they call Caymanes, which are a fort of Crocodile of about twenty five or thirty Foot long; and so voracious, that they are very dangerous in the Water. At length they made fome Floats with Boughs fashed together, and therewith passed with as much difficulty as we can imagine. It happened, that being to pass one of these Rivers, and seeking the most commodious place, they espied two great Trees opposite to each other, one on one side, and the other on the other fide of the River, with branches extending so wide, that they reached each other; it was thought fit to cut down one of these towards the root, which they did, and so directed the fall of it on the tree on the other fide, that it fell and refted on the other; both which trees being joyned together, ferved for a Bridge, over which the Spaniards and Indians taking hold on the boughs, passed by three and sour at a time. At length there remained onely fix persons to go over, which were three Spaniards, and three Indians, of which the Captain himself was one who would be the last to bring up the rere; the Inthen were ordered to go foremost to carry the Arms, and two other Spaniards who were intimate Comerades of the Captains were to bear the Saddles, and pasfing in this order near the top of the standing tree, that which was cut gave a crack, and broke off from that part towards the bottom, which remained unhewen; the two Spaniards, and the three Indians, kept their hold fast upon the bought; and the Captain, who observed the danger more than those who were before him, gave a leap over his Companions, and catched firm hold on a bough of the standing tree, which breaking with his weight, he sell therewith into the Water; those which sate on the other tree were likewise carried down the stream with him, and were never seen more: But two or three of the Captain's Comerades standing on the other side, and observing the danger in which he was, followed him on the bank, and reaching out to him the end of their Lances, he took hold of them, and therewith they drew him to the shore, and faved him, returning thanks to Almighty God for this great deliverance. And now travelling on their way forward, in what place foever that they found any plenty of wild Fruit or Roots larger than ordinary, they would stay there to gather and make provision of them for food in their Journey. And having thus wandered above the space of one whole year in the Mountains, at length one day whillt they made a stay to gather their Fruits, the Captain took a fancy to climb a tree, which grew on the highest part of the Mountain, to see if he could espy any plain or end of those Rocks, or hope to free themselves from that Maze, or Labyrinth: And being on the top of one of the highest trees, which are in those parts like lofty Towers, he could not discover any plain Countrey, being still environed on all fides with mighty Mountains; but looking round about, he observed a great flock of Parrots near him, which with their usual chattering noise took their flight South-East, and at a good distance from him, about five or six Leagues as he could guess, he observed that they stooped from the Wing to some low Valley: Now whereas Parrots are great lovers of Mayz, which is their chief food, he concluded, that in or about the place where he faw them fall, there must be some Plantation, or Dwelling for people; and upon this prefumption, eying well the place, he returned to his Companions, and told them, that they should be of good comfort, for that he had discovered sure and certain tokens and evidences, that they should now very speedily arrive at some inhabited Countrey The Spanard and all their company being comforted and encouraged with this good news, took heart, and next morning fell to work, opening a way through the Boscage with Axe and Hatchet, and in the space of thirty Days, penetrated and broke through eight Leagues in length, and then entred into a small Plantation of the Indians, confifting of about a hundred Families, with whom Mays and other forts of Grane and Pulse, were in great plenty; and the Soil was very good, and able to produce food and maintenance for greater numbers, than did there inhabit: Upon fight of which, and entrance thereinto, the Spaniard returned thanks to God, who had brought them forth, and delivered them out of those extremes of mifery. The Indians, when they faw a people with Beards, and most of them cloathed in Skins, (for their Garments were rotted upon their backs, having been for the most part wet,) and those who were best habited amongst them were instead of their Rags covered with the Bark and Leaves of Trees, they were strangely surprized, and much more did they admire to see the Horses, for some of them were still conserved from being eaten. At the appearance of this new fight, they called to each other to fly into the Mountains; but some signs being made to them, not to fear, they were induced to stay, and call their Cacique, who was then in the Fields; the Cacique coming, received them with much kindness and courtesse, shewing some trouble and pity to see them almost naked, full of scratches and wounds received from the Woods and Bushes, and so weak and pale, that they feemed half dead: He entertained them like Brothers. and gave them Manto's of Cotten, fuch as were made for his own cloathing; and in a short time he took such an affection to the Spaniards, and particularly to the Captain, that he defired him never more to leave his Countrey; but if he would not be perfuaded to remain there, yet then that he would take him into his company, and carry him to the place of his aboad and refidence. At this place they remained thirty Days, and had occasion for their better refreshment, to have continued there longer; but that out of pity to those poor Indians, that they might not eat up their Provisions, which they so freely bestowed on them, they quitted their Countrey, the name of which they did not enquire, it being their business rather to pass through, than to inform themselves of Names and Places. The Cacique would needs bring them on part of their way, and appointed thirty of his Indians to be their Guides, and carry fuch Provisions for them as were very needfull in that defart Countrey through which they were to pass: the which Indians were likewise very serviceable in transporting their people over certain Rivers; for they were skilfull in the manner how to make Floats, and knew how to conduct and steer them over, better than the Spaniards. At length coming to the first Valley within the jurisdiction of Puerto Viejo, the Cacique and his Indians took their leave of them with many tears, being very forrowfull to lofe their company; and especially they were devoted to the Captain, who had won their hearts by his affable and obliging deportment. At last the Spaniards entred Puerto Viejo, with no greater number than of one hundred and sixty Persons; for of the two hundred and fifty, who at first undertook that Conquest, above eighty of them were starved with hunger, and perished with other hardships within the Mountains. At Puerto Viejo they received the first intelligence of the Insurrection of the Indians, but knew nothing as yet of the success; wherefore they hastned with all diligence to the City of los Reyes; and being on their way, they met the Command of the Marquis, summoning them to come in unto his succour; upon which they quickned their March, and came to Rimac some few days after the Arrival of Captain Along de Alvarado at that place; which coming so seasonably to the succour and relief of the Marquis, they were received by him with much joy and comfort.

Royal Commentaries.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

Alonfo de Alvarado marches to the Succour of Cozco; and what his success was in these Travels.

So foon as Marquis Piçarro was recruited with Forces, both from Alonfo de Algurado, and Garçilaffo de la Vega, he sent Succours to his Brothers, being altogether as yet ignorant of the success of affairs at Cozco; for he was neither informed that Prince Manco Inca was retreated, nor that Almagro was returned from the that I have been supprisoned. Of those Troops which came to him, and of his own, he drew out a Detachment of three hundred Men, well Accounted, and Accommodated in all respects, one hundred and twenty of which were Horse and an hundred and eighty Foot: Alonfo de Alvarado was appointed to Command in Chief, which Office did formerly appertain to Pedro de Lerma, a Native of Burgu, who, during the Infurrection of the Indians, had acquitted himself like a good Commander, and a valiant Souldier; and as he always behaved himself froutly as became him, so one day particularly in a Battel between the *Indians* and the *Spa*niards, his Teeth were beaten out with an unlucky stone thrown from a Sling: Nor was he onely deprived of his Command, and the fame given to another, but he was ordered to serve under Alonso de Alvarado in Quality of Captain of Horse: the which Action, as some construed it, was unpolitically done by the Marquis, and without due confultation; for fince he was refolved in a manner to degrade him, he had better have kept him in his own company, than to have caused him where under a Person against whom he conceived some piques of Emulation: And indeed Pedro do Lorma did more refent this circumstance, than the deprivation of his Office; for they were both of the fame Countrey, and both Noble; and it is a piece of pride incident to the Nature of Mankind, rather to submit to the command of a Stranger, though of meaner rank and quality, than to his equal of the same Countrey: And from this errour it was, that Pigarro afterwards lost the fortune of the day, as we shall see by the sequel of the Story.

When the day appointed for the departure of these Forces grew near, Garcilasso kla Vega defired licence of the Marquis, that he might with the other Captains be employed in this adventure for relief and succour of his Brothers; to which the Marquis made answer, that he should suddenly have occasion of more supplies, and that then he should be sent Commander in Chief of them; but Garcilasso infantly pressed that his desires might not be deserred, for that he could not be quiet in his mind, when he considered the distress of his Lordships Brothers; for having an especial Friendship for them, and related to them as Countreymen, he could not pardon himself, in case he should be guilty of remisses, and be a second, and not one of the first to yield, and administer Aid to them in their diftress; and that for the recruits which were hereafter to be fent, he did not doubt but that he was furnished with Commanders, unto whom he might worthily commit that charge. The Marquis yielding at length to his importunity, suffered him to depart with the others ; so taking their March by way of the Plains, as far & Manafea, to avoid the bad and difficult passages, they came to the beautifull Valley of Pachacamac, where about four Leagues distant from los Reyes, they were engaged in a bloudy Battel against the Indians, who were still in Arms, and in a Body, notwithstanding that their Prince was retired into the Mountains; and had antill that time always beaten the Succours which had been fent to Cozco; and with that encouragement adventured to engage with Alonfo de Alvarado, fighting a long time with much bravery; but being now in the open Field, without the covert and defence of Woods and Mountains, where the Horse could doe service, many of the Indians were flain; but in the craggy and woody Mountains they did much mischief to the Spaniards, killing eleven of them, and seven Horses. From thence Alonfo de Alvarado marched forward, and to make the more hafte, they tra-

Dddd

570

"Alonso de Alvarado passing on his Journey to Cozco, over a sandy Desart, su"flained such want of Water, that above five hundred of his Indians, who car"ried Burthens, were choaked with thirst; and had not the Horse ran in hasse
"to a River, and brought thence in certain Vessels some Water for resieshment
"of the Spanish Foot, it is believed that they had all perished. Thus sar are the
Words of Carate.

For want of those Indians who died with thirst, they were forced to stay some Days, untill they were supplied with others to carry their Burthens. And not to incur again the like necessity, they left the way of the Defart, and took up by the Mountains, where they joyned with other two hundred Men, seventy of which were Horse, and the rest Foot, which the Marquis had sent under Command of Gomez de Tordora de Vargas, a near Kinsman to Garcilasso de la Vega, to recruit the Forces under Alonfo de Alvarado, which confifted of five hundred Spaniard: All which, as they marched through those mountainous and fast Countries, had many Skirmishes at every pass with the Indians; but being well advised by frequent misfortunes of this nature, they marched warily, and with due care to avoid the like fnares, and unhappy fuccesses. At length they came to the Bridge called Rumicacha, which is as much as to fay the Stone-bridge; which being a difficult pass, the Indians did all they were able to give a stop to the Enemy at that place; and many other Avenues they guarded with Souldiers; to gain which, the Spaniards made a Detachment of about forty or fifty Mulquetiers, with a great number of those Indians, whom they had taken up for Servants, and which were to guide the Spaniards, whilst the Musquetiers guarded the rere, untill the whole Body had escaped the danger of those close and difficult passages. At the Bridge an innumerable Company of *Indians* crouded on the *Spaniards*, and fought valiantly; the Battel continued feveral hours, but at last the *Indians* were forced to give way with great flaughter, for the Musquetiers of which there were one hundred, galled them very much, and were those onely who gained the Victory, for in those inclosures the Horse were able to doe no service; howsoever, the Spaniards lost twenty eight Men, and nine Horses, besides many of their Indian Servants. As Gomara in the 138th Chapter relates in these Words:

"Alvarado marched without any interruption with his five hundred Spaniards, untill he came to Lumichaca, where is a Stone-bridge; but there he met with great numbers of Indians, who thought to cut off all the Christians, or at least disperse them: But Alvarado and his Souldiers, though encompassed on all sides with Enemies, sought with that Valour and Conduct, that they over-threw them with a great slaughter: but this Victory cost the lives of many Spaniars, and of many Indians, who were friends, and came to serve and affift them, &c.

From Romichaca Alonfo de Alvarado proceeded forwards, skirmishing with the Indians at every turn, where the Passes were narrow and difficult; and though they conceived little hopes to overcome them, howsoever it was some satisfaction to them to disturb them in their March; and though the Indians being now beaten

out of the Field, durft not engage in a pitched Battel, as they had formerly done. out of the continued their frequent Skirmishes with loss and damage on one side and yet mey contained a single marched twenty Leagues farther unto the Bridge of A. weeren, Alonso de Alvarado received intelligence from the Indians, that the Inca was manca), Alexandre into the Mountains, that Hernando de Piçarro was imprisoned that folin de Piçarro was dead, with many others, during the last Siege, besides several other particulars which had happened; to all which Alvarado had been a tranger until that time: But now upon this advice, it was judged most fafe nor n proceed farther, untill they had received new Orders from the Marquis, to whom they gave a true information of the state of all affairs; and left, in the mean time. Almagro (hould make an attempt upon them, they fortified themselves, and provided for a Siege. Almagro hearing that Alonfo de Alvarado was with his Forces come as far as the Bridge of Amancay, dispatched a Message to him by Diego de Alvarado. and eight other Cavaliers of the best Quality then with him; and in a peaceable and civil manner gave him to understand, that the title and claim he laid to that Government was very manifest and plain by the Commission he had received from his Maiefly; and therefore he exhorted him to return in peace, and if not, he prounited against him for all the Bloud, Miseries and Damages which should follow. This Message being delivered, Alonso de Alvarado seized on those that brought ir. and detained them Prisoners, saying, That to the Marquis, and not to him. they ought to notifie their inftructions, not being authorized or empowred to act any thing without his Orders: And though Garcilasso de la Vega, Peralvarez Holguin. Gones, de Tordora, and other principal Officers were of opinion, that they ought to be fet free, and liberty given them to intimate their Message to the Marquis himfelf; for that in all parts of the World, even amongst the most barbarous Nations, the Persons of Ambassadours were always privileged, and freed from Moleflations and Arrefts whatfoever. That this courfe would ferve to augment and enflame the heats of paffion, which were kindled between the Governours, rather than to allay and appeale them. That it was a hard case that those who had gined that Empire, and were in hopes to enjoy the finits of their labours in peace and quietness, should now quarrel and kill each other, when they came to share and divide the prey. That he should consider with what infamy the relation of this Story would be received in the World, when it should come to be known. that on the score of particular interests, a civil and intestine War was begun amongst them: But Alonso de Alvarado being far from being moved by these reasons, adhered to his own opinion, incited by a natural obstinacy, to the great discontentment of his people, who were defirous to enjoy the Riches of Peru in peace, and in an amicable correspondence, which they had acquired at the cost and expeace of much bloud, and of inceffant labours and turmoils full of danger.

Dddd 2

CHAP.

572

The Battel of the River Amancay; and the Imprisonment of Alonfo de Alvarado and his Souldiers.

NOT long after the Ambassadours were departed from Cozco, Almagro followed them out of the City; and finding that they did not return in their due time, he retired again to the City, where he remained with some trouble and anxiety of mind, suspecting the evil which had befallen them; for he was very fensible both that Alonso de Alvarado had much a better Army than his and that he was not well affured of the fidelity of the people with him, of which many had belonged to Hernando Picarro, and might probably change the fide and colours at the appearance of the Enemy, for which reason it was not judged convenient to carry them into the Field with them: And moreover, he believed that there could be no good designs towards him, in regard that a detention or seizure had been made of his Mellengers. Whillt Almagro was thus divided in his thoughts and fears, he received a Letter from Captain Pedro de Lerma, who (as we have laid before) being much disgusted with the Marquis, and judging this to be a convenient opportunity to revenge himself; gave intimation to Almagro of his own just reference, on fore of the unhandsome usage he had received from Picarro 1 and hereunto adding the perfidious treatment exercifed towards his Ambaffadours. which was a barbarous Act, and disowned by the greatest part of his people; he invited him to advance against the Forces under the Command of Alvarado, assist ring him, that upon his appearance above a hundred of his friends would join with him, and fecure him of happy fuccess with much facility and honour, and that he doubted not but to bring over the whole party to his fide and interest, being entirely diffatisfied with the proceedings of Alvarado their Captain.

Upon these Advices Diego de Almagro, in the space of fifteen Days, fitted and provided himself with all matters necessary for this Enterprise, and departed from Cozeo in fearch of Alonfo de Alvarado; and in his way he took Alvarez Holgain, who was fent out upon a party to make discovery, and learn something of the proceedings of Almagro, but was betrayed by his own Men, who had been suborned and instructed by Pedro de Lerma; as also the greatest number of those who remained were engaged in the Conspiracy. So son as Alonso de Alvaredo was informed that Alvarez Holguin was taken, he suspected Pedro de Lerma, and would have seized him; for, as Gomara saith, he had uttered some suspicious words, as that he was of Burgos, and was well acquainted with the humour of Alvarado; but Pedro de Lerma being advised of the secret intentions of Alvarado towards him, escaped away with feveral friends, in a kind of open manner; for fuch was the affection and interest he had with the Souldiery, that had he had onely four Days time to have worked his defigns, he had carried the whole Army with him: And now to accomplish his Plot, he counselled Almago to make all speed and haste possible, for that his Victory consisted in expedition; of which he might be well assured, for that he had already secured the Affections of the people towards him: And as to the Rules which were to be observed in the management of this affair, he directed him the manner how, the time when, and the place where he was to affault him; the time was to be at Night, when Darkness covers the guilt of Traytours; and he in Person was their guide to the Bridge, where many of the Conspiratours were attending in expectation of them; and the Horse were ordered to pass the River, which was not fo deep, but that they might found or wade it over without danger.

Having these Hopes and Expectations of Victory, they marched forwards on the other fide, the Captains and Officers of Alvarado iffued out Orders for the Fight, and for Defence, but were not obeyed; for it was night, and most of them engaged in the Conspiracy; the Horsemen pretended, that their Lances were ftoln from them, and cast into the River; the Infantry complained that their Muskers, Crofs-bows, and Pikes, were hidden, and laid afide; of that none obey-ed the Command of their Captains, but every one was in confusion, and followed his own Fancy. Those that were appointed to defend the River, and secure the Bridge, instead of repulsing the Enemy, directed them where they might pass with most ease and fecurity, and in regard it was night, so that the Amagrians could not discover the fordable places, the Party on the other fide directed and mided them over, and those at the Bridge invited and affured them, that they might pass without fear. By these means Don Diego de Almagro obtained a Victoinight pass without that you are the first of the Army, and took Alonfo de Albarado, Garcilaffo de la Vega, Gomez de Tordoya, and Captain Villatoa, Prifoners, with other Captains and Officers of the Army, with about an hundred common Souldiers, who refused to enter into the Conspiracy; all which was performed without the loss of one Man, either killed or wounded on which was performed without the loss of one intail, either filled of wounded on either fide, onely Rodrigo de Orgonnos paid for all, having his Teeth beaten out by an unlucky Stone thrown at randome from a fling, no Man knows how, nor from whence it came. Thus Almagro, and his Souldiers, returned victorious, and triumphant, unto Cozco, giving out Words of Scorn and Contempt againft the Picarra, as that they would not leave fo much as one Picarra under foot (which is a webble Stone) in all Peru, that if they affected Government, and Dominion, they hould go feek it amongft the Manglares, and in those high Mountains which run along the Sea-coast, under the Equinoctial. Those whom they suspected of Malienancy towards them, they fecured under fafe Custody; and because they were many in number, they committed them unto two Prisons, some they sent to the Fortress, and others to the Cassana, which is the common Prison of the

Royal Commentaries.

We have formerly mentioned, how that the Marquis Piçarro having dispatched Alonso de Alvarado, and soon after Gomez de Tordoya, with Recruits and Succours to his Brothers, he himself remained in the City of los Reyes, to order and dispose those Troops, which came to him from divers parts, according as he had demanded; of which Gomara, in the 137th Chapter of his Book, gives this Account.

"Alonso de Fuen Major, President and Bishop of St. Domingo, sent, under the Command of his Brother, Diego de Fuen Major, Native of Tanguas, many Spamingh Musqueriers, which were lately come to him with Pedro de Vergara. Fermando Corter sent upon his own Ship, commanded by Rodrigo di Grijalua, as far as from New Spain, a considerable quantity of Arms, such as Lances, Sadles, and Funiture for Horses, Garments of Sills, and one Suit of Marrin's Furr. Gaster de Espinosa brought from Panama, Nombre de Dios, and other parts of the Contenent, a great Company of Spaniaris; and Diego de Ayala returned with good Recruits, which he had gathered at Nicaragua, and Quahntemallan; besides many others, from divers other parts: So that now the Army of Pizarro was become far greats? than ever, and the number of his Musque ters much encreased, of which though he had no great use against the Indians, yet they came seasonably to his Aid against Almagro, as shall hereaster be related, etc.

The Marquis finding himself so well reinsorced, for as Carate reports, his Troops consisted of seven hundred Spaniards, Horse and Foot, he resolved in person to march to the Relief of his Brothers; for his Mind could not be at rest, being in daily apprehensions and sears for them, and could not be satisfied whilst he remained at so far a distance: Wherefore taking his way by the Plains, and with short Days Marches, he met the Intelligence which was sent him by Alvarado, how that the Inca was retired, that Almagro was returned to Cocco, that two of his Brothers were imprisoned, and a third dead; all which ill News the Marquis received with a due sense of Sorrow and Assistance. But that

that might not be oppressed with all his Griefs at the same time, the second News, of the loss of his Forces, and Imprisonment of Alvarado, came not to him untill two days after the Receipt of the former, which ferved to augment the fense he conceived for his late Misfortunes. Whereupon giving a stop to his March, he refolved to return again to los Rejes, though he was already advanced twenty five Leagues upon his Way; for that when he departed thence, he had made preparations onely for a War against the Indians; but now the Design being changed, and that he was to fight with Spaniards, another fort of Arms, and other accountrements of War, were to be provided, as necessary

ry against this Enemy.

Moreover he thought it advisable first to make trial of the more moderate Terms of Treaty and Accommodation, not being willing to tempt Fortune a third time, which had been severe to him in two former Adventures. He farther confidered, That his Competitor was strong, both in Horse and Footand that they were wellarmed; and that the most safe and easie way to evtinguish that Fire which was now kindled in the Breast of Almagro, was to revive the ancient Conditions of Brother-hood and Friendship, which had been fo often confirmed, and ratified under fo many Oaths and Religious Vows: by Virtue of which, that great and rich Empire having been gained, and conquered; it would be most lamentable to see the Enjoyment of those Bleffings disappointed, and at the end of all, to see nothing intended, but the Ruine and Destruction of each other.

On these Considerations he dispatched the Lawver, Doctour Elbinola, unto Cozco, with Instructions, if possible, to conclude some middle Terms of Accommodation between him and Almagro; and that he should especially endeavour to make him fensible, that in case their Quarrels and Diffentions should be made known to His Majesty, and the Differences between his Governours, fuggested as irreconcileable; it was more than probable, that His Majefty would, before they could lay the matter open before him, provide himself with another Governour to supplant them both, and who, without Svvear, or Labour, vvould immediately enter into the Possession, and Enjoyment of that Dominion, which they, at the Expence of fo much Bloud and Industry, had atchieved. That he should consider, that a good Peace was better than an evil War, and that though those Words are commonly inverted, yet under the prefent Circumstances they were most certainly true. And lastly, when he should see that Almagro vvas not to be prevailed with, on any equal Terms, that then he should conclude with him on Conditions to release his Brothers; and that as for the matter of the Government of Cozco, he should rule and govern there in God's Name, untill such time as that the case being stated, and made known to His Majesty, he should be pleased to determine the particular Limits and Precincts of each other's Government: Provided also in the mean time, that Almagro should not make any Attempt on the City of los Reyes, nor on any of the Territories thereunto belonging.

Doctour Espinosa being thus dispatched with this Commission, and these Instructions, he arrived at Cozco, where he proposed all matters accordingly to Almagro, and his Officers; but they were begame so high, and elated, with their former Success, that they vould neither yield, nor hearken to any Proposals: And though Diego de Alvarado, with his usual Candour and Moderation, insisted, That the Atticles now offered, were the very same that they formerly required; for that they never demanded more than Possession, and quiet Enjoyment of the City of Cozco; yet they rejected all his Counfel, and Offers, faying, That he was not to prescribe them Limits, or confine and restrain them from marching towards los Reyes; for that he was not to be imposed upon within his own Jurisdiction, but in that prosperous and flourish ing state of Affairs, rather to give them to receive Conditions from others. To which Diego de Alvarado made Answer, that the Conditions were such as he himself gave, and not received; but all he could say was in vain, and insign

nificant, for it was entirely rejected.

And here it is observable, that both Governours challenged the City of Cazon for his own, and both agreed that the Limits of their respective Governments should be begun and be established from the Chanels without, one to the Southward, and the other Northward; the choice of which being absohuely granted to Almagro, he refused to accept either; for seeing himself now in possession of the City, and that his Competitour had condescended to all his Conditions, he believed that such Compliance proceeded from a fear of looling all his Government; wherefore fince Fortune had with difolayed wines owned his Cause, he was resolved to push it forward, and try if he could become fole Monarch of all that Empire.

Thus Almagro being puffed up with Ambition, and moved with Covetousness, which are two unsatiable Affections of the Mind, he would yield to no Agreement with the Marquis, and Espinosa dying amidst the heat of these Debases, nothing was concluded; nor the Benefit of that Peace and happy Accommodation produced, as might have been expected from the Prudence, Judgment, and moderation of that worthy Person, who, before his Death. present the Ruine and Destruction of both the Governours. And now Almapro, to testifie to the World that he had not yielded to the Propositions of the Marquis, he marched out of Cozco with an Army, leaving Graviel de Ros Governour in his stead, with Commission to have a particular Eve and Regard over the Prisoners, who, with the first taken with Hernando Picarro. and those with Alonso de Alvarado, did amount in all to the number of one hundred and fifty which were committed unto two feveral Prisons, as we have

But in regard that Almagro durst not trust Hernando Picarro in Prison, lest he flould make his Escape, he took him with himself, and marched by way of the Plains, and having passed the Territories belonging to Cozco, he entred into the lurisdiction of los Reyes, and came to the Valley of Chincha, which is not much more than twenty Leagues distant from that City, where, in token of Live-In and Seifin, he founded a new Colony, giving thereby a clear Evidence of his Intentions, to become Mafter of both Governments. And here for a while he pitched his Camp, to fee how the Marquis would take this Attempt, giving him thereby to understand, That in case he should be displeased with these his Proceedings, that he was there ready to defie him, and there expected him in the Field, to decide the Controversie like a Souldier, and a valiant Captain.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XXXV.

The Marquis nominates Captains for the War. Gonzala Pisarro makes his Escape out of Prison. The Sentence given by the Umpires concerning the Government. The Interview between the two Governours: And the Lihorty of Hernando Pisarro.

SO foon as the Marquis was returned to the City of los Reyes, he began his Preparations for a War against Almagua his Drume wood by Preparations for a War againt Almagra, his Drums were beat up for new Leavies and Advices were dispatched along the Coast of all matters which had passed: Upon which the people slocked together in such numbers, that ha ving increased his Army very considerably, he gave out his Commissions to Captains and other Officers. Pedro de Valdivia, and Antonio de Villalva, were ordained Major-Generals: the Son of Collonel Villalva was made Seargeant Major. Peranzures, Diego de Rojas, and Alonso de Mercadillo, were appointed Captains of Horse: Diego de Urbino Native of Ordunna, the Kinsman of John de Urbino was made Captain of Lanciers: Nunno de Castro, and Peter de Vergara, who had been a Souldier in Flanders, and brought with him from thence into the Indies, a company; of Musquetiers with Ammunition, and necessaries agreeable thereunto, were confirmed by Commission for Officers of that Millia. These Commanders mustered eight hundred choice Souldiers, viz. fix hundred Poot, and two hundred Horse, with which Force the Marquis marched out of los Reyes to fight Almagro, Whilst matters succeeded, as we have related, between the Marquis, and Almagro, the Prisoners which remained in Cozco, were contriving the manner how to obtain their defired Liberty; and in regard that the nature of civil Wars is such. as that Mens Minds are easily corrupted and seduced to the contrary Fashion; so on this occasion these wanted not Men, who, upon promise of Reward, were persuaded to sell the Loyalty and Faith which they had sworn to Almagro, and his Deputy Graviel de Rojus; the price whereof was not paid in hand, but on the bare Promife of Ganzalo Picarro, and Alonfo de Alvarado with about fifty or fixty more, who were then Prifoners in the Cassana; the Persons who were privy to this escape, were about forty in number, and were the Guards of the Prilon; who having licence to go in and out to the Prisoners, as occasion served; they lest them instruments to file off their Chains and Arms for their Defence; and having other Souldiers with them in the Plot, they provided them with Horses, and other necessaries, for their Flight: The Prisoners, and their Complices, being in readiness to make their escape with the silence of the night, it happened, that some time before the matter was to be put in Execution, that Graviel de Rojas, as was his Custome, every night came to visit the Prisoners, where having opened the Doors, he found the Prifoners loofe, and at Liberty, and he himself taken; for being encompassed by them all, they told him plainly, that either he must resolve to go with them, or dye upon the place. Graviel de Rojas seeing himself thus unexpectedly surprised, and not being in any Capacity to make a Resistence, consented to what they required, and so in company with about an hundred Men, he was sorted with those who had taken him Prisoner, together with those who revolted, to the party of Francisco Picarro, having free paffage by way of the Mountains, for Almagro, with his Forces, was quartered in the Plains by the Sea-coast.

Some have malitiously reported, that Graviel de Rojas was joined in the same Consider with the others, but that was a false Surmise; for had he been really in that Plot, he would not have left near an hundred Prifoners in the Forrefs. many of which were in the number of the first Conquerours, such as ucis, many Francisco de Villasuerte, Alonso de Maçueta, Mancio serra de Leguiçamo, Diego de Maldonado, Julio de Hojeda, Tomas Valquez, Diego de Truxillo, and John de Pancorro, with whom I had acquaintance, and were Persons of great Interest and Estates amongst the Indians in Cozco: Besides which, Garcilasso de la Vega, Gomez de Tordaya, and Peralvarez Holgain, remained Prifoners; all which to have taken with them, would have been much to the benefit of the Conspiratours: But this was the truth of the Matter: The Marquis, when he faw his Brother, and his the turn of the matter. The managers, when he have in Subdier, and his other Friends, rejoiced exceedingly, for he greatly feared, that by the Malice and Rage of his Enemies they had been put to death; and his people were greatly encouraged by these additional Forces. Gonçalo Picarro was made General of the Foot, and Alonso de Alvarado of the Horse; and so well was Gonçalo Picarro beloved even by his Enemies, that many quitted their Horses to serve on Foot. onely to have the Honour to be one of his Souldiers.

Almagro having received intelligence of the great Force which was with the Marquis, and that those whom he held in Custody, had made their Escapes. and that his Deputy Governour was a Prisoner, he feared that the course of his good Fortune was changed; and repenting now that he had not accepted the Propolitions which were offered him, he refolved to enth into a Treaty: and to that end he dispatched three Gentlemen to Picarro, namely, Alonso Enriques, Diego Nunnez de Mercadura, Adjutant, and John de Guernan, Auditour, both which were Officers of His Majesties Revenue, giving them full Power and Authority, to treat and conclude all Matters without Passion, in such manner as should be just and reasonable. Pigarro received them with all the kindness and respect imaginable; but being entred into a treaty such differences arole in the points between them, that nothing was concluded: wherefore to put an end thereunto, the controversie was referred to the Umpirage, and Award of Frier Francis de Bobadilla, Provincial in those parts of the Order of the Merceds, a Person of that Probity, Conscience and good Understanding, that both Parties by mutual Consent agreed to rest satisfied with his Determination: but in this particular Authours disagree; for Carate makes mention of this Friar, and of no other; but Gomara reports that the Person nominated by Almagro was Friar Francife Husando; but whether the Arbitratours were two, or one, it matters not much; for both Historians agree in the material Points, and almost in the same Words, which, according to Carate, in the eighth Chapter of his third Book, are these.

"Friar Francisco being deputed Umpire, by the consent of both Parties, did by virtue of that Authority, determine, That in the first place Hernando Pigarro (hould be fet at Liberty, and that the Marquis, according to the primary Agreement, should be invested in the possession of the City of Cozco; That both Armies should be disbanded, and the several Detachments thereof should be made, and sent for the Discovery of other Parts; and that information should be given to His Majesty of all these particulars, that so he might determine and ordain according to his own gratious Pleasure. And farther, for the better Confirmation of these Articles, he determined, That an Interview should be had between the Marquis and Almagro, in the Countrey called Malla, which was the middle place between the two Armies; and that neither party should appear with more than twelve Horse on a side. And in regard that Gonzalo Picarro did not much confide in the Promises of Almagro, nor trust much to the Truce that was made, he speedily followed the Marquis with all his Souldiers, and posted himself privately near the people of Mall., and lined a certain Wood, or Thicket, through which Almagro was to pass, with about forty Musquetiers, resolving, that in case more Souldiers were brought than were agreed, that then they should fire upon them, and upon that figual he would come in to their affiftence.

Thus far are the Words of Carate, not mentioning farther of Almagro, of whom Gomara reports in the 140th Chapter, as followeth.

" Almaoro when he faw Picarro declared, that he was greatly rejoiced to fee " him, though he could not but much complain of the Severity and hardness of " the Sentence. When he went in Company of his twelve Friends, to meet Picarro, he recommended unto Rodrigo Orgonnos his General to be near at hand with his Army in a readiness, in case Picarro should attempt any thing contrarv to Agreement, and that he should be sure to kill Hernando Piçarro, whom he had lest purposely in his Power, in case he should make any Resistence. Pic. carro came to the place appointed with his twelve Companions, and in the "Arrere was all his Camp, with Gonzalo Piçarro; but whether this was done by the appointment of the Marquis, is doubtfull: Howfoever it is most cerby the appointment of the Marquis, is doubtill: Flowloever it is most certain, that Gonzalo posted himself near to Malla, and commanded Capitain Nominez de Castro to place an Ambuscade of forty Muscinetiers in the Woods, which Almagro was to pass. It happened that Picuro came first to Malla, where meeting afterwards with Almagro, they embraced with great Joy, and " began to discourse of indifferent matters; but before they had entred upon " business, one came hastily, and told Almagro, in hearing of the Company, that he should speedily be gone, for that he remained there in danger of his Life: whereupon without delay he mounted on Horseback, and without speaking one Word more, or Treaty of Business, he returned: When he discovered the Ambufcade, he could not but believe his Eyes, and made grievous Complaints of *Picario*, and of the Friars, and of all that Party, terming them as for many *Pilates* for the Injuftice of their Sentence. Though *Picarro* was perfuaded to have feized him, he refused fo to doe, saying, That he had committed himself to him under his Parole of Honour, and disowned to have given Order, to his Brother to lay that Ambush, or to have suborned the

And herewith Gomara concludes this Chapter; and so much Carate confirms of this Interview, which proved to little benefit, and ferved to increase the Harred and Indignation of both Parties; howfoever in fine, a true Understanding was made of this matter between Almagro and Pigarro, without any Prejudice or Paffion, and all things were fo well pacified and accommodated by the Endeavours of Diego de Alvarado, that Hernando Piçarro was set at Liberty: And it was farther agreed, That for fending Writings and Informations into Spain about the whole Matter, the Marquis should grant unto Almagro the freedom of a Port, and the convenience of a Ship, for carrying his Dispatches, because he had neither one nor other within his Jurisdiction; and in the mean time, that neither fide should enterprise, or attempt any thing against the other, untill new Orders and Commands were come from the Emperour. So Almagro, upon Bail, and Security given him by Alvarado, gave Hernando Picarro his Liberty, though much againft the Will and Advice of Organnos, who, being well acquainted with the malitious and angry humour of Hernando Picarro, very much persuaded the contrary; and indeed when Almagro himself considered his Errour, he would have detained him, but it was then too late; for it was commonly discoursed, that this turbulent Man would cause new Commotions, and indeed they were much in the right; for no fooner was he fet at Liberty, but a Breach enfued. Nor was Picarro himself very fair, or clear in the performance of his Agreement; for when a new Patent was come from the Emperour, wherein, by a certain Claufe, it was required, that both Parties should remain in possession of what they were already feized, and though one had gotten and intruded himfelf into the Lands of the other; yet notwithstanding for quietness sake, that matters should continue in the same Posture. Howsoever Pigarro having his Brother about him, and his chief Counfellour, required Almagro, in virtue of this new Patent, to quit the Countrey, which he himself had peopled and discovered. Almagro having read and considered that Clause, answered, That he was ready to obey the Emperour's Command, and Royal Signature, according unto which, he was to keep Possession of Cozco, and of other places, whereof he was now the Master, and according thereunto he desired that he might receive no farther Disturbance and Molestation in his Enjoyment.

Hereunto Picarro replied, that the Emperour's meaning was, that every one should enjoy that whereof he was peaceably possessed, and not that which was taken by force of Arms, under which the Government of the new Kingdom of Toldow would sall; and therefore he required him hamediately to quit and abandon Cato, and other parts in dispute, or otherwise, that he would chase him from thene by force of Arms; for since the arrival of the Emperour's late Determination, the Engagements and Securities he had given of Truce, did all cease, and expire. But Almagro remaining firm and positive in his first Resolutions, Picarromarched with all his Army to Chincha, of which his Commanders were such, as before related, and his chief Counsellour was Hernando, his pretence at first being onely to disposses his Enemies of Chincha, to which he had a clear and an un-

doubted Title.

Almagro fearing the force of his Enemies, and not willing to engage with them, retreated towards Cozco; and left they should pursue him too close in the Rere, he cat the Bridges, and obstructed the ways, and fortified himself in Gnitara, a chaggy and mountainous Countrey. Picarro marched close after him, and having a better, and a more numerous Army, Fernando Picarro, by the benefit of the night, climbed the mountain with his Musquetiers, and gained the Pass. Almagro by the means being in a bad condition, marched away with all speed possible, leaving Organios to bring up the Rere, and to retreat as orderly as he could, without sighting, the which he performed accordingly, though, as Christopher de Sotelo, and others, report, he had better have given Battel to the Picarrists, who were, as it were, sea-sick, being trouble with a kind of vomiting. For it was very ordinary for the Spaniards, when at first they came out of the warm, or rather, hot Plains, and ascended to the tops of the snowy Mountains, to be taken with a kind of dizziness in the Head, and sickness in their Stomachs, as if they were Sea-sick, such change there is, and alteration of Air, in so short a distance of place. In sing, should be privated all the Bridges behind him, caused Armour to be made of Silver and Copper, with Musquets, and other Fire-arms; provided the City with Victuals, and regared the outworks, and old Fortifications, &c.

Thus far are the Words of Gomara, which are confirmed by Carate; though with more brevity. And because these Authours to avoid tediousness are so short in the relation of these particulars, that they become obscure, we shall in the following Chapter serve the Reader with a Coment, and enlarge thereupon as the matter requires.

Ecce 2 CHAP.

### CHAP. XXXVI.

A farther Narrative of what hath been formerly mentioned and how Hernando Picarro marched against Don Diego de Almagro. of yland

'S we have formerly faid, Diego de Alvarado was very much a Gentleman and A a Person of great Sense and Moderation, and indeed he shewed himfelf to to be, in all his Negotiations of things which we have already related of what we are now treating, and of what remain for our future Discourse; and had not the Passions of the Governours exceeded all the Bounds of Reason, he had by his Wifedom and Diffretion produced a true and a right understanding between them. For when he observed, that the Sentence given by the Frians, did rather serve to englame than appeale the Differences, he vigoroully interposed, and frequently passing from one to the other, he at length produced a good Understanding and Peace between them; for it was by his Intercession that Almagro gave Hernando Picarro his Liberty; and that the Marquis yielded to afford a Ship, and a free Pals port to Almagro's Messenger, which was sent into Spain; And to the end that this Peace might be established for every he caused all three of them to swear unto the maintenance of the Articles and to oblive them the more firmly thereunto, he himself would become Guarranty to both Parties, (uppoling, that out of respect to him, and in observance of their Oaths, as Christians, and of their Paroles, as Gentlemen, they would never violate what they had so solemnly protested. Wherefore Gomura saith, that the Peace was made at the Instance and Intercession of Diego de Alvarado, who morebyer became Caution and Guarranty for the fame. But Organnos was he who declared hinfelf against the setting of Hernaudo at Liberty; and when he saw that Almago was resolved to doe it, Sir, said he, (as if he had presaged his Ruine) you may loofe the Bull if you please, and then, you shall find, that he will attack and kill you, nitbook respect to his Word or Oath.

As to what Gomara relates of the Souldiers of Pigarro, that they were like Men. that were Seatick, we must understand, that those who are fresh Men or lately come out of Spain, (in the Language of Barlovento are called Chapetones,) and those who are inured to the Countrey are termed Baquianos;) these, I say, after they have refided fome time in the Plain, which are by the Sea-coast, and come to the Mountains, are prefently feized with a Sickness, like those at Sea, and according to the different Complexions and Constitutions of Men, it is much worse; for at first they will remain a day or two without eating or drinking, and not able to fland on their Legs, but continually vomit whatfoever they have in their Stomaches, and befides, the brightness of the Snow fo dazles their Eyes, that for two or three days they become perfectly blind, though afterwards they recover their fight again. The Reason hereof they attribute to the sudden change of Air from one Extreme to the other, that is, from the hot Plains, to the cold Cordillera, or the fnowy tops of the Mountains, for it is not above fix hours travel from one Region to the other; and it is farther observable, that those who descend from the Mountain into the Plains, are not affected with this Altera.

: defla, in his Treatife concerning this Mountain-fickness, describes the Causes and Effects of it much at large in the third Book of his Natural History of the Indies, unto which I refer the Reader. Matters being in this posture, had the Counsel which Christopher de Sotelo, and others, gave to Organies, been followed, which was to have faln upon the Enemy in that condition, when they were weak and fick, they might, without much refiftence, have been defeated; which Carate confirms in these Words.

" Rodrigo Organios having no Orders from the Governour to engage, loft his ad-" vantage; which if he had done, it is probable he might have had fuccess; for " the Army of Picarro was fo weakned with the Snows, befides other inconve-"niencies of the Mountains, that they were in no condition to make relistence: " Wherefore the Marquis haftned into the Plains, and Almagro unto Cozco. &c. Thus far Carate.

Almagro in the instructions given to his General, ordered him not to fight, but mon confirmint; for these two Governours had always inclinations to agree, and not drive matters to the extremity of a breach, as may be observed ever fince their meeting at Cozco, before Almagro departed for Chili, when between themfelves all the flames of difference were extinguished: the like passed at Malla, where, as both the Historians agree, they chearfully embraced each other with all the kindness and affection imaginable, and discoursed of indifferent matters with pleasure and delight: And this good correspondence continued, untill wicked Incendiaries interposed, who representing every action with an evil face, incited and precipitated them to fuch destructive resolutions, as were afterwards fatal and minous to them both: Nor did these pernicious Counsellours reap any benefit thereby unto themselves, but being involved in the same calamities, were ensuared (as is usual) in their own devices. But to proceed, Carate in the 11th Chapter of his third Book, hath these Words:

"The Marquis remaining with his whole Army in the Plains, just upon the a nin of the Mountain; he found that there was a great diversity of opinions " amongst his Officers, concerning the manner and way that they were to proceed; "at length, it was relolved. That Hernando Picarro, in quality of Lieutenant-"General, should march with the Army unto Cozco, and that his Brother Goncale should be Commander in Chief; and that being arrived there, he should declare, that his intention and defign of that Expedition was in compliance with Justice, to restore those Citizens to their Estates and Commands over the Indans, who had been deprived and banished from thence by the force and usurpation of Almagro. In this manner the Army proceeding on their march to-wards Cozco, and the Marquis returning to the City of los Reyes; Hernando Picarro came at length near to Cozco, where the Officers advised, as most convenient, to pitch their Camp in the Plains for that Night; but Hernando was of a contrary opinion, and would Quarter within the Mountain: So foon as it was Day, Organios appeared in the Field with the Forces of Almagro drawn up in Battalia : His Captains of Horse were Francis de Chaves, John Tello, Vincent de Guevara, (or rather Vasco de Guevara) and Francis de Chaves was elder Brother to another of the fame name, who was an intimate and familiar friend to the "Marquis. On the fide of the Mountain some Spaniards were drawn up, with a great number of Indians, who at that time served for Auxiliaries: All the Friends and Servants of the Marquis, who were Prisoners at Cozco, were crouded into two Angles of the Fortress, which being a Prison so strait, as could not contain the number of the people, some of them were pressed and crouded to death in the place.

The next Day in the Morning, after Mass, Gonçalo Picarro, with his Army, descended into the Plain, where they disposed their Troops into several Battalions, and in that order marched towards the City, intending to draw up his Men upon a Hill, which over-topped the Castle; upon supposition, that Almagro discovering his force, would scarce adventure to give him Battel; which he defired to avoid, knowing how much depended on the fuccess thereof; but Rodrigo Organnos having no fuch thoughts, attended his coming in the open way

with his Army and Artillery, &c.

Thus far are the Words of Carate, which are confirmed by Lopez de Gomara: To which we shall add some things which these Authours have omitted, and are worthy to be remembred, and may ferve for the more clear understanding of this History. And as to the first, which was the place where the Battel was fought, we fay it was an errour of those who relate it to have been on the Hill, which over-looks the Fortrefs: For certainly the Engagement was in that Plain which

the Indians call Cachipampa, which fignifies the Field of Salt, and is fituate about a League diffant to the Southward from the Fortres, near to a pleasant Fountain of saltish Water; of which the Inhabitants of the City, and parts adjacent, bringing the streams into several Salt pans, make great abundance of Salt: And these Works of Salt lying between the City, and the place where the Fight was, they called it the Battel of the Salinas.

Organus drew up his Men into Battalia, with intention to dye with his Sword in his hand: And though the Enemy was much more strong than his Army, both in Men and Arms; yet having been a Souldier in Italy, where he had seen much service, and had vanquished in a single Combat a Cavalier, who was a famous Commander; he did not in the least droop in his courage, or shew any inconstancy, or fear of mind: And being a stout Souldier, he something refented, and was heartily piqued at a Message which Hernando Picarro had sent him two Days before, because it appeared something like a challenge; being to give him notice, that he, and a certain Companion, would enter the Battel on Horse-back, armed with Coats of Male, over which they would wear a slassned Coat of Orange coloured Velvet; of which he thought fit to give him notice, that in case he, or any other, had an intention to engage with him, he might distinguish him by those signals

This Message Hernando was induced to send on the score of some Indignities, which he remembred and resented ever since the time of his Imprisonment. Organios taking this for a challenge, called Captain Pedro de Lerma to him, whom he knew to be an Enemy to the Picarros, and one who ever since the business at Mancay, had excluded himself from all possibility of reconciliation with them; and told him, saying, Our Enemy is so considered his Force, that he already triumphs for his Victory, giving us the signs by which we may know his Person.

Now in regard our Army is inferiour to his in Number, though superiour in Courage and Bravery, so that we have sittle hopes to subdue him; howsever, let us at least ravish the enjoyment of Victory out of his hands, nor suffer him, whatsoever comes of it, to see that joyfull day: They are, as they say, two Companions, so and so habited: Let you and I Encounter them with such resolution, as that they may be slain by our hands; so shall we wipe off this affront, and not dye unrevenged. With this resolution they prepared themselves for the Battel, which shortly ensued with great effusion of bloud and cruelty, as will appear in the Chapters sollowing.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the bloudy Battel of the Salinas.

R Odrigo Organnos, to perform the part of a good Souldier, put his Forces the next Morning, very early, into order of Battel, his Infantry he reduced to one Battalion, supported on each Wing by his Harquebusiers, which were sew in number, and much less than those on the contrary side, which was the cause that he lost the day. The Captains of the Foot were Christopher de Sotelo, Hernando de Murado, John de Moscolo, and Diego de Salinas. The Horse were divided into two Squadrons, the one Commanded by John Tello, and Vasco de Gnevara, and the other by Francis de Chaves, and Ruy Dias. Organnos being Commander in Chief, did not oblige himself to any particular rank, being to be present, and affisting at every action of the Field, and designed with his companion Pedro de Lerna to seek for Hernando de Piçarro, and sight with him. His Artillery he planted on one side, of the Squadrons, where it might most annoy the Enemy: before them was a stream of Water, which ran through all those Plains, and a Moorish fort of plashy gound, which made the Access of the Enemy to them to be something difficult.

On the other fide Pedro de Valdivia, who was Major-General, and Antonio de Cam-M Sergeant-Major, distossed their Forces in the same order, as might answer that of Rodrigo Organios. Their Battalion of Foot was flanked on each Wing with good numbers of Harquebusiers, who were those that did the work, and gained the Victory of that day: Their Horse were drawn up into two Squadrons, of a hundred in each, against those of Organios. Hernando Picarro, with his Companion Francisco de Barahona, were in the Front of one of the Squadrons of Horse, and Alonfo de Alvarado at the Head of the other; and Gonzalo Piçarro as General of the Infantry resolved to fight on Foot. In which order marching against the Almagrians, they resolutely passed both the stream of Water and the Moor, without any opposition of the Enemy; for they had given them first such a Volly of fmall shot, as had very much disordered them, and put them into that consusion, that they might easily be routed; for both Horse and Foot retreated from their ground to avoid the shot of the Harquebusiers; which when Organnas observed, he doubted much of the Victory, and gave order for the Artillery to play upon them; which succeeded so well, that one shot carried off a whole rank of five Men at once; which fo difinaged the Enemy, that had four or five in the like manner followed, they might have defeated that whole Squadron. But Gonzalo Picarro, and his Major-General Valdivia appearing in the Front, forced the Souldies forwards, and commanded them to charge the Enemy's Pikes with their Copper shot; for as the Souldiers of Almagro were more numerous in their Pikes, so those of Pigarro availed themselves most of their Harquebusiers, and aimed much to defeat their Pikes, that their Horse might afterwards charge them with less danger. And so accordingly it succeeded, for as Carate and Gomara relate, fifty of their Pikes were broken with two Vollies of shot.

The Copper Bullets (for information of those who have never seen them) are cast in a common Mould like others: They take a third or a fourth part of Ironwire, and at each end of this Wire they make a little hook for a link, and put the end of the two Hooks into the middle of the Mould: Then to divide the Mould into two parts, they separate it with leaf of Copper or Iron as thin as Paper; then they pour in the melted Lead, which incorporates it self with the links of Iron, and divides the Bullet in two parts, saftned with the Iron links. Then when they aren them into the Gun, they joyn them like one Bullet; and when they are thot out, they spread themselves to the length of the Chain, and cut all before them. By these means, as the Historians say, they did great execution upon the Pikes, for without this invention they could never have done half this missing. How soever, they did not aim at the Pikemen themselves, but at their Pikes, that they might shew what they were able to do, and what advantage they

had over them in their Arms.

their Face

like a cross Bar.

This invention of Chain-bullets was brought from Flanders to Peru by Pedro de Vergara, with the Guns which were made for them. I remember to have feen fome of them in my own Countrey; and in Spain I have feen them, and made them; and there I was acquainted with a Gentleman called Alonfo de Loayla, a Ni. tive of Truxillo, who was wounded in that Battel, having his lower jaw, with his teeth and gums, carried away with one of those Bullets; he was the Father of Francisco Longia, who lives this day at Cozco, and is one of those few Sons of the Conquerours which remain and enjoy the inheritance and portion divided to their Fathers: and according to this form, I have feen others like these made for

But to return to our Story of the Battel. Rodrigo de Organios, and his Comrade Pedro de Lerma, observing the great execution which the Harquebusiers made up. on their people, charged the Squadron of Horfe, commanded by Hernando Picarro, hoping to find, and kill him, which was the ultimate end of their expectation. for they perceived that the Victory began to incline to the fide of their Enemies. and fetting themselves suft in the Front of Hernando, and his Companion, whom they diffinguished, and knew by their Coats of Incarnation-Velvet, they charged them with great bravery and resolution. Organies, who carried his Lance in its \* In Peru, for Reft full-butt against Francisco de Barahona, happened to direct it right upon \* the want of Ber. Beaver which covered his face; which being made of a mixture, between Silver gandines, or beaver which covered his face; which being made of a mixture, between Silver gand gave paffing to the Lance which Head-pieces, and Copper, opened with the blow, and gave paffage to the Lance which ran they wore a into his head; with which falling to the ground, Organias proceeded forward, and ran another with his Lance into the breaft; and then laying his hand to his Sword. he had performed Miracles in his own Perfon; but that an unlucky Chain, or Partridge-shot, from the Harquebusiers, strook him in the forehead, with which he loft both his fight and force. Pedro de Lerma, and Hernando Picarro, encountred each other with their Lances; but being mounted on Gennets, they fixed them not in the Rests, but in another manner; which was this: At that time, and long after, during all the time of the Civil Wars, the Spaniards made certain Cafes, or Holfters of Leather, which were fastned to the bow of the Saddle, and reached to the neck of the Horse; and then putting the end of the Lance into the Holster, they brought it under the Arme like a Rest. In this manner pasfed many brave Combats between the Spaniards in Peru; for the Encounters, or Justs, were with all the force both of Man and Horse; but all this needed not against the Indians, whose Skins were pierced with a more easie stroke of the Arme. We have judged fit to give this account of the offensive and defensive Arms of my Countrey, for the better understanding of what is hereafter to be treated. But to return unto the Combat between Hernando Picarro, and Pedro de Lerma, it happened in this manner: The Lances of both the Duellifts being very long, and therefore more pliant, or not fo stiff as they defired, both of them aimed low at each other; fo that Hernando Picarro forely wounded his Enemy in the thigh, piercing the Coat of Male which covered it. Pedro de Lerma WOUNded Picarro's Horse in the Forehead, which razed the skin, and with the sharp point of the Lance cut the head-stall of the Horse; and then making a second charge, he happened to bear upon the pummel of the Saddle with fuch force, that though it were made for War, yet it broke and gave way to the Lance, which paffing forward, pierced the Coat of Male, and wounded *Pigaro* in the belly, though not mortally; for the Horse being over-born, fell backwards to the ground; by which means yielding to the force of the stroke, he saved his life, which otherwise had been in great danger; for had the Lance found full resistence, it had passed quite thorow his Entrails. On this occasion both our Historians having just cause to applaud the Prowess

and Valour of Organnos, do almost use the same words. Augustine Carate in the Encomium which he gives of him, faith as follows:

And here it is to be noted, that he who fent a Natrative of this Battel into And here it is to be noted, that he who lent a Patiente of this Batter into Jain, must have been an Enemy to Picarro, because the Relation he gave there of was to the prejudice of that party; for he reports, that Hernando Picarro had doubled a Servant of his with the same Habit which he pretended to wear on the by of Battel, that fo those who sought for him, might reak their sury on his Scrwith and fuffer him to escape; which if it had been true, he might have deferand the difgrace and character of Coward: But though this Story was absolutely the, yet it to far prevailed in Spain, and over all Pern, that the Royal Council of the hadies to be truly informed of the matter, fent for a famous Souldier, who was present at the Battel on Almagro's fide, called Silvestre Gonzalez; and amongst the things demanded of him, they asked, Whether in Pern Hernando Picarro was deemed for a Coward? In reply unto which, though the Souldier was of the where party, yet he averred all that which was reported of Hernando Picarro, mothing the Combat which he and his Companions fought, and related it in he fame manner as we have done; adding, that fuch was the common fame and mane manner as we have done; adding, that need was the common faine and mort concerning the particulars of that Battel. This passed at Madrid towards the latter years of the Imprisonment of Hernando Picarro, which were twenty three hall; and this Souldier himself acquainted me with what he had declared to the lings Council of the Indies: But that which gave the first colour to this scandain report, was (as he faid) the term of Servant, which we call a Companion; trit was faid, that he was richly cloathed; and fo it was true, for he was habied exactly like Picarro, wearing a Coat of Incarnation coloured Velvet, which no very much flashed: Thus far was very true, but then that wherein the mi-

lake lay, was, that this Person was a Servant, and not a Companion. But to proceed: When the Souldiers of Hernando Picarro faw their Commanand the ground, they believed that he was killed; and then prefently the Armisbegan to engage, and fought with fuch bravery, that a great flaughter enfued a both fides; for they killed and wounded each other with extreme fury and dehir, forgetting that they were of the fame Nation and Religion, or Brothers and companions in Arms; and that they had entred into Articles of Agreement and when-hood for the Conquert of that Empire. The Victory continued for a mod longer time doubtfull than was believed; for though the Almagrians were and inferiour in their Numbers, yet the others being equal in their Courage ad Art of War, made great refiftence; but the advantage which the other party ad by their Harquebules was fo great, that with the loss of many lives they at M yielded; and after most of them were killed and wounded, the rest were put of fight; when in the pursuit the cruelty and slaughter was greater than in the Battel, not pardoning those who were already conquered, and had yielded to their kice; as Carate and Gomara do both avouch, one in the 11th Chapter of the had Book, and the other in the Chap. 141. the Words of which are these which

Ffff

CHAP.

<sup>&</sup>quot; In this Fight Rodrigo Organios was wounded with a Chain shot in the fore-" head, which passed the Beaver of his Head-piece: and yet after this wound he " killed two Men with his Lance; and with his Rapier he ran another into the " mouth, who was a Servant to Hernando Piçarro, miltaking him for the Maller, " by reason of his good Habit. Thus far Carate.

### CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the fatal Consequences which ensued after the Battel of Salinas.

THE Armies of Almagro, and Gonzalo Pigarro, joyned Battel, and both fides, like Spaniards, fought with much Bravery; but at length the Picarrifts prevailed, who made use of their Victory with much cruelty and severity, which, in excuse, they attribute to the revenge they defigned, for the defection which was made from Alvarado at the bridge of Amancan, Organia having yielded himself Prisoner unto two Cavaliers, another came and fell upon him, and killed him: When Captain Ruydiaz was taken, and quarter given him, one came behind and passed his body thorough with his Lance; in the fame manner many others were killed, after they had thrown away their Arms. and Quarter given them. Samaniego stabbed Pedro de Lerma by night in his bed Many died fighting, with their Swords in their hands, of which the Cantains were Moscoso, Salinas, and Hernando de Alvarado, besides such a number of Spaniards, that had the Indians (as was talked) fallen upon those few that remainfed, they might eafily have become Mafters of them all: But they were so but fee, and taken up in stripping the dead, whom they left naked, and in plundering the Tents and Baggage, which were not guarded, for every one was employed in the pursuit, that they had no leifure to think of this advantage.

Magro, by reason of his indisposition of health, did not engage personally in the Battel, but stood on the side of a Hill to behold the success; which when he perceived to have been fatal to himself, he fled to the Fortress of Cozco; where being purfued and taken by Gonzalo Picarro, and Alonfo de Alvarado, they cast " him into the same Prison, wherein they themselves had been detained, and " held by him. Thus far are the Words of Gomara, with which he concludes that Chapter.

Amongst the many remarkable passages which happened that day, of which some are omitted by this Authour; we shall add others not unworthy to be not ted. One whereof is this; A certain Cavalier carrying behind him on his Hosses. Hernando de Sotelo (who was Kinsma 1 of Christopher Sotelo) for his Prisoner, to whom he had given Quarter, there came a Souldier, and shot him with his Carbine through the back, the Bullet wounding, though not mortally, the person which rid before him. This, they say, was done in revenge, for that counsel which his Kinsman Christopher & Sotelo gave to Orgomor, advising him (as we have before mentioned) to attack the Forces of Hernando Piçarro, when they were sick, and giddy with the Air of the Mountains. Wherefore when one of the Souldiers cried out, Here they bring Sotelo; the Harquebusier thinking it to have been Christopher Sotelo, he shot him in the back, supposing thereby to have performed acceptable service, by killing a Man so generally lated. Many other cruelties were committed by the Conquerours after the Battel, unworthy the Dignity of the Spanish Nation; for more Men were slain in cold bloud, than in the heat of the Fight.

Another piece of cruelty was the Death of *Pedro de Lerma*, which being in an extraordinary manner barbarous, is fit to be observed. *Lerma* (as we have said) being forced to quit the Field, both by reason of the wound he had received from *Hernando Piçarro*, and others, which were given him in the late Fight; he was carried to the House of a certain Gentleman, who was a friend of his, called *Pedro de los Rios*, with whom I was acquainted when I was very young; he was of as noble, and as ancient a Family, as any was in *Cordova*, of which there are many in that Royal City.

A certain Souldier, named John de Samaniego, who had formerly been affronted by Pedro de Lerma, made enquiry after him, that he might take a revenge for the affront: Two days after the Battel he was informed that he lay wounded in the House of Pedro de los Rios; and going thither with the infolence of a victorious Souldier, he found free entrance into the House, for in this time of War there was none to oppose him; so that he went from Chamber to Chamber, until he came to a poor Bed on which de Lerma was laid; sitting thereupon, he began and flourse with much sobriety and phlegm:

Royal Commentaries.

"Senior Pedro de Lerma, faid he, I am come in fatisfaction to my Honour, to kill you, for a box o'th' Ear which you once gave me. Sir, answered Pedro de Lerma, you may well remember, that you were the first Aggressour, and that by your insolencies you gave me just provocation. It can be little or no fatisfaction to your Honour to kill a Man that is wounded, and dying in his bed. If God shall spare my life, I do here Vow, and engage my Faith to give you all the fatisfaction you shall require either by word of mouth, or in writing, with all the formalities and circumstances which the Rules of Souldiers can require in reparation of Honour. No, Zounds, said Samanicgo, I will not stay so long; but I will kill you presently, for my Honour requires it. I deny that, replied Lerma, for you must rather lose than gain Honour by killing a Man who is said as a lateady: but if I live, I will give you entire satisfaction.

These were the precise Words both of one and the other, which were repeated three or four times, the one threatning death, and the other promising satisfaction. At length when Pedro de Lerma imagined that his Adversary was contented with his promise, and with the satisfaction he had offered him according to the formalities and rules of a Souldier; Samaniego arose, and laying his hand upon his Dagger, gave him many stabs therewith untill he died; afterwards going out into the Market-place, he boasted, how in satisfaction of his Honour he had stabbed Captain Pedro de Lerma: And farther to magnific the glory of his Exploit, he recounted word for word all the discourse which had passed between them, and how often the same words were repeated; with which he was troublesome to all that heard him, for he would admit of no other discourse wheresoever he was, than onely the vapours and boasts he made of this Action; in which imperincency he continued, untill his insolence effected his ruine; and that as he was authour of his crime, so he brought the punishment of it on his own head. The manner whereof we shall relate in this place; for though it be out of the order of time; yet not to lose the opportunity of affecting the minds of the Readers with a detectation of the merciles bowels of this Samaniego, whose villany was abominated in all parts of Peru, ie will be most seasonable to deliver a Narrative of it, as follows.

Five years after this villany was perpetrated, when the Kingdom was quiet, and in peace, and freed from the Diffentions between the Picarrifts and Almagrians: John de Samaniego was then an Inhabitant in Puerto Viejo, where, according to his usual practice, he still continued to magnifie the glory of his Exploits, vapouring at every turn, that he had in satisfaction of his Honour killed a Captain with his Dagger, who had been Lieutenant-General of the Governour Don Francisco Pifarro, and that none durst ever question him for it, adding moreover many things of intolerable infolences. The Governour, who was chief Justiciary of this place, being tired out with the incessant repetition of these matters, gave Samaniego to understand by a certain friend of his, that it were better, and more agreeable to his Honour, to bury these matters in silence, than to make farther talk of them; for that fince he had revenged the injury, he should remain contented, and enlarge no farther on that unpleasant subject. Samaniego, instead of taking this kind admonition in good part, was violently enraged; and going into the Marketplace, espied the Governour with about fifteen or twenty Spaniards, (for there were very few more Inhabitants in that Town) and as they were discourfing pleasantly together, he accosted the company, and with an angry Look said,

" 'Tis well that there wants not those who are agrieved at the satisfaction which "was given to my Honour, by the Death of *Pedro de Lerma*: Whofoever he is, let him fpeak clearly in publick, and not in fecret and obscure Whispers; for by "Heavens I am a Man who date answer him, and give him as many stabs, as I " did to Pedro de Lerma. The Governour knowing that he meant and aimed at him, prefently made up to him, and taking hold of the Collar of his Doubler. him, presently made up to thin, and taking notion the Conat of his Doublet, cried out with a loud voice, I feize you in the King's Name, and I change you all to assist the fusice against a Traytour and a Martherer. Whereupon all that were present took hold on Samaniego, and put him in Prison, for every one hated him, being tired with his infolences. Hereupon the Governour made Process against him by examination and testimony of four Witnesses: the substance whereof was this. That they had heard Samaniego fay, that he had killed Pedro de Lerma who was one of his Majesty's Captains; and who had performed great Service to the Crown in the late Conquest, having executed the Office of Lieutenant-Ge. neral to Marquis Pigarro; and that he killed him not in the Battel, but as he lay wounded in his bed: Being accused upon this Indictment, he was found guilty. and condemned to dye; during the time of which Trial, the Indian having erected a Gallows for him, he was brought forth to punishment; and the Indiany having in their own Language proclaimed his Crime, were the Executioners also to hang him up: which was a piece of Justice applauded by all who saw and heard

But to return again to our History. The Indians did not execute the design they had agreed, which was to kill all the Spaniards after the Battel, which they imagined might have been done, after they were weakned by the common flaughters. For God, who intended by their means to propagate the Holy Gospel in those parts, prevented that intention by differntion amongst the Indians themselves; for that the Indians, who were the Menial and Domestick Servants of the Spaniards, being affected with a natural Loyalty to their Masters, would not consent to the Massacco of them, but rather judged themselves obliged to desend and fight for them; for the remembrance of what was encharged them by Huana Capace, and Massac Inca, occurred fill to their minds, by which they believed, that an obligation lay on them to serve and obey the Spaniards. Thus did the division between the Indian Servants, and the others, prevent the execution of their design; from which also little success could have been expected, considering that they had no Head, or General, to conduct them: And if they had had one, yet, as Histories say, the Indians, who were on the side of the Conquerous, would not well have accorded with those who were vanquished.

This Battel happened on the 6th of April 1538, which being on a Saurday, which was the day after the Feaft of Lazarus, the Spaniards conceived a particular devotion for that Saint; and in remembrance thereof built and dedicated a Church to him in those Plains where this Battel was fought, and which was standing when I departed from thence. Within this Church the Bodies of all those who were slain, both of one side and the other, were interred: And though some alledge, that the Battel happened on the 26th of April, I cannot but believe that it was an Errour of the Printer, who instead of 6, put down 26. Blue Valora describing the Grandure of the City of Cozco, touches some particulars relating to this Battel, and says:

"That in those Plains there is a Church dedicated to St. Lazarus, where for a long time lay interred the Bodies of those who were slain in that Fight. Afterwards a Spaniard, who was one of the Conquerours, a Person both Noble and Religious, was accustomed to refort frequently thisher to pray for she Souls of those who were interred in that place. And having continued this devotion for a long time, at length he happened to hear fights and deep groats from the Vaults of the Church, and therewish appeared before him the Person of one of his friends, which had been there slain; but he said nothing more to him, than onely to intreat him, that he would continue his visits to that Church frequently at certain Hours both by Day and Night. At first the Spaniard was possessed with great fear at the fight of this Apparition, but at length being

"accustomed thereunto, and encouraged by Admonitions and Directions from Father Andrew Lopez, who was a Jesuit, and his Consession, he continued his Devotions of Prayer not onely for his friend, but for all those who were there buried, without any concernment or distraction of mind; exhorting likewise others to join with him both in their Prayers and Alms. And asterwards, by the advice and example of this Person, the Mestros, who were the Sons of Spaniards, begotten on the Bodies of Indian Women, did in the year 1581, "transport the Bones of their Fathers from that place to the City of Cozeo, where they buried them in an Hospital, and caused many Masses, Alms, and other pious Works to be celebrated and performed for them; to which all the City concurring with a general Alacrity, from that time forward the Vision ceased to appear. Thus far are the Words of Blus Valera.

And now to complete the fum of all these Cruelties after this unhappy Battel, there remains nothing more to be related than onely the Tragedy of Don Diego do Almagro himself; the consequence of which was the total destruction of both the Governours, with their Confidents and Abettours, in which calamity the common Welfare of Peru was involved. In which Relation both the Historians unanimously agree, that is to say, Carate in the 12th Chapter of his third Book, and Gomara in Chapter 142, have these Words, which are extracted verbairm in such manner as we have recited them in the following Chapter.

### CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Tragical Death of Don Diego de Almagro.

This Victory being obtained, and Almagro taken, one fide was enriched. and the other impoverished; which is the natural consequence of a Civil War, waged between Citizens and Relations in Bloud and Confanguitity. "Fernando Picarro immediately took possession of Cozco, though not without much discontent and murmurings of the people; for though he shared the spoils amongst them, yet there not being sufficient to satisfie the expectations of every person. Mutinies were feared; to prevent which, the Souldiers were employed on new Conquests, and to make things more fafe, the friends of Almagro were joyned to the others without diffinction: And to take away farther cause, or occasion of Faction and Mutiny, Don Diego de Almagro, Juhior, was sent a Prisoner to the City of los Reyes; as to Almagro himself, Process was made against him, and a report was published, that he, together with his Son, was to be fent Prisoner to los Reyes, and thence into Spain: But whereas it was commonly talked, that Mela and others intended to referre him on the way, which was a mere pretence to cloak the feverity of their proceedings, they fentenced him to Death. The crimes laid to his charge, were, that he had entred Corco by force of Arms; that he had caused the effusion of much Spanish Bloud; that he had entred into a fecret Treaty with Mango Ynga against the Spaniards; that he had given and prescribed Limits for Government and Jurisdiction without licence from the Emperour; that he had broken all his Articles and Oaths; that contrary to the Peace of their Sovereign Lord the King he had fought two Battels, one at Abancay, and the other at Salinas; besides divers other Misdemeanours committed by him of lesser moment. Almagro grievously refented the feverity of this fentence, and made fuch fad lamentations thereupon, as were fufficient to draw Tears from the most obdurate heart: And " though

590

" though he made his Appeal to the Emperour, yet Fernando (notwithstanding " the importunities of many persons, who earnestly urged him thereunto ) refu the importunities of many periods, who cannot a figure that discussed reflections of his Appeal. All which not prevailing, Almagro himself implored his mercy, befeeching him to spare his life; in consideration, that when he himself was in his power, he had not put him to death, nor spilt the " bloud of his Friends or Relations. That he would remember how he had been an infrument to raife his dear Brother to that high pitch of honour and profority which he now enjoyed. That he would behold, and confider him for an old, decayed, and gouty Man; and therefore admit of his Appeal, that he might pass those few unhappy days which remained to him of life, within the dark solitudes of a Prison, there to lament and bewail his sins. Ferdinando Pi. carro remained deaf and unmoved with all these pressing instances, which were fufficient to have mollified a heart of steel, faying, that he wondered much. tutticient to have monned a neart of itee, laying, that he wondered much, that a Man of his Spirit and Courage should entertain such apprehensions of Death. To which he replied, That since Christ himself feared it, how much more might the stailty of his Nature be touched with the approach thereof: And lastly, he conjured him by the reverence due to his old Age, which, according to the course of Nature, could not long continue: Almagro was hardly brought to Confession, having still hopes of life; but at length he submitted, and having confessed to the Priest, he made his Will and Testament. making the King, and his Son Don Diego, his Heirs: Howfoever, he would not own the Sentence paffed upon him, left Execution should immediately follow: Nor would Fernando Picarro allow the Appeal, both because he had received Commands from Francisco Picarro to the contrary, and likewise because he believed that the Council of the Indies would revoke the Sentence. In fine, Execution was performed; and notwithstanding all the Applications made for him, he was strangled in the Prison, and afterwards publickly beheaded in the Market-place at Cosco, in the year 1538.
"The Death of Atmagro was greatly lamented, but by none more (unless

"The Death of Abnagro was greatly lamented, but by none more (unleis by his own Son) than by Diego de Alvarado, who was once fecurity to Almagor for Fernando Piçarro, and procured his releafe and freedom out of Prifon, and yet notwithflanding all that could in gratitude, and on the score of the like usage be pleaded for him, nothing would prevail. Wherefore Alvarado returned to Spain to impeach Francisco Piçarro and his Brothers, and to demand satisfaction from Fernando for breach of promife; but whilf he followed this Suit at Valladolid, where the Court then resided, he died, but not without some suspicion of Poison, because he lay not sick above three or

Diego de Almagro was a Native of Almagro, it was never certainly known who was his Father, though fome fay he was a Priest. He had never learned letters, nor could he reade; howfoever, he was an undertaking Man, diligent, and ambitious of Honour and Fame; he was free and liberal, yet not "without Affectation of vain-glory, contriving to make the World witnesses of his generous Actions: His Souldiers loved him for the Presents and Lar-" geffes he gave them, otherwise he was hated for the hard treatment he fre-" quently used towards them both in Words and corporal Punishments. He " remitted the Debts of a hundred thousand Ducats, which his Souldiers owed him tearing and cancelling the Obligations of those who were present with him in Chili; which was a piece of Liberality more becoming a Prince, than a Souldier; and yet when he was dead, there was not a Person that would bestow a Clout to cover his Wound. His Death seemed the more Tragical, and so much the more cruel, because he never would put any Man to death who had relation to Francisco Picarro. He never was Married, howfoever he had a Son by an Indian Woman in Panama; he called him by his own Name, and gave him good Education; but his end was unhappy, as will appear hereafter.

Thus far Gomara; the which is confirmed (as we faid before) by Carate.

And now on this occasion it is necessary we should say something for the better understanding of this whole matter. After the Victory, Hernando Pizarro laboured for his own security to drive his Enemies far from him, lest they should kill him; for after the Battel the Animosities which one side conceived against the other, were raised to such a degree of hatred, that they passed the terms of all reconciliation: For though Hernando Pizarro endeavoured to the utmost of his power to win the affections of the most principal Persons, yet so far was that rancour spread, and the malice so virulent, that Men publickly declared, that they wanted onely an opportunity to revenge themselves.

On the other fide, his friends, who found themfelves disappointed of their vain hopes, began to fall off from him, taxing him with want of compliance, and breach of promife; for every one imagined mighty things, and flattered himfelf at least with the Command of a Province. And though, as Gomara saith, Hernando gave to every one something, for it was impossible to preser every Man; yet the most part esteemed themselves disobliged, and became as uneasise and discontented, as the worst of his Enemies. Wherefore, as the onely means to be freed from the insolences of those who complained, they were not sufficiently gatified, and from the Plots of those who were his prosessed Enemies, he amufollowing Chapter.

When Almagro was condemned to dye, his Estate was confiscated to the use of his Majesty. At first Hernando did not intend to put him to death, but onely having made his Process to send him into Spain; but when he perceived that Plots were laid to cause his escape out of Prison, and that the publick discourse of the Town was, that Hernando was more to blame than Almagro, taxing him to have been the great Incentive of all the discords and differences between the two Governous, which had never arose to that heat of passion, had not he blown them into a stame; saying farther, that on the score of his own private piques, and to do himself justice, he had devested Almagro of his Government, who had expended more of his Estate, and had contributed more to the Conquest of that Country, than all those who belonged to Picarro; which were matters of such high provocation, as were able to move the stones to rise up in judgment against them.

When Hernando Picarro was certified of these matters, and was particularly informed, that one of his Captains called Mesa, who Commanded the Artillery, was discontented for want of his Pay, (as we shall more at large declare hereafter) and therefore designed to set Almagro at liberty, he then resolved to put him to death, and to hasten his execution; supposing, that when he was once out of the way, all the pathons for him voould vanish, and all things return to a setled condition of peace and quietness: All which imaginations succeeded to the contary, as will be proved by the sequel of this Story.

Gomara faith, That though diligent enquiry was made to know the Father of Almagro, yet it could never be discovered; and in confirmation hereof, Carate adds, that being an Infant he was laid at the Church-door: the which may very well be, and yet he not be a Bastard; for the Catholick Church presuming that fuch Foundlings are honeftly and lawfully begotten, do own them capable of being admitted into Ecclefiastical Orders, and to the Degrees of a Prelate: And whereas Gomara alledges, that common report made him the Son of a Priest; it is very falfe, and a calumny railed by malitious and virulent tongues, which having nothing whereby to obscure and difgrace the lustre and glory of his Actions, have cast this blemith on his Birth without any colour or appearance of truth Those Sons, whose Fathers are not known, are ennobled by their own Merits and Vertue; especially being of that lustre, as were the great Actions of this General and Governour Don Diego de Almagro, which have legitimated his Birth, and added Nobility to his Family. To what end do Sons boaft of the Atchievements of their Ancestours, who blemish and obscure their great Actions by their own Vices & for Nobility is the Parent of Virtue, and is supported by ir. So that we may truly fay, that Almagro was the Son of Noble Parents, for to his Actions declare him; and to great Exploits have always made the Princes

593

BOOK II.

of this World rich and powerfull: the truth of which hath been proved at large by what hath preceded.

In fine therefore, (as we have faid) this great Hero was strangled in Prifon which was sufficient to have made an end of him; but to affect the minds of those who saw him with greater compassion and sorrow, his Body was brought forth into the Market-place, and his Throat cut there; he had passed the Age of fevency five years, and his Health was so broken and infirm, that had they not has Death, he could not have lived much longer. It is said, that his Fig. mies, to shew their great abhorrence and detestation of him, had killed him twice. The Executioner in privilege of his Office, and as his Fees, stripped him of his Cloaths, and would also have taken his Shirt had it been suffered: And in this condition he lay exposed in the Market-place, the greatest part of the day. neither friend or enemy daring to dispose otherwise of his Corpse; for his friends neither friend or enemy daring to dispote otherwise or his Corpie; for his friends, who were vanquished, and in custody, could not doe it; and his enemies, though touched with some sense of grief and compassion, durst not adventure upon an Action which might administer occasion of publick scandal. Whence we may see the falseness of this World, and how ill it rewards the worthy Actions of deserving Men.

At length, towards the Evening, a poor Negro, who had been the Slave of the deceased, came and brought a course Sheet, which was his own, or which he had begged; and with the help of some Indians, who had been the Servants of Almagro, they wrapped the Body therein, and carried it to be enterted in the Church of the Merceds, where the Friars, according to their accustomary Acts of Charity, buried it with many Tears in a Chapel which is under the

High Altar.

Thus ended that Great Don Diego de Almagro, who hath left nothing more Memorable of his Life, than his great Actions; and of his Death, than grief and lamentations for it: the which, as it was a fore-runner of the like fate of the Marquis Picarre, fo the manner of his Death was agreeable thereunto, and may therewith be compared in all the circumftances thereof, as will appear by that which follows; that so these two Companions, who had an equal share in the Conquest and Government of this great and rich Empire of *Peru*, may also be equalized in the manner of their Deaths.

CHAP

## CHAP. XL.

Who those Captains were that were employed on the New Conquests; the Arrival of Hernando Picarro in Spain. and his long Imprisonment there.

O foon as Hernando Picarro had taken Almagro Prifoner, he immediately employed many of his Captains in new Conquests; both that thereby he might free himleffrom their importunities, who were in expectation of great and mighty rewards for their fervices, and might also secure his own Person from suspicion and jealoules which his Enemies were contriving and plotting against him. Pedro de Valdivid was fent Commander in Chief, with a confiderable Force to the Conquest of Chili, which was begun, but left imperfect by Almagro; the fucces of which, with his prosperous and unhappy fortune, we have formerly declared in the Life of Inca Tupanqui the tenth King of Peru. Francisco de Villagra (with whom I was acquainted) went in company with him, as did also Alonso de Montroy. Captain adjustment in Company with whom went Garçitaffo de la Vega, was fent to the Bay of St. Matthew: Of whose Conquests and Successes Gomara speaks in the 143d Chapter, as follows:

" Gomez de Alvarado was employed in the Conquest of the Province of Guanu-"tu: Francisco de Chaves was sent to suppress the Conchucos, who much insested " the Inhabitants about Trugillo, and in their Army carried an Idol, to which they facificed the spoils of their Enemies, and the bloud of Christians. Pera de "Vergara marched against the Bracamoros, which is a Countrey, that to the Northward joins to the Countrey of Quitu; Perex de Vergura went to the Chachapopas, and Alonfo de Mercadillo to Mullubamba; but Pedro de Candia went to the Highlands of Collav; into which, by reason of the difficulty and badness of the Countrey, he could make no great progress 31 and besides, his people fell into a Mutiny, who were for the most part friends of Almagro, as was also Mesa Captain of the Artillery to Picarro: For which reason Fernando went to them; and having accused Mesa of Mutiny, and with Scandalous Words against the Picarros. and with a Plot to have fet Almagro at liberty, in case he had been carried to the Marquis at los Reyes; all which having been proved against him, he put him to Death. The three hundred Men which belonged to Pedro de Candia he gave to Perancures, and fent him forward to the Conquest of that Countrey. In this manner all the Spaniards were employed, and in a very thort time enlarged their Conqueft, at leaft three hundred Leagues in length from East to West, though with the death and loss of Multitudes of people; Fernando and Gonçalo Piçarro fubdued the Collao, which is a Countrey wherein Gold so much abounds, that they Wainfoot the in-sides of their Chapels, and Chambers with Plates of Gold; and therein is a fort of Sheep, which have fome refemblance of a Carrel, and fomething of a Deer. Thus far Gomans, who farther on in the fame Chapter adds:

Fernando Picarro, faith he, returned to Cocco, where he met with Francisco Picarro, whom he had not seen since the Imprisonment of Almagro. After they had entertained discourse for several Days, concerning the matters lately past, and what was farther to be done in order to the Government: It was determined that Fornando should go into Spain to render a true information unto the Emperour of all matters which had passed, and to carry with him the Bisths of all supported. Many of his friends who knew the true state of matters, and y augmented. Many of his friends who knew the true state of matters, and how ill the Death of Almagro would be resented by the Emperour, distincted G g g g Gggg

"Fernando from this intention, especially since Diego de Alvarado was then residing at the Court, and ready to accuse him, saying, That this matter would be better negotiated at a distance, than upon the place: Howsover, Fernando would not hearken thereunto, being of a contrary opinion, that he had greatly deserved of the Emperour for his many Services, and for having by way of Justice cleared the Countrey of those turbulent Spirits, who were Disturbers of the Peace. At his departure, he advised his Brother Francisco not to repose considence in any of the Almagrians, especially those who were gone into Chili, whom he had found to be constant and affectionate to the Memory of Almagro: And he farther counseled him not to permit them to Cabal, for by experience he had found, that sive onely of them being together, were plotting in what manner to kill him. At length being departed, he came to Spain, and appeared at the Court with a great Equipage and Riches; but it was not long before they carried him from Valladolid, to the Prison of Medina de Campo, from whence, as yer, he is not freed. And herewith Gomana ends that Chapter.

For the better understanding of which, we are to know, That though Gonçalo de Mefa had served Hernando Pigarro in Quality of Captain of the Artillery, vet he, with many others, was much discontented, because he looked upon himself as ill rewarded for his former Services; and that when he expected to have been fent Commander in Chief, he was then employed Under-Captain to Pedro de Candia. Wherefore finding himself in this manner flighted without any place of Honour. or Advantage, he began to speak ill of Hernando Picarro, and to threaten, that he would fet Almagro at liberty whenfoever they brought him forth to carry him to let Reyes: All which he declared openly, and without any confideration of the danger he incurred of his life, he affembled his friends, and formed a party for Almagro. in which he found many that were ready to comply. So foon as Hernaudo Picarro was informed hereof, he immediately, with all diligence, went to the Col-Loo, but Mefa was not then Quartered there, being newly returned with Pedro de Candia from the Frontiers, and was then at Muslia, which lyes Eastward from Collag, a Countrey very Mountainous, and full of deep Rivers, as we have described at large in the Life of the King Inca Yupangui: The Spaniards, by reason of these impediments, not having been able to make their Conquests, were returned from Collao when Hernando met them, and put Gonzalo de Mesa to Death; and cathiering Pedro de Candia from his Command, he bestowed it on a certain Gentleman called Peranzures de Campo Redondo , who afterwards made an entrance into that Countrey, and did more than any that went before him; howfoever, the ways and passages were so difficult, that all his labours and endeavours proved vain and fruitless. Pedro de Candia esteeming himself affronted, and agrieved hereby, being troubled to be deprived of his Command, concealed the anger hereof in his breaft, untill fuch time as an opportunity preferred, that he might declare for the dimagrians; the fuccess whereof was facal to him, as we shall see hereaster. For Pedro de Candia could not so well dissemble his resentments, but that they were, visible to Hernando, and appeared in his countenance; for though the Tongue be filent, yet the Face commonly discovers the grief, or the delight of the Heart; the like diffatisfaction was also apparent in the behaviour of many others. Wherefore confidering that his endeavours to leffen the numbers of his Enemies, ferved to multiply them, he was as it were forced to put Almagro to death, which he accordingly executed after his return to Cozco from Collao; Supposing, that when the cause and object of all these Mutinies and Disturbances was removed, all things would return to the usual and settled condition of peace and quietness; but it happened out quite contrary: For by the dolefull Tragedy of the Death of Almagro, Hernando Piçarro rendred himself so odious, that his condition was much more secure, by putting himself into the hands of the Justice of Spain, where Diego de Alvarado was ready to accuse him, than if he had remained in Bern, where the opposite Faction of Almagro watched onely an opportunity to destroy him. Hernando Piçarro was a discreet Person, and against the opinion and persussion of all his friends, judged it the least evil to make a Voyage into Spain; where he imagined, that the great Services he had performed in the Conquest of that Empire, and the insuperable Labours he had overcome in the Siege voyald justified the Constant of th his Cause before his Majesty, and the Riches vvhich he imported with him, for the King's and his own account would make his Access easie to the Royal Presence,

and obtain more mercy for him, than he could expect from his Enemies in Pern, who onely attended an opportunity to kill him. Hernando having on these Confiderations lest the Indies, and escaped out of the hands of his Enemies; that hated which was prepared for him, was converted against his Brother the Marquis, and proceeded so far, as in the end to effect his ruine; the which will appear in what is to follow.

Hernando Piçarro being arrived in Spain, Diego de Alvarado brought a severe Insoment against him, desiring that the Cause might be tried either by the Civil Law, or by a Court-Marshal, as his Majesty should direct; or otherwise he challaw, or by a Countermannal, as instrugery mount direct; or otherwise he challenged him to a fingle Combat, offering to prove by force of Arms, that he had wolated both his Word and Faith, and that he himfelf was guilty of those crimes which he had objected against Almagro: Moreover, he laid many other things to his charge, which for brevity fake we shall pass by. Upon these Accusations Herand was committed to the Prifon of Medina del Campo, during which time, and whilst Alvarado was profecuting his Suit, he complained, that many rich Presents both of Gold, and Silver, and pretious Stones, were given with intention to cornot the minds of certain persons; the which being proved, was occasion of tronble to fome great and confiderable Men. But this being a nice point, we have onely touched upon it; and the rather, because in the heat of this prosecution Alwarde died, not without suspicion of poison, by reason (as Gomara saith) that his Death was fudden and unexpected: Howfoever, before that time, he had so well grounded his process, and proceeded so far, that he had obtained several Verdicts against his Adversary. Howsoever, at length, time, which accomplishes every thing, moderated the severities of his Imprisonment, from whence he procured his dicharge in the year 1562, after twenty three years that he had remained in custody, which he fustained with great equality of mind; of which he gave most certain proofs in all the particulars of his adverse fortune, which then manifestly appeared, when with wonderfull patience he received the news of the Death of his Brother, and of his other Kindred, and of the Confiscation of his Lands and Possessions which belonged to him, besides the vast expence he was put to, both in Prison, and to maintain his Law-suits. This was all the World gave him in reward for his great and mighty Actions, and for the innumerable difficulties he fustained to aid and assist his Brother the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro in the Conquest of Peru, performing, as he always did, the Office of Captain-General; with which we will conclude this fecond Book, returning thanks unto Almighty God. who hath brought us fo far as to this period.

# Royal Commentaries.

## BOOK III.

### CHAP. I.

Of the Conquest of the Charcas; and of other Battels between the Indians and the Spaniards.

Y the Death of Almagro, and the Absence of Hernando Picarro, all the management of the Conquest, and the weight of the Government of Pern was charged on the shoulders of Marquis Picarro, to whom God had given a fufficient talent of Wisedom to support the care both of one and the other, had not evil Counfellours interposed, to the disturbance and confusion of every thing; for the Captains (as we have mentioned in the preceding Book) being dispeeded away, and amused with new Conquests, the Land was at rest and quiet; amongst which Commanders, Gonzalo Pigarro, Brother to the Marquis, was fent to conquer the Collao, and the Chareas, and people distant about two hundred Leagues to the Southwatd of Cozco; with him the greatest part of those Cavaliers were sent, who came in with Don Pedro de Alvarado to gain new Countries; for those already subdued, were onely fuch as were Dependances on the Cities of Cozco and los Reyes, which, together with all the Vallies along the Sea-coast, as far as Tumpiz, were divided amongst the first Conquerours, who had had a hand in the Imprisonment of Atahualpa. Wherefore it was necessary to enlarge those Conquests, that out of them provision might be made for the second Adventurers, who entred in with D. Diego de Almigro, and Pedro de Alvarado.

Gonzalo Pigarro entred on the Collao with a good number of flout and valiant Men; at first the Indians made little opposition, but afterwards when they found them well entred into the Charcas, and at a hundred and fifty Leagues distance from Cozco, they then plied them close, and frequently engaged them in Battels, in which there were losses on both sides; and the Indians aimed chiefly at their Horses; for they were of opinion, that if they could kill them, and force the Men to fight on Foot, they should have much the advantage, and over-power them with their Multitudes, At length it happened, that after a bloudy Fight, in which many were killed on both sides, that the Spaniards gained the Victory: To prosecute which on all sides, several parties took divers ways, and amongst the rest, three Companions agreed to go with Gonzalo Pigarro. One of which was Garçilasse de la Vega, another John de Figueroa, and the third Gaspar Jara; all which had Commands over Indians in that Town, which is now called the City of Plate, and in the Indian Tongue Changussan, and afterwards they improved

11 63 X

then

598

have acquaintance with them.

These four walking softly over a Plain, to ease their Horses, which were much tired with the Labours of the last Engagement, and being at some distance from the place where the Battel was sought, they discovered on the side of a little Hill Below, seven Indian Gentlemen, all armed with their Boys and Arrows, going to join with the Indian Army, and very gallant, with their Plumes of Feathers, and other Ornaments. So so so as they saw the Spaniards, they put themselves into Rank, at ten or twelve paces distant each from the other, with design to divide the Enemy, that they might come apart, and not in a Body together. The Shamards made figns to them, that they were Friends, and would not fight with them; but notwithstanding the *Indians* prepared their Arms, and would not accept of their Friendship, so that both sides engaged with great Courage and Refolution.

The Spaniards (as they report themselves) say, that they were assumed of the inequality of this match, that four Cavaliers, fuch as they were, well armed, and mounted on their Horses, with Lances in their Hands, should engage with seven Indians on Foot, and naked, without defensive Arms, who notwithstanding refused not to fight with as much courage, as if their Breasts had been covered with Steel, affifting and helping each other with much Bravery. That Indian who had none to encounter him, always helped him, that was engaged, and so alternatively came in, to the succour each of other, sometimes cross, and sometimes behind, according to the Order and Method agreed amongst them; so that for the most part, two Indians fought with one Spaniard. At length, after a long Skirmith, that every Spaniard had killed his Indian, and one of them was in Durfuit of a fingle Indian, who, as he was flying, took up a Stone, which he threw and hit the Beaver of his Head-piece, which covered his Face, with such force as half flunn'd him, and had killed him outright, had it not been for that piece of Armour; howfoever, notwithstanding the Blow, the Spaniard made an end of this Indian, and killed him also.

The other two *Indians* fled, and escaped; for the *Spaniards* were not very eager to pursue them, considering that their Horses had been much tired, and harassed with this second, as well as with the first Encounter; so that they thought it neither honourable, nor worth their pains, to kill the two surviving

After the Skirmish was over, the four Companions staid a while, to examine themselves, and to know what hurt each Man had received; and upon Enquiry they found, that three of them were wounded, and that two of these three had received three Wounds apiece, though slight ones, and the sourch had his Horse wounded with an Arrow, the which hurt was many Days in healing; according as he, who was Master of the Horse, related it to me in this manner:

"All four of us, faid he, were wounded, but I most grievously of any, be cause I was more sensible of the hurt, which my Horse received, than it I had been wounded my self, by reason of the great want I had of him. I rem when I was a Child, the great lamentation the Spaniards made for their Horses, and would rather have been wounded themselves than their Horses; and in like manner this Gentleman was troubled for this misfortune.

In fine, these four returned to the Army, and acquainted their Companions, that the Engagement which they had had with the seven *Indians* that day, was more dangerous, than the great fight with fix or seven thousand of them. Several other Skirmishes passed the same day of the like nature, one of which was that which we have recounted in the last Chapter of the first Book of this second Part, where we speak of the Loyalty and Affection which the Indians taken in fight profess unto the Spaniards. In this manner they marched forward, fighting every other day more or lefs, untill they came to a warlike People, called Chaquifaca, where they engaged with many thousands of Indians, who straitned the Spaniards with want of Provisions, and kept them always allarm'd with continual Skirmishes, wherein many were killed and wounded, which the Historians mention, but with great brevity. Gomara

Gomara in the 143d. Chapter, and Carate in the 12th Chapter of his 3d. Book. faith. That Gonzalo Picarro made a Discovery as far as the Province of the Charcas. where he was furrounded with fuch numbers of Indians, which affailed him on all fides, that he was forced to defire fuccours from the Marquis, who supplied him therewith, both of Horse and Foot, from Cozco; and for better expedition the Marquis gave out, that he himself would go in person, and accordingly he marched out with them three or four days from the City.

Royal Commentaries.

This Siege, as Authours write, was so close, and strait, that the Spaniards being reduced at last to the utmost extremity, sent advice thereof to the Marquis, by the *Indians* whom they retained in their Service, who (as we have seen before) had ferved for Meffengers with all fidelity in the like dangers, in confidence of whom, they dispatched many of them by divers ways; so that in case some

hould miscarry, others might escape.

Book III.

The Marquis being hereby made fensible of the great Distress to which his Brother Gonzalo Picarro was reduced, dispeeded a Captain with Succours, and gave out. for the more halfe of the Supplies, as Carate faith, that he himself would go in Perfon: but neither the diligence used in sending Relief, which would have come too late, nor yet the appearance which the Marquis made of going in Person, would have availed toward the delivery of the Spaniards, from the straits of that Siege. had not God most wonderfully appeared for them, and sent the Divine St. Jago, the Patron of Spain, visibly to fight on their side, as he had done before at

The Christians seeing themselves thus wonderfully favoured, and that in this. as in the like occasions, they had been rescued by Miracle, they fought with fuch Courage, that before the Succours came, they had gained the Victory. In remembrance of which figual Favour which God had performed for them, they Agreemined to establish a Colony of Christian People in that place, where now 1 Cathedral Church is built, and the Royal Chancery is held, which is ennobled and enriched to that degree, in which we fee it at prefent; all which is affen from the Mines of Poseli, which are about eighteen Leagues diftant from

Blu Valera giving a Relation of all the memorable Battels which happened between the Spaniards and the Indians in Peru, gives an Account of that which was fought in this Province, and says, that God, by his Angel, fought there for

his Golpel.

CHAP.

The Marquis makes a Division of the Kingdom and Province of the Charcas, and Gonzalo Picarro is sent to the Conquest of the Cancla.

THE War being ended, and the Indians ferled in peace, the Marquis made a Division of the Countrey amongst the principal Persons concerned in the Conquest. To his Brother Hernando Piçarro he divided a very large share, and another part to Gonzalo, within whose Division, some years after, the Silver Mines of Potos were discovered; of which one part belonged to Hernando Piçarro, as Inhabitant of that City; and though he were then in Spain, yet one Mine was resigned to his Officers, to dig the Plate for his Benesit and Use; the which was of so rich a vein, that in something more than eight months, they digged Silver of the finest fort from thence without any Allay, and without other trouble than onely to melt down the Metal. I have mentioned these Riches in this place, having sorgotten to specifie them, when in the first part of these Commentaries we treated of that samous Hill. To my Lord Garzilas de la Vega that part was given which is called Tapase. To Graviel de Rojas another very constant of the Compassion of the City and the like to many other Cavaliers, and all within the compass of one hundred Leagues; of which also some part was given to the City, called la Paz, or the City of Peace.

But these Divisions then given, were of little value, though the Soil was fiftitfull, and abounding with all Provisions, and very populous, and well inhabited by Indians, untill the Mines of Potos were discovered in those parts; for then the Rents were raised ten for one; and those Possessinous which yielded two, or three, or four thousand Pieces of Eight, amounted afterwards to twenty, thirty, aith forty thousand Crowns a year. The Marquis, Francisco Pizarro, having given order to found that City, which is called the City of Plate, and having divided the Indians under that Jurisdiction amongst the Conquerours and Adventurers; all which happened in the Years 1538, and 1539. Ite had not rested and reposed in quietness from his civil War, and late Conquests, before he undertook some other more laborious, and more dangerous Adventures than the sometimes, which

shall hereafter be related.

600

By the death of Almagro the Marquis remained fole and supreme Governour of more than 700 Leagues of Land, which reach North and South from the Chareas to Quits, and had enough to doe, how and in what manner to secure those new Conquests, which his Captains had made in divers parts, and how to rule with Laws of Justice those People who were settled in a quiet and peaceable Condition, yet since the desire of Rule and Government is never to be satisfied, his Warlike Mind was incited to farther Enterprises, being encouraged with the good Fortune

of his past Successes.

For now the News arrived, that befides the Limits of *Quitn*, and other Countries, over which the *Incan* Kings were fupreme Commanders, another Country was difcovered both leng and wide, where Cinnamon was growing, for which reason they called it the Countrey of *Canela*, which fignifies Cinnamon. The Marquis had a defire to employ his Brother in that Conquest, with intention to make the Extent of his Land as long and wide as his own; and having consulted hereupon with those of his Cabinet Council, he renounced his right to the Government of *Quitn*, and transferred it to his said Brother, so that in the Coupest of *Canela*, which lies Eastward from *Quitn*, he might have the benefit of tupplies and succour from that City.

Having this Defign in his Eye, he tent for his Brother Gonzalo, who was then in the Charcas, employed in the fettlement of a new Golony in the City of Plate, and of that Divifion of Indian Subjects, and rule over them, as was faln to his lot and poffethion. Gonzalo Picarro, at the Summons of his Brother repaired speedily to Cozco, where the Marquis then resided; and having there treated of the Conquest of Canela, he prepared himself for that adventure, shewing therein the same forwardness, and personal bravery, as he had done in other Enterprises of the like

Royal Commentaries.

In Cosco he levied above two hundred Souldiers, of which one hundred were Hoffe, and a like number of Foot; with which he marched five hundred Leagues, (which is the diffunce between Cosco and Quita,) where Peckro de Praelles was then Governour. In his way thither he met with many light Skirmithes and Encounters with the Indians, which appeared in Arms; but those of Huamen put him so hard to it, (as Carate reports in the first Chapter of his fourth Book.) that the Marquis was sorced to send him speedy Relief by Francisco de

Chave.

Gorealo Piçarro being delivered out of this danger, and from others of less moneil, artived at length at *Quint*, where *Pedro de Puelles* yielded all Obedience to the Commands of the Marquis, providing him, as was the Office of Governour, with all things necessary for that Expedition, together with a recruit of an hundred Souldiers, so that his numbers were three hundred and forty in all, of which one hundred and fifty were Horse, and the rest Foot.

Moreover he had a Retinue of four thousand *Indians*, who were laden with Arms, Provisions, and other necessaries for this Enterprise, such as Iron, Hatchets, Match, Cords, and Bas-ropes, Nails, and wooden Pins, to use, as occasion fered: They also drove with them a Herd of about four thousand Swine, and Sheep of the biggest fize that that Empire afforded, on which they laded wart

of their Ammunition and Baggage.

Pedro de Puelles was ordained and left in Quim in Quality of Deputy Governour, and Piçarro having reformed all Diforders, and fettled matters on a good Foundation of Rule and Government; he departed from Quim about Christmas, in the Year 1539. Thus did he march peaceably, and was kindly received, and teated by the Indians, through all the Dominions belonging to the Incas, till at length he entred into that Province which Historians call Quivos. And in regard that Lopez de Gomara and Carate do so well agree in the Relation of this Adventue, that their very Words are almost the same, and because I have often heard the particulars of this Discovery, from the Mouth of those who were present with Gonalo Piçarro at the very action; I shall repeat the Summ of all that passed, as it has been delivered by divers Relations.

It is certain, that in the Province of *Quixos*, which lies North from *Quita*, geat numbers of *Indians* prefented themfelves in a warlike pofture in opposition to *Gorzalo Picatros*; but to foon as they discovered the many *Spaniarda*, and the Horse which came with him, they immediately retired within the Countrey, from whence they never more appeared. Some few days afterwards there happened to terrible an Earth-quake, that many Houses in those Villages where they then were, fell to the ground; the Earth opened in many places, and to terrible were the Lightnings, and Thunder, and so very quick, almost without Intermissional so fierce were the Rains, which poured down like Buckets of Water; that the *Spaniards* much admired at the nature of that Climate, so different to any they

had ever feen in Pern.

After this Storm was over, which continued about forty or fifty days, they prepared to pas the snowy Mountains; for which though they had made good Provisions, yet the Climate was so extremely cold, by the great quantities of Snow which fell, that many Indians, who went thin in their Clothing, were frozen to death. The Spaniards, that they might make haste out of that Snow, and Cold, and severe Region, lest their Cattel, and provisions behind them, expecting to find sufficient supplies of all things, at the next place, where the Indians inlabited. But the matter succeeded otherwise, for having passed the Mountains, they entred into a Countrey so barren, and fruitless, that it was void of all Inhabitants; wherefore doubling their Journies to get out of it, they came at length to a Province, and People, called Cumaco, situated at the foot of a Hill,

602

which casts out Fire, like the *Volcano*, where they found plenty of Provisions, but the Countrey was so wet, that for the space of two Months they remained there, it never ceased one day from raining, which was such a damage to them, that all their Cloths became rotten by the moisture.

In that Province, called Cumaco, which is fituate under the Equinoctial, or very near it, the Cinnamon grows, of which they went in fearch; the Trees whereof are tall and lofty, bearing a leaf, as big as the Laurel, with a finall fort of Fruit, which grows in Clusters like the Acorn. These Trees grow wild in the Mountains, and produce a fort of Fruit, but not so good as that which is gathered from those Trees, vwhich the Indians plant, and cultivate in their own Grounds; and vyhich having gathered, they lay it up in their stores, and trade vvith it, into neighbouring Countries, though not into Peru; where they use no other forts of Spice than the Vehu, called by the Spaniards Axi, and by us red Pepper.

### CHAP. III.

Of the great Difficulties, and Hardships, sustained by Gonzalo Piçarro, and his Companions; how they made a Bridge of Wood, and a fort of Ferry-Boat, to pass the great River.

THE Spaniards found, that in Cumaco, and the Countries thereunto adjoining, the Indians went naked, without any Cloths, onely the Women for Modelly-fake wore a little flap before them; the Climate is so excessively hot, that they need no Cloths, and is so subject to Rains, that they would become rotten in a short time, as we have mentioned before; and indeed the Spaniards consels, that those Indians did well not to trouble themselves with care for Cloths, which would onely be troublesome, without any use.

Gonzalo Picarro leaving the greatest part of his People in Cumacu, took with him a small party of such as he esteemed most active, to try and search for some Pass, leading out of the Countrey; for as yet the way for an hundred Leagues together, had been nothing but Mountains, and Desarts, and Woods, which they were forced to lay open by the Hatchet, and strength of their Armes; and sometimes the Indians, who were their Guards, deceived them, carrying them out of the way by Mountains, and Desarts, and difficult passages, where they suffained Hunger, and Cold, without other suffenance than Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruit, and conducted them by by-ways, to avoid the Countrey of their Friends and Consederates; but in case they happened to lead them aright, then they were esteemed and applauded for good Guides.

With fuch Labours and Sufferings as thefe, which may rather be fanfied than described, they came at length to that Province which is called Cuca, which was more populous, than any they had formerly passed, and where provisions were plentifull. Here the Chief Lord came forth in a peaceable manner to welcome them, and afforded them Provisions, which was the chief thing of which they stood in want; there is a great River which passes through this Countrey, and is the largest of those which, falling in together, make that River which some call Orellana, and others Maranno.

In these parts they remained two months in Expectation of the coming of those Spaniards, whom they had lest in Cumaco, and had directed to follow them by hich traces and marks as they should find of the way they had taken before their, the Companions being come up to them, and a while restressed after their Journey, they travelled all together by the Banks of that great River, for the space of fifty Leagues, in all which way, they neither found Bridge, nor shallow place, which was stydable, for the Water was very deep, and the River

fishlow place, which was hydable; for the Water was very deep, and the River fobroad, that no Bridge could be made over it.

At length they came to a place where this whole River falls from the top of a Rock, above two hundred fathom high, which Catarack, or falling of the Waters, makes a noise, that is heard above fix Leagues from the place; at which, though the Spaniards were wonderfully amazed, yet it was much more wonderfull to see, about forty or fifty Leagues lower, that immense quantity of Water contracted and straitened within a Chanel made by one great Rock. This Chanel is fo narroy, that from one side to the other it is not above twenty foot wide, but so high, that from the top, where the Spaniards made their Bridge to push down to the Surface of the Water, are two hundred Fathom, as was that of

the Catarack

Book III.

It is indeed firange to confider, that in that Countrey there should be such prodigious Wonders, which are beyond Expression, as may appear by these two instances, and divers others, which occur in this History. Gonzalo Pieprro, and his Captains, considering that there was no more convenient passage to be found over the River than this, and that it was necessary to pass to the other side, by reason that the Countrey was barrien on that side which they then were in, it was agreed to make a Bridge over the top of the Rock. The Indians, though sew in number, stouly described the Pass, so that the Spaniards were forced to sight with them, which was the first Encounter they had with those of that Countrey twhen the Spaniards killed any one, or more of them, with their Musquers, the others immediately sled, being terrified to see their Companions killed at the distance of an hundred or two bundred paces; and slying with Fear and Amazement, reported in all places; that there was a fort of People come into their Countrey, of such wonderfull Power, that killed those with Thunder and Lightning, that would not obey them.

The Pass being now clear, the Spaniards sell to work on the Bridge of Timber, which cost much labour before the first Beam could be passed over to the other Rock, which was so high, that it was a bold thing for any one to adventure to

The Pass being now clear, the Spaniards fell to work on the Bridge of Timber, which cost much labour before the first Beam could be passed over to the other Rock, which was so high, that it was a bold thing for any one to adventure to look down; so vivilist a Spaniard cast his Eyes to behold from the top of that precipice the sivist current of the Water belove, his Head became dizzy, and mined, so that down he fell, and vivas drowned in the Waters. The other Spaniards being vivarned by this unfortunate Example, vivent more cautiously to vvork, and after much Difficulty, and Labour, they passed the first Beam over to the opposite Rock, by help of vivilich a second vivas more easily laid, and then other pieces of Timber, vivilich vivere necessary; so that by degrees they formed a Bridge, over vivilich both Man and Horse securely passed, vivilich they less in the same condition to remain, in case they should have occasion to return back by the same vivay: And so they travelled by the side of the River, over certain Mountains, vivilich vivere so thick vivith Wood, that they vivere forced to open their vivay viith the Hatchet, and other Instruments. With these Distinctives they came at length to a Countrey, called Guema, vivilich vivas so poor, and staved, that it vivas more barren than any they had passed before: there vivere some sevirous and never afteriviards appeared.

Here the *Spaniards*, and their *Indian* Servants, vvere forced again to fustain themselves with Herbs, and Roots, and with the tender sprouts of Trees, vvhich are as good to eat, as the stalks of our Vine Leaves are here. Thus with Famine, and Travels, and with perpetual Rains, so that their Cloths were never dry on their Backs, many of the *Spaniards* sell fick and dyed; yet in despite of all these Difficulties, they proceeded many Leagues farther on their vvay, until at length they came vvhere *Indians* inhabited, something more civilized than the former; for they were such as did eat Mayz, and clothed themselves with Garments of

Cotten; but still the Climate yeas subject to Rains.

Whillt they staid in this place, they sent some people round by divers vvays, to see if they could discover any passage into a more pleasant Land, but they all removed with the same News, that the Countrey round was nothing him wild Mountains, full of Bogs, Lakes, and Moorith Grounds, over which was a Brigantine, or Veffel, which might ferry them over from one fide of the River to the other, which novy was become about two Leagues broad. In order wer to the other, voluen novy was become about evoluteagues organ. In order whereinth, the first thing to be done; was to make a Smith's Forge, for Nails and Iron-work; but then they had need of Charcole, which was difficult to be made in those Climates, because the continual Rains extinguished the Fire; to prevent which they made Coverings of Wood, and Huts for themselves to cast prevent which they made Coverings of Wood, and Huts for themlelves to calt off the Rain, and to defend them from the Sun, which is directly over their Heads, they being then just under the Equinoctial Line, where the Climate was hot and moist in excess. Part of their Iron-work they made of their Horses Shoes; which they had killed in that Extremity; to administer some substantial Nourishment to their Sick, and to sustain those who were in Health; and for the rest of the Iron, of which they stood in very great need, they made use of the small Store which they had brought with them, and which was now become more scarce than Gold.

Gonzalo Picarro, though Chief Commander, was the first that laid his Hand on the Harchet to Hew down the Timber, and to make the Charcole, which on the Hatchet to Hew down the Timber, and to make the Charcole, which was required to forge the Iron, and was always the most forward in every Office, though never so mean and low, that so giving a good Example, none might excuse himself on privilege of his Command. The Rosin which estuated from certain Trees, served them in the place of Pirch, their old rotten Shirts and Rags were made use of in stead of Oakam's to cauke the seams of their Vessels, to which every one did so freely contribute, that they were ready to give their Shirts from their Backs, rather than any thing should be wanting for they considered, that the Life and Safety of them all depended on this Vessels. Which being now in this manner sinssies, they lanched it into the Water with great Joy and Triumph, imagining, that herewith they should quickly escape out of all their Dangers, and be freed from all their Distinstits; but it proved otherwise, for a few days shewed the contrary, and gave then cause to repent, that they had ever made it, as we shall speeduly see by what sol to repent, that they had ever made it, as we shall speeddly see by what follows hereafter.

CHAP.

### CHAP. IV.

Francisco de Orellana goes aboard the Vessel which was built, and fails into Spain, to demand the Government of that Conquest; and of his End and Death.

ALL the Gold which they had gathered, which amounted to about the value of one hundred thouland Pieces of Eight, with a great abundance of Eneralds, fortie of which were of great value, as also their Iron and Iron-work, and whatsoever was of any esteem, they laded on their Vessel, and such as were weak, and fick, and not able to travel, were also put about. And now after a Jonney of althost two hundred Leagues, they departed from this place, taking their course down the Stream; from the other, that at night they always joined and lodged together; the which Journey was performed with great difficulty, both of one, and of the other; for those on the Land were forced to open a great both of one, and or the other; for those of the Land were rolled to ben' a great part of their way with Hatchet and Bill, and those on the Water were put to hard Labour to theim the Stream, and keep the Vessel from being forcibly carried down by the current from the Company of their Associates. When at any time their passage was interrupted by some Mountain, so that they could not

time their passage was interrupted by some Mountain, so that they could not keep by the Shore of the River; they then serried to the other side by help of their Vessel, and of sour cancer, which were with them; but this gave a great ket and stop to their proceedings; for the space of three or four days, which was very grievous to Men starving and perishing with Hunger.

"Having in this manner travelled for the space of two Months, they at length met with certain sudians, who by Signs, and by some Words which were understood by their sudian Servants, gave them intelligence, that about ten days Journey from thence they would find a Countrey well peopled, plentifull of Provisions, and abounding with Gold, and other Riches, of which they were in pussiles, and such services of the space of the sudicines and such services. purfills, and farther fignified to them by Signs, that this Countrey was fituate on the Banks of another great River, which joined, and fell into that, wherein they the Banks of another great Kiver, Which Joined, and ten into that, Wheten they now were. The Spaniards being greatly comforted, and encouraged with this news, Genzalo Picarro made Francisco de Orellana Captain of his Brigantine, or Vessel, and thereon put fifty Souldiers aboard, giving them orders to bas down the Stream to that place, where the two Rivers met, and that there leaving the Goods he had then aboard, he should lade his Vessel with Provisions, and the control of the cont and return towards them with all the speed imaginable to succour, and relieve them in that great Diftres of Famine, of which many Spaniards were already dead, and especially Indians, who of sour thousand were reduced to half the number.

According to these Orders Francisco de Orellana entred on the Voyage, and in the space of three days, without Oars, or Sail, onely by force of the Current, he was carried the eighty Leagues before mentioned, though in the opinion of all they proved to be more than an hundred; notwithstanding which being come thither, no Provisions were found, as the *Indians* had promifed; wherefore confidering what was to be done in that Extremity, they concluded, that to return again to Gorzalo Picarro with this ill news, they were not able in the space of a Year to perform that Voyage back, against the force of the Stream, which they had already with the help thereof been carried in three days onely. And not knowing in how long time Gorzalo Picarro would be able to perform his Journey with the Conduct to Angala his Defense and for the first that the strength of the second product of the thither, Oreliana resolved to change his Design, and set up for himself; and with these thoughts he set sail, and calting off all care and regard to Piçarro, and his Companions, then in distress, he resolved to take a Voyage into Spain, there to obtain the Government and Conquest of those Countries for himself: But this

cruel

cruel Resolution was opposed by many of those who were then aboard with him who suspecting his evil Intention, told him plainly, that he was not to exceed the Order of his Captain General, nor was it humanity to forfake his Companions in their great Distress, knowing how usefull and necessary that Brigantine was to them. In this point none was more zealous, and urgent than a good Friar called Gaspar Carvajal, and a young Gentleman, Native of Badajes, named Hernando Sinckez de Vargas, whom those of the contrary opinion made their chief, and were so warm in their Debates on this Subject, that the Quarrel had come to Bloud, had not Orallana with fair and gentle Words appealed the Tumult for that present. Howsover he so worked afterwards with those, who had opposed his litention, that with great Promifes he enticed them all to his party, and then rudely treated the poor Friar, whom he had exposed to the same samine and misery (had it not been for respect to his Habit and Profession) as he did Sanchez de Vargas for whom he thought Death too mean a punishment, unless attended with the direfull circumstances of Cruelty; and therefore left hint in that Defart, encompatied with high Mountains on the one fide, and with a great River on the other, and imprisoned both with Sea and Land, he was left there to perify by

After which Francisco de Orellana pursuing his Voyage, renounced in a few days the Commission he had received from Gonzalo Pigarro, disclaiming all subjection to him, but pretended to act as a Captain immediately depending on His Majesty. The which Enterprise may best deserve the term of the highest piece of Treachiery that ever was acted, though in reality other Captains, who have been concerned in the Conquest of this new World, have been guilty of Actions as inconcerned in the Conquest of this new World, have been guilty of Actions as infamous as this. Captain Gonzalo Hernandez de Quiedo & Valdes, who was Historiographer to His Catholick Majesty, the Emperour Charles the Fifth, in the 17th, Book, and 20th. Chapter of his General History of the Indies, relates villanous Actions of Treachery, which were repaid in a Coin of the like nature, by those who came to succeed them in the same Offices, and places of Trust; to confirm which Trush, there is a Proverb which says, Kill, and thou shalt be killed, and they shall hill him that kills thee. Were it to our purpose to enlarge on this Subject, we were able to produce many Instances of the highest Perfidionsness and Treachery, acted after the time of this Historiographer; but is not our business to rake into slich horiible Stories, and therefore we shall rather pass them by in silence, than repeat those direfull passages, from which Men would not be deterred by Thunder, Lightning, or other Evidences of God's Wrath.

But to return to our business in hand. Francisco de Orellana found some Provifions amongst the Inhabitants on the River below, who because they were fierce, and wild, and that the Women came forth with their Husbands to fight, they gave it the name of the River of Amazons; the which Term ferved to raise the Honour of this Atchievement, and to induce the Emperour to bellow the Government thereof upon Orelana. Proceeding yet farther down this River, they found other Indians, more civil, or at least less brutish than the others, who received them amicably, and with good Welcome, admiring to behold the Briganting, and Men so strangely labited, but they treated them kindly, and sumished them with as much Provision, as they had occasion to use. The Spaniards remained in this place for fome days, where they built another Brigantine, for they were very much firatined for room in the first; and having fitted themselves as well as they were able, they adventured out to Sea, and having failed two hundred Leagues, (as the Sea chart fets it down) they arrived at the Island of the Holy Trinity, after having paffed to many Difficulties, as before related, and escaped such Dangers in the River, as that they often gave themselves over to be Ship-wrecked, and lost. At this Island Orellana bought a Ship, with which he sailed whecked, and loft. At this filand oreliand bought a Ship, with which he falled into Spain, where he requefted His Majefty's Commission for the Conquest and Government of that Countrey. To make this Enterprise appear with greater Reputation, he alledged that it was a Countrey abounding with Gold, Silver, and Pretious Stones, and in Testimony thereof he produced the Riches which he had brought with him. His Majesty having accordingly granted the Request he made for the Government of what he should there conquer; Orelland made Levies of sive hundred Souldiers, the greatest part of which were brisk young Gentlemen, and principal Persons of Honour, with which he embarqued at St. Lucar, but but he dying in the Voyage, his followers dispersed, and disposed of themselves put he dying in the voyage, his followers difference, and difference of themselves indivers parts. And here was an end of this Delign, which found a fuccess agree-

Royal Commentaries.

able to the evil beginnings of it.

Book III.

And now let us return to Gonzalo Picarro, and fee what becomes of him, whom we left in fuch fad Diffress. After Francisco de Orellana was dispeeded away with the Brigantine, he built ten or twelve Canoes, and other Floats, wherewith to nas from one fide of the River to the other; fo often as their Progress was interrupted by the impassable Mountains, as at other times they had contrived; and to they proceeded forwards in hopes to meet the Brigantine, which they had difpatched for Provisions, and to bring them Relief, having met no other Enemy than Hunger in all these Travels. At the end of two Months they arrived at that Point where the two Rivers met, and where they expected to have found their Brigantine, laden with Provisions, which, by reason (as they imagined) of the fwiftness of the Current, was not able to return to them. And here it was that they found themselves deceived, and to have lost all hopes of any possibility of escaping out of that Hell of a Countrey; for we can give it no better Term. where they had fuffered such Difficulties, and such grievous Miseries, without profect of deliverance from thence; and here at the Conjunction of these two Rivers they found the poor, honest Hernan Sanchas de Vargas, who with constancy of Mind, and on Principles of Honour, like the true Son of a Gentleman, endured with great Resolution Famine, and all the Miseries to which he was exposed, rather than violate his Faith; and was contented to remain in that folitude, that he might render an Account of the perfidious Faith of Orellana, and of his villanous Deligns, all which was strange to Picarro, who much admired that there should be such Men in the World, whose Actions should be so different to their Professions, and unanswerable to the hopes which were conceived of them; and with this News the Captains and Souldiers became so dismayed, that they seemed to be reduced to the utmost point of Despair.

The General, who conceived greater Disquiet, and Torment of Mind, than the others, yet putting a good face upon the matter, cheared them all up, and encouraged them with hopes of better Fortune; telling them, that they ought like spaniards to bear with equality of Mind these Labours, and yet greater, if any thing could be worfe; that the more Danger, the more Honour, and the greater would their Renown be in Histories, which should declare their Adventures to struck Ages. That since it was their Fortune to become the Conquerours of that Empire, that they should act like Men whom the Divine Providence had chosen for the accomplishment of so great a work. The Souldiers observing such chearfilbess in their Captain General, who had more cause to resent those Evils than any other, took Heart and Courage, and proceeded on their Voyage by the Banks of the River, fometimes on the one fide, and fometimes on the other, according

to the turnings and windings of the Land.

But we cannot express the great Difficulty there was to carry the Horses upon the Floats, for there still remained about one hundred and fifty of their number which they had brought from Quien: In like manner almost two thousand Indians were still alive, which came with them from Peru, who, like Sons, served their Masters with such Faithfulness and Affection, as was admirable; for in their great extremities of Hunger they brought them Herbs, and Roots, and wild Fruit, with Toads, Snakes, and other kinds of Infects which were found in those Mountains; all which went down with them, and were digested by the Spaniards with a good Stomach; for without them they could not have subfifted.

Воок III.

### CHAP. V.

Gonzalo Piçarro confiders of returning to Quitu; and those of Chili plot and contrive how they may kill the Marquis.

In this Misery and Want they proceeded another hundred Leagues down the River, without appearance or hopes of finding a better Countrey, every place feening worse and more barren than the other; all which being considered, and debated by the General and Captains, they agreed to return again to Quita, (if it were possible,) for now they were at a distance of four hundred Leagues from thence: But in regard it was impossible for them to return against the Force of the Stream, they resolved to take another way by the North side of the River, for they had observed in their coming, that there were not so many bogs, and Lakes, and moorish places, on that side, as on that by which they came. So now entring within the Mountains, and making their way with Bill and Hatchet, which custome would have made less grievous, had good nutriment presented to corroborate and sustain their Nature in it; but we must leave them amidst these Difficulties, to return to the Marquis Dow Franciso Picarro, and see what Accidents befell him, whilst his Brother was engolsed in these immense Labours. It seems that these renowned Persons, who were born for great Actions, and Archievements, were also destinated to insuperable Difficulties and Missortunes, which pursued them to the ultimate point of their Lives, which ended with the grief and compassion of all those who had the Honour of their Acquaintance.

For so it was, that the Marquis having made a Division, and shared out the Provinces of the Charcas to the Conquerours of that Kingdom, and reformed and settled some things of importance in Corco, which the late Dissentions between his Party and that of Almagro had caused; with which having, less all things in Peace and Quietness, he returned to the City of los Reyes, to advance and encourage that new Colony. We have mentioned formerly that Almagro the Younget was sent by Hernaudo Piçarro, soon after the Execution of his Father, to be kept Prisoner in that place, where when the Marquis arrived, he discovered that divers of the Almagrian Faction were frequently in company with him, whom he led and maintained out of the Estate which he enjoyed in right of his Father, being a large Inseritance, and Command over Indians; the which Bounty he liberally dispensed to them, because that their own Estates were forseited, and constituted, as it were for Treason, and for their Loyalty and Affection to Almagra.

The Marquis, who was of a noble and generous Nature, endeavoured to gratifie those Gentlemen with Largesses, and Summs of Money, and to procure for them Offices and Employments in matters of Justice, or about the King's Revenue. But these Persons expecting that Vengeance and Punishment would befall the Picarrists for that unjust Death and Bloud of Almagra, and for those horrid Cruelties, committed at the Battel of Salma, and after it, resused all the Offers that were made them of Gratuity and Kindness, that so neither their Malice, nor Rancour, might abate, and be mollified, which they had conceived against the Marquis and his Adherents; nor that it might ever be objected against them, that they had received or accepted Gifts from the adverse Party, at the same time that they were contriving and plotting against them.

Thus did the Almagrians fuccour and affift each other, rejecting all fubfiftence and Kindness from the Picarrifts, notwithstanding the urgent, and extreme necessithe to which they were reduced. The which being observed, and considered by the Miniters and Countellours of the Marquis, they, like ill Infruments, advised him, that fince that party could not be won by fair means to any Terms of Friendship, that he should compell them thereunto by want and necessity. The Marquis (though much against his own nature) was persuaded to follow this rigorous and severe Advice of his Ministers, and to take away the Estate of Almagro, by which all the party had their subsistence, so that not finding a support. ingre, by which all the party had their indifferees, to that not infining a tupport, they might be compelled to depart from thence, and feek their livelyhood in other Countries: But this was much againft the humour of the Marquis, who naturally abhorred to doe any thing of feverity, or unkindness, whatsoever. But this Act, instead of mollifying and subjecting the stiff nature of Almagro, incensed him to a higher degree of Rage, for Tyranny, with unjust dealings, operate little on the Minds of Men, who esteem themselves innocent. And so it was with the Almagrians, who being reduced to a necessitous condition, resolved not to ahandon the City, but instead thereof dispatched a Narrative in Writing, of the flate of their case, to all places where any of those lived, who were inclined and devoted to the Almagrian Party, inviting them to repair to the City of he Reves, to abet their Party, and to affift them in their pretentions. This Eaction was then become very confiderable, for befides those who had been actually engaged in the Battel, there were divers others who had taken an Affection to that fide, as it commonly happens in Civil and intestine Difcords.

Upon these Summons above two hundred Souldiers resorted to the City of Ls Rept., from parts above three and sour hundred Leagues remote, who being joined in such numbers together, took the Liberty to talk boldly, and in a publick manner to arm themselves; for untill then they were not permitted to carry any Weapons, living in the nature of Prisoners. The gentle Treatment which the Marquis used towards them, encouraged them to higher Attempts, and to treat of the manner how the Death of Don Diego de Almagro might be revenged by the Bloud of the Marquis; for though Hernando Picarro, after his return from Spin, was the great Incendiary and the real Authour of all those Evils that had hitherto ensued, yet the Revenge for all was to refund on the Head of the Marquis. But these private Cabals and Conspiracies were not contrived and carried on so secretly, but that they were made known to the Counsellours of the Marquis, who instantly urged him to disturb those Meetings, and punish the Malecontents, by taking off the Heads of the Chief Leaders, and by banishment of the others, before their Plot was ripe, and become too strong to be suppressed. Carrate, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Books, declares the matter to be thus.

"The Marquis (faith he) remained to confident and fecure, being of a Disposition not inclined to Jealousie, that in Reply unto what they advised, he made Answer, that there was no need to fear or apprehend Danger from Men, in that poor and forlorn condition, who had Difficulties sufficient, in contending with Poverty. Almagro and his Complices growing more confident by this landvertency and Goodness of the Marquis, proceeded at length to that degree, as to lay asset all respect towards his Person, and not so much as to take off their Caps, or make any other demonstration of Honour, as he passed by them. Thus far Carate.

And indeed such was the Want and Indigency they sustained, that Almagro made a Consortship with seven Souldiers, who lodged in the same Chamber together; amongst which they had but one Cloak, and that not new, but old and patched; with this worshipfull Garment they took their turns to go abroad, the others staying at home, whilst the Cloak was employed, and till it returned. They also made a common Purse, putting the Money which they gained at play, or otherwise, into the hands of John de Rada, whom they made their Treasurer, and common Steward, to buy and dress their Victuals.

As was their Poverty, fuch was their Boldness and Impudence, which prefer med on the good Nature and Gentleness of the Marquis so far, as to act many shamefull things in affront to his Person; amongst which, one was this: Ru night they fixed three Ropes on the Pillory, which was erected in the Market-place, one whereof they firetched, and tied to the House of Antonio Picado. Se. place, one whereof they firetched, and tied to the Flouie of Antonio Picado, Secretary to the Marquis, another to the Window of Doctour Velazquez, Chief Justice, and the third to the House of Picarro himself; which was such a piece of Insolence, as would have provoked any thing below the Patience of the Marquis to have hanged them all with the same Cords; but such was the soft and generous Nature of this good Man, that he not onely neglected all Examination and Enquiry into this daring and impudent Action; but rather inclined to form Excuses for them, faving that they were low, unhappy, and provoked therenge by their Misfortunes, which were a fufficient punishment, and needed no other Revenge by the way of Justice.

When this tameness of the Marquis was published in Chili, their Spirits were not mollified thereby, but became farther outrageous and unsupportable, till they proceeded to touch the Bloud, and Life of the Marquis himself, as we shall

speedily see in what is to follow.

### CHAP.

Of the Mutiny in which the People of Chili killed the Marquis, and what occasion provoked them thereunto.

Though the Almagnian had by feveral open Actions evidenced a refolution to kill the Marquis, yet they could not agree on the manner, how that Villany was to be committed; for formetimes they were of opinion, that the best way was to expect the Imperial Warrant from His Majesty, which could not long be wanting, to put him to Death; for that, as we formerly intimated, Diego de Alvarado was then actually in Spain, accusing the Family of Picarro, and had so far proceeded in his Evidence, as to procure a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer to be held at Cozco, on this very matter; but then they confidered, that this very Power which the Judge was bringing, was limited and without other Authority, than onely to examine the matter of Fact, and to report it back again into Spain, and that thereupon His Majesty would farther determine, what other Proceedings should be made, and sentenced against

the guilty.

The Almagrians were not a little scandalized and troubled at this kind of Commission; for they were onely for cutting off of Heads, right or wrong; and expected Judges, who upon their Informations and fuggeftions. (hould hang up the Bodies, and conficate the Effates of as many as they (hould in a black Roll proscribe. But not being affured, as yet, how far the Commission of the Judge might extend, they agreed to expect his Arrival; and in case he immediately feized on the Person of the Marquis, and persormed other pieces of exemplary Justice, agreeable to their own Expectations and Humours, that then they would acquiesce, and side with, and affift him in his prosecution of Justice; but if his Commission was short and faulty, that then they themselves would become the Executioners, and both revenge the Bloud of Almagro, by the Death of the Marquis, and the remifiefs of the Emperour, especially in a Cause so black, and so foul as this; both which they secretly plotted to perform by a General Infurrection of all the Countrey, as will more at large appear by the Sequel of this History.

This Plot was so publickly talked of over all the City of Los Reyes, and that the people of Chili dangued to kill the Marquis, that his Friends gave him fair noice and warning of the Treason intended, to whom, as Carate reports, he made his Antwer-

Rayal Commentaries.

"That the Chief Heads of that place would guard his; and so little did he seem to be concerned for his own safety, that he would frequently walk abroad, attended onely with a single Page, to certain Mills, which he had let an without the City. And when he was asked why he took not his Guards with him, he replied, he would not have the World helieve that he appreshed any sear, or intended to secure himself, from, the Lawyer Vaca de Castro, henced any sear, or intended to secure himself, from, the Lawyer Vaca de Castro,

"hended any fears, or intended to tecure himlest from, the Lawyer Vict de Cafro, hollows comings as was reported, with Commission to fift in Jungament upon a himle for which reason, and farther to amuse the Marquis, the people of Chile save out, that Kasa de Castro was dead.

"It happened fous day that John de Rada, with some faw Attendants, went and made a wife to the Marquis, whom finding in a Garden, he asked him the reason why his Lordship intended to put him and his Triends to Death: and made a visit to the Marquis, whom Inding in a Garden, he asked him the reason why his Lordship intended to put him and his Iriends to Death: Whereunto the Marquis made Answer, with an Oath, that he never shad any such intentions; but that on the contrary, it might rather be superched that they designed to kill him. Since they had bought Arms to that purpose; to which John de Rada made Answer, That it was not strange, that since his Lordship had bought Lances, if they should provide themselves with Costs of Mail for their Desence. To which bold, saying he was engouraged, in sont sidence of source Men, which he had then lying in wax not far from him, and well armed. And farther he added, That in case his Lordship was engouraged, in sont sheir practices, he deserted onely leave for Don Diego de Aligageo, and his Companions, to retire out of the Countrey. The Marquis being far from taking those Words in the work sense, or conceiving supicion shareby, but compassions their condition, he affured him with mid land obliging. Words that those Lances were not bought with design or bad invention against them: With which gathering some Oranges, he gresented them to John do Rada, which were esteemed for a curiosity at that time, being the first, and the most early fruit, and with all told him in the gublick hearing of those then present, that he should consider, and acquaint him with what he should consider, and acquaint him with what he should now he early fruit, and without leave less the first, and it he most early fruit, and with all told him in the gublick hearing of those then present, that he hould consider, and acquaint him with what he should now he had nusted of their Design to bell him or Midstyniner long, that fince they had missed of their Design to bell him or Midstyniner agreed, that since they had missed of their Design to bell him or Midstyniner. Thus sar

" The good Marquis (fays he) was as careless of his Safety, and as little ap-" prehensive of any Mischief from the people of Chili, as they were intent and "folicitous to commit the Act. How/oever they thought fit to defer the Execution until the coming of the Judge, and had feen the manner whereby he inten-

This Delay of the Almagrians gave time to Antonio Picado, Secretary to the Marquis, to evidence his Refentment with rage and Indignation against those of Chili, for the impudent affront offered to the Marquis, and himself, by the Ropes which they had fastened to the Pillory, as we before mentioned; but fince this was rather a matter of Threatning, and an Indication of what they defigned to act, had not their Fear and Cowardife restrained them, the Secretary in scorn and contempt of what they were able to perform, took out of his Cap a certain Medal of Gold, richly enameled, with a Finger scornfully pointing, with this Motto, Thus much for those of Chili. With which these angry Souldiers were so far incensed, that they resolved to precipitate the Design, and to kill the Marquis before the arrival of the Judge; fo that now they acted more publickly than before; by which means the Plot coming to the knowledge of a Prieft, he gave notice to the Marquis of the manner how, and of the time when this Affaffination was to be committed; all which the Marquis communicated to 612

Doctour Velazanez, the Chief Justice, and to Picado his Secretary; but they were fo fair from being concerned, or allarmed herewith, that they flighted the report and told him that no Danger could be apprehended from fuch poor and incorp fiderable Wretches, whom Famine and Poverty provoked to complain and threaten. Howfoever the jealousie hereof made such Impression in the Mind of the Marquis, that he forbore to go to Maß unto the Great Church on that Day, which was the Feast of St. John Baprift, in the Year 1541. being the Day appointed for the Execution of that Murther. The like caution he used on Sunday following, being the 26th. of June, on pretence of some Indisposition of Body intending to flut himself up for some days, that he might the better confult with his Party and Friends concerning the means to fecure his own Person. and suppress those bold and daring Seditions, which were arrived at the highest degree of Insolence. The principal Officers of the City missing the Marquis ar Mass, went to enquire the cause, and the state of his Health; and having made their Court and Visit, they returned again to their own Houses, onely Doctour Velazquez, and Francis de Chaves, his true and intimate Friend, remaining ned with him.

The Conspiratours of Chili observing that the Marquis began to grow can tions how he exposed his Person, and that many of the principal Persons of his party made him frequent visits, they suspected that some Plot and Design was contriving to cut them off; with which apprehension becoming desperate, on that very Sunday, about the hour of Dinner, and when the Marquis had scarce dined, a party of the Affaffinates appeared at a corner of the Market-place, on the left hand of the Cathedral Church, which joins to the Lodging of Den Diego de Almagro the youngers where meeting the principal of the Conspiratours, they passed clear over the Market-place, which is very large, and wide, and went directly to the House of the Marquis, of which they were thirteen in number, twelve of which Genara particularly names, not specifying of what Country, they were, but sets them down in this manner following.

John de Rada, the Chief Leader, Martin de Bilbao, Diego Mendez, Christopher de Sofa, Martin Carrillo, Arbolancha Hinogeros, Narvaez, S. Millan, Porras, Velazquez, Francis Nunnez, and Gomez Perez; which are all that Gomara mentions. These went over the Market-place with their Swords drawn, crying out with loud voices. May the Tyrant Traitour perish, who hath murthered the Judge whom the Emperour fent to execute Justice upon him. The reason which induced them so publickly to own their Fact, was, that the People of the City, who were then in their Houses, might imagine that the Conspiratours were more in number. than they really were; and therefore might be cautious how they left their Houses for succour and affistence of the Marquis. Indeed it was a bold and rash Attempt, to act in such a publick manner; but such was the Fate of the Marquis, that the Almagrians gained their point, and succeeded in the Revenge intended, by the Death of the Marquis, as will appear more at large in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Death of the Marquis Don Francisco Pisatro: and his poor Funeral and Enterment.

Royal Commentaries.

THE Indians, who were Servants to the Marquis, hearing the noise and outcry which the Faction of Chili made in the Streets, immediately ruthed in and acquainted him of the Tumult, and of the manner with which they were oming. The Marquis being then in Discourse with Doctour Velacquee, the Chief Justice, and with Captain Francisco de Chaves, who vvas his Lieutenant General, and with Francisco Martin Alcantara, his half Brother by the Mother side, and about typelve or thirteen Servants of his Houshold standing by, yyas greatly allarm'd hereat, eafily fuspecting vyhat the matter yvas; vyherefore he gave order to Francisco de Chaves, to run and shut the Door of the Hall, and of the Dining-Room, where they fate, that he and his Friends might have time to buckle on their Armour. But de Chaves imagining that this disturbance was no other than some quarrel amongst the Souldiers, which the Authority of his Presence might appeale, instead of shutting the Doors, as he vvas ordered, he ran out to them, and met them upon the head of the Stairs; and being novy troubled at this unexpected Encounter, he asked them vyhat their pleafure vyas; vyhereunto he yeas answered by a Stab; and finding himself vyounded, he laid his Hand upon his Syvord, but before he could dravy it, he received another, with fich a flath on his Neck, that, as Gomara faith, in Chap. 145. his Head hanged onely by a piece of the Skin, and therevvith they threvy his Body down the Stairs. The Servants of the Marquis, vvho vvere in the Hall, came running to fee what the matter vvas, and finding Francisco de Chaves dead, they sted like porspirited Servants, and got out of the Windovvs, on the Gardenside; amongst which Doctour Velazquez yvas one, who holding his white Wand in his Mouth, supposed that that Badge of his Authority vyould give a respect to his Person, and so ran as fast as his Legs and Arms could carry him.

The Affaffinates finding the Hall empty, went to the Door of the Dining-room. where the Marquis hearing them fo near at hand, and perceiving he had not time to brace on his Arms, halfily took hold of his Buckler and Sword, and together with his Brother Martin de Alcantara, and two Pages, who were grown up to be Men, one of which was named John de Vargas, Son of Gomez de Tordoya, and the other Alonso Escandon, neither of which had time to put on their defensive Arms. all these posted themselves at the Entry of the Door, which they stoutly defended for a great while, the Marquis still calling out with great Courage, Let us kill these villanous Traitors. Thus whilst both sides sought very valiantly, the Brother of the Marquis was killed, into the place of whom one of the Pages stepped, and he and his Master so stoutly defended the Door, that the Assassinates began to fear, lest whilst they were gaining Entrance, they should be surprised by Assistence from without, and that then they should be encompassed on all sides; wherefore John de Rada made one effort for all, and taking Narvaez in his Arms, thrust him in at the Door before him, in whose Body whilst the Marquis had employed his Sword, the others had opportunity to enter in; fome of which en-gaged with the Marquis, and others with the Pages, who fought fo valiantly, hat before they were killed, they forely wounded four of their Enemies. The Marquis being the onely Person remaining, they all set upon him at once, and encompassed him on all sides; but he so well defended himself, that he dangeroufly wounded three of the Ruffians: But in regard there were fo many to one, and that he was above the Age of fixty five Years, he began to grow faint, to that one of the Villains making a Pass at him, ran him through the Throat, with which falling to the Ground, he cried out with a loud voice for a Confeffour; but time not being given for Confession, he made a Cross with his Right

615

BOOK III.

BOOK III

" Timeral; the which, and other Circumstances, preceding his Death, by which "(as we have specified) he would take no warning, are so strange, as can be at-" tributed to no other cause than to the unsearchable Judgments of Almightu " God. Thus far are the Words of Carate.

In which place he makes a comparison between the Death and Burial of Almagro, and this of Pigarro; the circumftances of whose Life and Death were in all things agreeable. They were companions, and had fworn Friendship, and entied into Articles to gain and conquer that Empire, and it is strange to consider with what equality Fortune balanced the course of their Lives, and the circumstances of their Deaths. As the same Carate reports in the Chapter following.

Many Years after, faith he, that the Wars were ceased in that Kingdom. the Bones of this brave and worthy Gentleman were taken up out of the "Grave, and with such decent Solemnity as became them, were put into a Coffin. " and interred in a Vault of the Cathedral Church, on the Right hand of the

"and interred in a valit of the Cathedral Church, on the Right hand of the High Altar: Where it remained in the Year 1560. When I came for Spain: The Death of the Marquis happened on the 26th of June, in the Year 1541.

Carate, who was a good Historian, imitated the method of the great Plutarch, comparing the Lives of these two famous Heroes, who were unhappy Spaniards, and ill rewarded by the World. Howsover he judges them so worthy, that he could never express sufficient wherewich to exalt their Praises; and comparing coun never expires function whereward to exact their ranks, and comparing their Lives, Cuftoms and Death together, fills a whole Chapter with that Subject, which is the 5th of the 4th Book, which being transferred into thee our Commentaries, shall serve for the 8th Chapter of the 3d Book of our Second Part: the Words whereof verbatim are these.

Hand, which clapping to his mouth, he kiffed it, and fo expired his last Breath. fo dyed that famous Den Francisco Picarro, the most renowned amongst the Worthies, who hath so much enriched, and made great, and still by the Riches and thes, who nath to much contined, and made great, and thin by the riches and Treature he hath acquired, continues greatness, and like its to the Crown of Spain, and to all the World, as appears by what hath been already declared, and what is manifelted by the effects in these our days. And yet nor withstanding all this manifelted by the effects in there our days. And yet not withflanding all this valt Treasure and Greatness, he died poor and fortaken, having no Friend so much as to wind him hir a street, or lay hith in his Grave; by which it may appear, that all the savour and profrectly which Fortune had been bestowing on him, during the whole course of his Lite, was snatched away on a sudden, in less than the space of one hour.

To confirm which Carate, in the 8th Chapter of his 4th Book hath these Words. CONTRACTOR OF THE ASSESS OF

" In this manner be refigned lile Soul unto God, and with the Marquis two of "his Pages were Hilled post the Riction of Child four were killed, belides others "that were dangeroufly wounded." So foon as this news was foread through the "Towns in blove town hundred Men appeared in favour of Don Diogo de Almaro

Town, inside two hundred Men'appeared in flavour of Don Diogo de Almago; whitohy though armed and in a readinest, yet durft not declare themselves, until they faw how this hearter sliceseded, and then they dispersed themselves over all pairs of the City, feizing and differential those whom they believed to its well infected to the party of Piphrent 105.

The Assistant and bloody; and film work, damed out of the House with their Swords drawn; and bloody; and film de Rada causing Almagor to mount on Horse-backy conducted him through the City; in the laming thim Governoir over all Pairs, and sole King thereof. Then they plandered the House of the Marquis, and his Brotlier, and of Amonio Picako; and caused the Corporation of the City to receive Don Diego for Governours, by virtue of that capitalstion and Charter, seened by his Maiesty at the time of the first Discoverse "tion and Charter, figned by his Majorty at the time of the first Discovery of these Countries, whereby the Government of the new Tolodo was granted to thele Countries, whereby the Government of the new Tolodo was granted to Almagra, and his Heits, or to fuch Perfon or Perfons as he should assign. As ter which they put several to Death, whom they knew to be Servants and Dependants on the Marquis, which caused great Cries through the whole City, the Women weeping and wailing to see their Husbands murthered, and their Houses plandered.

"All thick into month durit small the Body of the Marquis as before the second state."

All which time none durft touch the Body of the Marquis, to beflow decent Burkal thereupon, unless some serv Negroes, who rather dragged than carried it to the Church, untill John do Barbaran, and his Wise, who were Inhabitants of Truxillo, and had been Servants to the Marquis, having first obtained leave of Almagro, buried him and his Brother in such decent manner as they were able. The which they were forced to perform with fuch hafte, that they had fearer time to cloth his Body with the Habit of St. Aug., of which Order he was a Knight, and to put on his Spurs, before they were told that those of Chili were coming in great hafte to cut of his Head, and to place it on the Gallows. " So that Barbaran was forced to flubber over the Funeral and Offices for the " dead with great hafte, defraying the Charges of the Torches, and other Duties, at his own Expense. And having laid the Body in the Grave, they immediately endeavoured to fecure his Sons, who lay privately concealed; for the par-

ately endeavoured to fecure his Sons, who lay privately concealed; for the party of Chili were now become Mafters of the whole City.

"Hence we may learn the variety of Fortune in this World, if we confider in how thort a time a Gentleman was brought to nothing, who had difcovered, and governed, and pofferfied fuch a vaft Extent, and Tract of Land, and Kingdoms; and had beftowed a greater Revenue, and Riches on others, than the most powerfull Prince in the World was able to have done; and how in a most most made to perish, without time given him to confess, and prepare for his Soul, or fettle his Eftate; and that he should be affassinated by the Hands of turdus Man onely, at Noon-lay, and in the midft of his City. Hands of twelve Men onely, at Noon-day, and in the midst of his City, where the Inhabitants were all his Servants and Creatures, Kinsmen and Souldiers, and all had eaten of his Bread, and substifted by his Bounty; and after this, that none should dare to come unto his Succour, but rather fly from him, and abandon his House. And moreover, that his Burial should be so obscure, that of all the Riches and Greatness he possessed, there should not be left so much as to defray the Charge of the Wax-Candles, and other Expences of his Funeral;

### CHAP. VIII.

Of the Actions and Qualities of the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro, and the Lord Deputy Don Diego de Almagro.

IN regard that the Discovery and Conquest of this Province, (which is the "Subject of this Hiltory,) had its Original from these two Captains of whom we have hitherto discoursed, namely, the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro, and the Lord Deputy Don Diego de Almagro, we are obliged in justice to their memories to describe the Qualifications and Actions of these two Worthies, in comparison of each with the other; imitating herein the method of Plutarch, who having wrote the Lives of two great Captains, he in the next place compares them together, shewing wherein they were equal, and wherein they differed.

"As to what concerns their Parentage, and Families, we have already dif-

courfed; as to other matters, they were both couragious in their Perfons, bold and daring, patient of Labour, vertuous and friendly, being ready to perform all good Offices, though at their own Charge and Expence. They refembled each other in their natural Inclinations, particularly in their condition and state of Life, for neither of them was married, though when they dyed,

and flate of Life, for neither of them was married, though when they dyed, the youngest was arrived to the Age of sixty five Years.

"They were both inclined to War, though Almagro having for the chiefest part of his Life no occasion to exercise himself in Arms, applied his mind with much earnestness to heap and gather Riches.

"They were both of good Years when they first entred upon the Conquest of Pern, in which their Labours were as great as we have formerly described; though the Marquis sustained more of Danger therein than the Deputy had done; because that whilst the one exposed his Person in the first Discovery, the other continued in Person to provide all necessity described as the other continued in Panama, to provide all necessaries required thereunto, as " hath been before declared.

"They were both of great Minds, and entertained high Thoughts, which they were enabled to put into practice by their extreme Patience, joined to that affable and obliging Behaviour which they used towards their Souldiers.

BOOK III

"They were both liberal and generous in their Gifts, but if either excelled the other, it was Almagro, because he was ambitious to have his Liberality and Gists known and published of the World; but the Marquis on the contrary, was fecret, and modest in his Gifts, desiring rather to conceal them, than sound his Trumpet; being more willing to provide for the necessities of the poor, than to make an Othentation of his Charity.

"An Example we have in his kindnefs to a Souldier, whose Horse happened to dye; to repair the Loss whereof, he came to a Pall-Mall belonging to his "House, expecting to find the Souldier, that he might with his own hand present him with a small Ingot of Gold, of ten pounds weight; but the Souldier not being then come, he in the mean time plaid a match in the Mall, with his "Coat on, that he might conceal the Gold; at length (which was three hours after) the Souldier came, when calling him aside, he privately gave him the "Gold, and told him, that he had rather have given him three times as much, than to have endured what he did, by so long an expectation and attendance for him. Many other Instances might be given of this nature, for the Marquis never gave any thing but with his own hand, endeavouring to conceal his Liberality.

For which reason Almagro was always esteemed the more generous, because the contrived how his Presents might be given with greater oftentation, and with the best appearance to the World. Howsover in this Vertue of Munissiance ence they may well be equalized, because (as the Marquis himself alledged) all came from their common Purse, whereof being partners, the moiety of what one gave belonged to the other; so that he who consented to the Present, was as generous as he who delivered it.

"They were both in their Life-time the richest Men in ready Money, and in

"They were both in their Lite time the richelt Men in ready Money, and in "Revenue, that have been known in many Ages, and were the most powerfull of any under the Degree of Crowned Heads; and yet they dyed so poor, that no "mention is made of the Estates they left, or of their Money wherewith to pay "the Charges of their Funeral Expences; resembling Cato, and Silius, and other "Roman Captains herein, who were interred at the Cost of the Publick."

They were both extremely kind to their Servants, and obliging to their Souldiers, endeavouring to enrich and advance them, and to refcue them in all times of Danger; in which piece of Gallantry the Marquis was prodigal beyond comparison; as appears by what happened in passing a River, which they call Barranca, where one of his Indian Servants being carried down by force of the stream, the Marquis leaped in, and swam after him, and catching him by the Hair of his Head, buoyed him up above the Water, and with great hazard of his own Life, saved his, which none of the most adventurous of his Army durst have attempted; and when his Captains reproved him for his rashness, he answered, that none of them knew of what prevalency his Love was unto a Servant.

Though the Marquis governed longer, and in greater peace, yet Almagro Was much more ambitious, and desirous of Rule. They both affected antiquity, and would never change the fashion of that Habit to which they had been accustomed from their youth, especially the Marquis, who never wore other than a Jerkin of black Cloth, with Skirts down to his Ankles, with a short Waste a little below his Breafts; his Shoes were made of a white Cordivant, his Hat white, with Sword and Dagger, after the old Fashion; sometimes upon high Days, at the instance and request of his Servants, he wore a Cassock, lined with Martins Furrs, which the Marquis de Valle sent him from Spain; but when he returned home from Mass, he stript them off, and remained in cuerpo; and about his Neck he commonly cast a Towel to wipe the Sweat from his face, when he plaid at Bowls, or at Pall-mall, which were his common Exercises in the time of peace. Both these Captains were men well enduring labour and hunger, which the Marquis especially evidenced by the Pastimes we have mentioned, to which he was so intent, that no young men could hold out so long as he. He was much more given to gaming than Almagro, for he vyould many times play the vyhole day at Bovvls, not confidering with vvhom he plaid, vvhether he vvere Mariner or Miller, nor vvould he suffer them to give him up his Bovvls, or use any other Ceremonies toyvards him, which belonged to the Dignity of his Person.

"Not every fort of business could divert him from his game, especially if he lost; but if in case there happened any Insurrection or Rebellion amongst the Indians, he voculd then lay all aside, and immediately brace on his Arms, and taking his Lance and Target in his hand, voculd run vvith all haste to the place

"where the mutiny was arifen, not expecting untill his people came, though they followed him with all the hafte they were able.

"Both these Captains were so stout and expert in their Wars against the Indians, that either of them being single, would break through a Body of a hundred stands. They were both very intelligent persons, and of great judgment in all matters, whether Martial or Civil, especially considering that they were illiterate Men, and neither knew how to write or reade, or so much as to form their Names; which in persons of their degree, and of that sphere wherein they moved, was a remarkable desect, considering the business and negotiations which they treated: And though their Virtues, and other Endowments, gave them an appearance of Noble Personages, yet their ignorance in letters was a plain demonstration of their mean Parentage and Extraction.

The Marquis was to confident, and affured of the faithfulness of his Servants and Friends, that in all the Dispatches which he iffued out either relating to Orders of Government, or to Affigning over to each person his share and division of Lands; his manner was to make two lines with the Pen, in the middle of which Antonio Picado his Secretary formed the Name of Francisco Picado his Secretary formed the Name of Francisco Picado his Secretary formed the Name of Francisco Picado his That he was better versed in the knowledge of Arms, than Astrology; and applied his mind rather to conquer his Neighbours, than to understand Letters.

They were both extremely affable and familiar with the people of the

"They were both extremely affable and familiar with the people of the City, making them vifits at their own Houfes, and not refufing to Dine with fuch as first invited them. They were equally abstemious in Eating and Drinking, and refrained their inclinations towards the Cassilian Women, upon a principle, that they could not make use of their Wives or Daughters without lone prejudice and dishonour to their Neighbours: As to the Indian Women of Peru, they were more free, though of the two, Almagro was the more continent; for unless it were with the Woman by whom he had his Son, he entertained little or no conversation with any. The Marquis conserved a particular affection for an Indian Lady, who was the Sister of Atabaliba, by whom he had a Son called Don Gorzalo, which dyed at the Age of sourteen years, and a Daughter called Donna Francisca; by another Indian Woman of Cozco he had a "Son called Don Francisco: And as to this Son of Almagro, who killed the Marquis, he was born of an Indian Woman at Panama,

Both of them had received Favours and Honours from his Majetty; Picarro, as we have faid, was honoured with the title of Marquis, as before related, and was made Governour of New Castile, and vested with the Habit of St. Jago. Almagro was rewarded with the Government of the New Toledo, and dignified

" with the title of Lord Lieutenant of that Countrey.

The Marquis in a particular manner was devoted to his Majefty, and had a fuch an awe and reverence for his Name, that he would often deny himself the exercise of his Authority in many lawfull matters, left he should seem to stretch his Power beyond his Commission. Many times as he was fitting on his Chair in the Melting-houses, he would arise, and take up the small granes, or drops of Gold and Silver which were fallen aside from the Scisses; with which they cut the Kings Fisths, saying, That when hands sailed, wherewith to amass and heap up the Treasure which belonged to the King, they were to doe it with their mouths. Thus as they resembled one the other in their Lives, so did they not differ in the manner of their Deaths; for as the Brother of the Maragus killed Almagra, so the Son of Almagra killed Picarro.

"The Marquis was very industrious to improve his Land, and cultivate his "Plantations; he built several very fair Houses in the City of los Rejes; and on the River he made two Sluces to stop the Water to drive his Mills; in which "Projects and buildings he employed all his leisure times, that he might over see

"the Workmen, and hasten them in their labour.

"Moreover, he was very diligent and zealous in erecting a great Church for the City of los Rejes, and Monafteries for the Orders of St. Domingo, and the Merceds; for a Revenue unto which, and to keep those Buildings in repair, he gave and set out Lands with Indians to manure them. Thus far Cavate.

In the following Chapter we shall declare what this Authour farther saith on this Subject, to which we shall add several other Excellencies of this Worthy Person, whose Praises we can never sufficiently extoll.

Kkkk

CHAP.

618

### CHAP. IX.

Of the affable Nature of the Marquis, and his Intentione to succour and relieve those whom he believed to he in want.

THE Marquis had one Son, and one Daughter, and no more, and Gonzalo Picarro, as we have mentioned in the 38th Chapter of his 9th Book, had one Son; but Carate makes them all three to be the Children of the Maronis. The Mother of the Son of the Marquis was Daughter, and not Sifter of Atahaalpa; but his Daughter he had by a Daughter of Huayna Capac, whose Indian Name was Huayllas Nusta, but afterwards her Christian Name was Donna Beatrix, as we have at large specified in the aforementioned Chapter.

And farther, this Authour confirms what we have formerly faid; namely that though these two Governours were so vastly rich, yet they died so poor, that of all their Wealth there was scarce sufficient to bury them. And indeed there was

nothing remaining, fo that they were buried of mere Charity.

Almagro was buried by one that had been his Slave, and the Marquis by ano ther, who had been his Servant, as the same Authour alledges. And those who carried both one and the other to their Burial, were Negros and Indians, as both Authours agree. And thus much shall suffice to shew in what manner the World rewards those who have been so usefull and deserving in their gene-

The Marquis was so generally kind and obliging in his carriage, that he never gave an ill word to any person whatsoever. When he plaid at Bowk, he never would fuffer any to give him up his Bowls from the ground; but in case any one was so courteous as to doe it, he would take it, and throw it instantly far from him, which went for a cast. It happened once, that taking up a Bovyl, he dired his hands with some filth which stuck to it, and presently lifting up his soot, he vviped it off with his Buskins: For I remember then, and many years after, that it was the fashion and gallantry of Souldiers to vvear a fort of Buskins made with Pack-thread, and not Shoes. On which occasion a certain Favourite to the Marquis feeing him to vyipe his hands on the Buskin, came and offered him his Handkerchief; to which the Marquis smilingly replied, I protest your Linen is so white, that I dare not touch it.

One day being at Bowls with a certain Souldier called Alonso Palomares, a wellconditioned Man, and of a chearfull humour; and the Marquis lofing almost at every end, he quarrelled and curfed at every cast which was plaid; and herein he was to eager and concerned that all the standers by took notice, that either he was troubled at his own ill play, or otherwise for the eight or nine thousand Crowns which he lost by the game. Some days passing, that the Marquis paid not the Money, the Winner took the confidence to ask him for it; and being askerwards troubled with the importunity, the Marquis forbad him to ask any more, for that he was resolved never to pay him: To which Palamares replied, If your Lordship be refolved never to pay me, what made you quarrel, and be so angry the other day, when you lost? The Marquis was so well pleated with the Answer, that he gave order he should be immediately paid. He would play at all Games, and with all sorts of Persons, and when he knew any one to be necessitous and wanting, he would invite him to play with him, with intention and purpose to lose to him, thinking it a more noble and generous way to relieve a person in want, than by direct Alms, which to a haughty Spaniard is a kind of an affront; but when he gains by advantage of play, he not onely rejoyces in the gain, but triumphs in the Honour of being a better Gamester than the Marquis, and to receive his Money rather as a due, than given as a favour. When he bowled with fuch persons as these, he would either cast short, or beyond, that the other might win. And when he plaid at Cards, at which his Game was commonly Primera; he would often vve with his worst Cards; and if he had the fortune to have Flush or Primera, he would further up his Cards, and not shew them, seeming to be angry or displeased at his ill luck; by fuch ways as these he gained himself so much good-will and affection. as were due to his Worthy and Heroick Merits.

Gomera treating of the Death of this Prince (nav more than a Prince; for, in reality. I know no title upon Earth fufficient to express the Grandure and Merits

of this Hero) faith that which follows in the Chapter 145.

" He was the Bastard Son of Gonzalo Picarro, Captain in Navarre, was born at " Truvillo, and laid in the Church Porch: he fucked a Sow for feveral days, till "another Nurse was provided for him. Afterwards his Father acknowledged him, and employed him in keeping Hogs, so that he was never educated in any learning. One day it happened, that the Flies did so bite the Hogs, that they " all ran away, and were loft; upon which he durft not return home again for fear, but attended some Travellers to Sevil, from whence he embarked himself "for the Indies; and being arrived at St. Domingo, he went with Alonfo de Hojeda
to Trana, and with Vafco Numez de Balboa, to discover the Sea of Sur, and "thence with Pedrarias to Panama; at length he discovered and conquered that "Countrey which they call Pern. &c. which are the very Words of this Authour.

Upon which one might make (if it were lawfull) many reflexions both in reference to him who wrote it, as well as to him who related it; for if the things had been true, yet it had not been convenient or decent to report such mean and low things of a Gentleman, whose Triumphs and great Actions he had wrote with such wonder and applause; much less was it fit to mention them, seeing

that they were doubtfull, and admitted onely of a probability.

I would know of him, who gave this relation, how he came to the knowledge of fuch particulars, which related to the Birth of a poor child, that was exposed in the Porch of a Church, and was fuckled by a Beaft, for want of a better Nurse? When things of this nature happen to the Sons of great Kings and Princes, it is difficult to learn the particular circumstances thereof; how much less of a poor boy thrown at a Church door? And then to fay, after he was acknowledged by his Father, that he was fent to keep Swine, must be a piece of envy and malice, and nothing elfe; for 'tis not probable that such a principal person as Gonzalo Picarro, Captain of his Majesty's Troops in Navarre, should fend his Son after he had acknowledged him to keep Swine. Nor is it probable that the Flies should take the Hogs in such manner as to make them stray, where they could never more be found; and therefore that he durst not return home for fear: To confute which, I have particularly enquired of some Paisants, or Countrey people, whose business it was to breed up Hogs, whether the Fly doth bite them at any time in fuch manner, as to cause them to stray abroad; and they have generally assured me, that fuch a thing cannot be.

But Envy in Countries where parties and factions prevail, doth often raife reports of this nature to eclipse the glory of Worthy Men; for finding they are not able to deny, or darken the lustre of their mighty Actions, which are manifest and apparent to all the World, as were those of the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro; they feign and invent some mean passages relating to their Birth and Education,

which being obscure, are not easily refuted.

The truth of all is this: The Marquis Don Francisco Picarro, who was Conquetour and Governour of that great Empire called Peru, was the Natural Son of his Father and Mother, and acknowledged by them at the instant of his Birth.

Afterwards his Father Captain Gonzalo Picarro Married her, who was Mother to our Marquis, and one by extraction of an ancient Family of Christians, unto a certain Countrey Farmer of good repute, called Goodman fuch a one-----of Alcantara, by whom he had a Son named Francisco Martin de Alcantara, whom Gomara faith was the half Brother to the Marquis Picarro, and was killed with the Marquis, as we have before declared.

Wherefore I conclude, that though such reports as these should have something of probable truth in them, yet they ought not to be related to the prejudice of fuch a Prince, whose fame may be equalized with those of highest renown. Book III

And fince we are not able to extoll his praifes to that degree which they deserve, we must refer the desect of our Expressions to be supplied by his own Acts and Conquests, which speak themselves. And so we shall pass forward in our History.

### CHAP. X.

Don Diego de Almagro Administers an Oath of Allegiance to all Officers, causing them to swear Fealty to him as Governour of Peru; and sends his Warrants into divers parts of the Kingdom, which are opposed and resisted.

HE Marquis being thus flain, as before related, caused chiefly by the over confidence of Francisco de Chaves; for had he shut the doors, as he was ordered, the Marquis, and fuch as were with him, might have had time to have armed themselves, whilst the Assassinates were employed in breaking open the doors; and perhaps in that manner they might have prevailed over their Firedoors; and perhaps in that manner they might have prevailed over their Enemies: For if the Marquis, and his Brotler, and two Pages, were able without their defensive Arms to kill four of those Ruffians, as some Authours report, besides those who were wounded by them; what may we imagine they would have done, had they been in a readiness, and well appointed? And had those who leaped out of the Windows stood to it, and Joyned with their Masters, is very probable they might have been able to have resisted, and overcome them; but when a mischief once comes with surprize, it is hardly prevented by humane Counsels. That Negro which Gomara says, vvas killed by these Villains, vvas one vylvo heating the buffle, came up the stairs to help his Master, or to dye with him; but turber the course to the door, he understood these he was breat killed. him: but when he came to the door, he understood that he was already killed: vyherefore he intended to have locked and barred the door, so as to have kept them in untill he could have called the Justice: But as the Negro vvas shutting and faltning the doors, one of the Affaffinates happened to come out, and gueffing at the intention of the Negro, fell upon him, and stabled him to death with his Dagger. There were seven killed on the side of the Marquis, amongst which the Servant of Chaves was one; foon after which the faction of Almagro went out into the Market-place, and published their Victory. This was the fate of that good Marquis, who perished rather by the negligence and obstinacy of his own People, than by the power and strength of his Enemies. Upon the news of his Death a great tunult was raifed through the whole City; fome cried out, they have wounded the King by the Death of the Marquis, others with a loud voice proclaimed, the Tyrant is dead, and the Murther of Almagro revenged. With this manner of noise and confusion many of these different parties, both of one fide and of the other, ran out from their Houses to savour their respective Factions; upon which quarrels and disputes several were killed and wounded; but so foon as it was known that the Marquis was killed, all his party retired, and the point was decided. Then those of Chili brought forth Don Diego Almagro, Junior, proclaiming him King of Pera. The tumult of that day being ceased, he was fivorn by the Corporation of that City to be Governour of that Country, none daring to contradict, or question, whatsoever that prevailing party required. In pursuance hereof, the late Ministers and Officers of Justice were all displaced, and others appointed in their fleads. The rich and powerfull Men were all imprifoned, and those of any Estates in los Reyes, which were ill affected, were all feized, and their Goods confiscated. Then they took all the Fifths belonging to the King, which being already gathered, amounted to a vast sum. In like manner all the Goods and Estates of such as were dead, or absent, and esteemed Maignants, or ill affected, were seized, and converted to the use of their own party, who being poor, (as we have before mentioned) had need thereof to repair their fortunes.

John de Rada was the Person nominated for General: John Tollo de Guzman. a Native of Sevike, and Francis de Chaves, a near Kinfman of the other Francis de Chaves, who was killed with the Marquis, were made Captains; for it is one of the effential miseries of Civil War for Brothers to fight against Brothers. Likewife Christopher Sorelo received a Commission to be a Captain, and others were nominated for other Offices. At the news of these alterations, all the idle Spaniand vagabonds, which were void of employment in Peru, came flocking to the City of los Reges; so that in a short time Almagro had composed an Army of more than eight hundred Men: In confidence of which force, he dispatched his Orders and Commands to Cozco, and all the Cities of Peru, namely to Arequepa, to the Charges, and to all places along the Sez-coast of Truxillo, and to the Inland Countries of the Chachapopas, to receive and acknowledge him for absolute Lord and Governour over all the Empire. One or two Cities complied and obeyed. rither out of fear than love, because they had not power to make resistence against fifty Men, which were fent against them; but other Cities resuled to submit, as will prefently appear.

It is a common phrase in the Language of Perm to say, Up the Coast, and down in Cast; not that upon the Sea, which is a Plain, there can be Up or Down; but it is a term used in the New Navigation, in respect to the South-wind which always blows Trade, or the same way in those Seas, Panama lying to Lee ward of Perm; so on the contrary those who Sail from Panama to Perm must turn to

Wind-ward, which is, as it were, up-hill, as the other is down.

John de Rada, as we have faid, having had a great hand in the late Revolution, wok upon him to Issue out all Commissions in the Name of Almagro, without communicating the sense or substance thereof to his other Companions, who had been equally concerned with him in the Murther of the Marquis; which was the cause of much spleen and malice amongst the principal Men, so that they began to bandra amongst themselves, and contrive ways in what manner to kill him.

The Plot being discovered, Francisco de Chaves endured the Wrack, and afterwards was hanged, being the Ring-leader of this Conspiracy; several others were likewise for the same cause put to death, amongst which Amonio de Oribuela, a Native of Salamanca, was one, though lately come from Spain, having on the way from thence said, that the party which now ruled were a company of Tyrants; after which rash saying, he was ill advised to adventure his life in their hands.

Garia de Alvarado was one of those Officers whom Almagro employed to take possession of Towns and Plantations for his use, and to levy Souldiers, and to plunder Horses, and to disarm all those of the contrary party who had command over Indians, or any power, being esteemed for Enemies to the Government. Accordingly he went to Truxillo, where he discharged Diego de Mora from being Judge of that place, though he had been deputed in that Office by Don Diego de Almagro; but having kept a correspondence with Monso de Alvarado, who was of the contrary saction, he was esteemed for one disaffected, and not sit for that employment.

In the City of St. Michel he put Francisco de Vozmediano, and Hernando de Villegas, to death, belides other Outrages: And in Huanneu he killed Alonso de Cabrera, who had once been Steward to Francisco Piçarro, because he had made a party to

joyn together, and fly to the King's Forces.

Another instrument or Officer they had procured, named Diego Mendez, who went to the Town of Plate in the Charcas, which they found without people, because they had all dispersed themselves by several ways to meet at Cozco, and to declare for the King, as will presently appear. Howsoever, Diego Mendez took great quantities of Gold in that Town, which the Spaniards had with privity of the Indians hidden and concealed; but such was the cowardise of that poor-spirited people, that upon the least threat they immediately made a discovery.

Moreover, he made a feizure of fixty thousand Pelos of refined Silver, digged from the Mines of del Porco, for as yet those of Porcos were not discovered; and conflicated to the use of Almagro all the Indians Riches and Wealth, which belonged to the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro, which amounted to a vast sum: the like he did of the Plantations of Captain Diego de Rojus, of Perançurez, of Graviel

de

de Rojas, of Garcilasso de la Vega, and of all other the Inhabitants of that Town, whom he knew well affected to the party of Picarro.

Another Messenger was sent into the Province of Chachapuyas, which Alons do Albarrado had kept in peace and quiet; and who having feen and read the Declaration of Don Diego, which promifed great rewards to fuch as obeyed him, and threatned fuch as opposed him; he notwithstanding seized on the Messenger, and persuaded a hundred that were with him to follow him and serve his Majesty; to which they having yielded a chearfull affent, he declared for the King, and fet up which they having yielded a chearfull affent, he declared for the King, and fet up his Standard. And though Almagro wrote him very kind Letters, endeavouring to allure him to his party; he refused all his Offers, protefting, that he would never own or acknowledge him for Governour, untill such time as he had feen his Majesty's express Commission, and Commands for the same; which as he knew his Majetty would never grant, to he did not doubt, but with the help of God, and the Valour of his Souldiers, to revenge the bloud of the Marquis, and punish the contempt which he had put on the Authority of his Majesty. All which Alvarado adventured to fav and act, trufting to the advantage of the fituation of that Country, which, as we have faid in feveral places, was very Mountainous; by help of which, he hoped to fecure his small force, untill such time as recruits and greater numbers of those who were *Picarrifts* could come in to joyn with him; being well affured that all that party, and the people inhabiting along the Coast, would readily affist, and serve the Emperour. Where now we will leave them for a while to treat of others, who followed the same course.

The Officers and Instruments of Almagro, which were dispatched with his Commission to Cozco, durst not proceed with the like rigour there, as in other places; for they well knew, that as there were many well-affected persons in that City, so those, who were rich and principal Men there, and had power over the Indians, were all devoted to the fervice of his Majesty. And that the contrary party consisted onely of some poor, indigent Souldiers, and such as were newly come into that Countrey, who hoped by fuch disturbances and alterations to make their fortunes. Those who were the Chief Justices at that time in the City were Digo de Silva, (whom we have formerly mentioned under the Name of the Son of Feliciano de Silva, a Native of the City of Rodrigo,) together with Francis de Carva-

jal, who afterwards was Major-General to Gonzalo Picarro.

These persons having seen the Orders, did not think fit to irritate the contrary party by a flat and down-right denial of all compliance; but having consulted the Jurats, and the Community of the City Council, returned answer, That in an Act of fuch great weight and importance, it was necessary that Don Diego should fend a more ample power than that which he had already done, which seemed short and defective in many particulars; upon tender of which they promised to receive him for their Governour: But this was said, not with any intention to comply, but onely to amuse them, and spin out time untill they could unite their forces, which were, for the most part, dispersed in their possessions, and employed in the Gold Mines, of which most of the Inhabitants of that City of Cozco had fome shares allotted to them.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XI.

What the Inhabitants of Cozco acled in order to the Kino's Service. What also was done in favour of Don Diego. Vaca de Castro nominated in Spain for Judge to determine the quarrels and differences in Peru.

Omez de Tordoja, who was a principal Citizen, and Chief of the Common Commission of that Corporation, was not then present, when the Orders and Commission of Almago were brought to Cozzo, having been in the Country for fivor seven days to divertise himself with Hawking and other sports; so soon as he had read the Letters which advised him of the Tragical Death of the Marquis, for whom he conceived a particular efteem, being his particular Friend and Confident, he was much grieved, and shrinking up his shoulders, turned his head toward the Hawk he carried, faying, It is now more feafonable for us to prepare for War, with Fire and Sword, than to attend to our foots, and our Countrey tora War, with Fire and Sword, than to attend to our sports, and our Countrey recrations; for being a judicious Man, he well forefaw all those miseries and calmids, cruel deaths and revolutions, which would be the certain consequences of the late succession. Hereupon he immediately returned to the City, and not to give any occasion of jealousse or offence to the contrary party, he came in by night; and having discoursed with several of the Corporation, he told them, that k was necessary to convene the people of Arequepa, of the Charcas, and of the part lying Southward from Cozco, and to assemble the Spaniards, which were dispersed about the Countries: To which end he advised them to dispeed Messengers, of which he offered himself for one. This resolution being taken, he depaned that very night from Cozco, and went in fearch of Captain Nunno de Castro, who then resided at his Plantation, which was about fisteen or twenty Leagues from the City, where being arrived, they both dispatched Messengers to Pedro de August, and to Garcilasso de la Vega; and having informed them of the late successive, they required them as good and loyal Subjects, to repair to Cozco, there to Paform fuch Services as their duty to his Majesty required. After these Messages vere dispatched, Gomez de Tordoya went in all haste to seek out for Captain Pewere comparence, Gomes de Tordoya went in all halte to teek out for Captain Peter Rolgein, who with a hundred Spaniards was marched to the East of Colla to conquer the Indians of those parts, who as yet had not been subdued; and travelling with all diligence and haste, at length he over-took him, and gave him a relation of the Death of the Marquis, and how Don Diego de Almago pretended to govern the Empire. Wherefore he desired him to take this business to heart, and to increase himself for the in this series of Cod and the View are to become and to interest himself so far in this service of God and the King, as to become Captain and Chief Leader of the people, who had joyned in this League and Association together; and farther to oblige him, he offered to serve under him in quality of the meanest of his Souldiers.

Print Alvarez being sensibly touched with the Justice of the cause, and pleased with the Honour so freely offered to him, accepted the Command and Charge, and immediately fet up a Standard for his Majesty, sending Messengers to the Charcu, and to Arequepa, to publish his Declaration, containing his Reafons and Intention of this War; fairther giving them to understand, that he would march sair and softly with the people that were with him towards Groot, that so those who were in the rere might have time to come up and joyn with him before he entred the Cim. the City. The Countrey was by this time all in an uproar upon the confused report of the Death of the Marquis; so that the Messengers sent to Arequepa, and the Charcas met the people already on the way coming to joyn with Pedro Alvaree Holguin, and accordingly the several Bodies being united, their Numbers amounted unto almost two hundredMen. The news of their March being known at Cozco, allarum'd the Almagrian Faction in such manner, that about fifty of them

BookIII

fearing some rigorous punishment for their demerit, stole secretly out of the Town by night, and fled, with intention to joyn with Don Diego; but of this number by light, and red, with interior of Note or Quality amongst them. Captain Namo de Castro, and Captain Hernando Bachicao having notice hereof, pursued them with twenty Harquebusiers, which beating up their Quarters in the Night, by surprise took and brought them back again to the City without any hurt or other mic. took and brought them back again to the City without any nurt or other michief. In the mean time Alvarez Holgnin, with his Souldiers, arrived at the City, to whom also many principal persons of condition slocked from all parts, and were received by the Corporation of the City with much joy and contentment. After which, their first business was to Elect a General, for Alvarez Holgnin having performed that charge hitherto, was defirous to be difmiffed from that Of fice. In this point therefore was fome diversity in Opinions, which occasioned delay; not that any Emulations or Parties obstructed the progress of affairs, but the many persons, which for their Quality and Abilities were deserving of that Honour, caused the Election to be with more difficulty determined. At length by the common consent of all those in the City, the choice fell upon Pedro Alvarez Holenin, who was accordingly Iworn Captain-General, and Chief Jufficiary of Pern. untill his Majesty's farther pleasure should be known therein. The which Act was legally done, for it was in the power of the Government of this City (as the Head of the Empire) to nominate a Chief, with other Officers both Military and Civil, whenfoever the lawfull Magistrates should fail, and the fame fo to continue, untill his Majelly. flould confirm them, or Commissionate others. Gomez de Tordoja was appointed for Lieutenant-General, Garçilass de la Vega, and Pedro de Ingures, were made Captains of Horle, Numo de Cafro, and Hernando de Bachicao Captains of Foot, and Martin de Robles was appointed Enfige to carry the Royal Standard.

Hereupon War was declared against Diego de Almagro, and the Citizens of Cozco obliged themselves to make good unto his Majesty whatsoever divare. Holgain should expend in prosecution of this War out of the Royal Exchequer in case his Majesty should not allow the same: To the performance of which, not onely the Citizens of Cozco, but the Inhabitants of Charcas and Arequepa did bind both their Persons and Estates; and such was the chearfulness and affection towards his Majefty's Service, that in a short time they composed a Body of three hundred and fifty, all choice and felect Men, both Officers and Souldiers; of which number there were about a hundred and fifty Horfe, a hundred Harquebusiers, and the rest Pikemen. In the mean time News came to Alvarez Holgnin, that Moss as Alvarado had set up his Standard for the Emperour in the Chachapuna, which occasioned great joy, because they greatly seared, that all that Countrey from Rimage to Quite was well affected to Almagro. Much about the same time likewise in telligence came, that Don Diego was marching towards Cozco with an Army of a bove eight hundred Men, with intention to give them Battel; which being confidered at a Council of War, it was agreed not to flay, and expect his coming to Coxeo, but to march forth and joyn with Alonfo de Alvarado; and that passing by way of the Mountains and narrow places, they might easily avoid the Engagement with Almagro, until they were better recruited, and reinforced by fuch as were loyal and well-affected to their cause, which (as they were advised) were conting to them from all parts, by fecret ways of Woods and Mountains. With this refolution they departed from  $0\infty$ , leaving such behind as were useless, and not fit for service; and that the City might still keep a face of being theirs, Officers were appointed to maintain the Government, and distribute Justice. In their March they used all due caution, sending their Scouts before to discover the Enemy, red folving to avoid fighting with Almagro, unless they could surprize him with ad-

In the mean time, whilft things were thus ordered in Cozco, Almagro and his Complices were not idle or negligent in the City of los Reyes, where they received fecret intelligence of all that passed at Cozco, and how they intended to march by way of the Mountains to joyn with Alonso de Alvarado, and with his to strengthen their Forces, which as yet were not sufficient to give him Battel. Upon these Advices Almagro, with concurrence of his Captains, refolved to meet them; and in order thereunto he recalled Captain Garçia de Alvarado, who was bufily employed along the Coast of Truxillo, levying Men, and providing Hories and Arms for this service: And though he intended to have fallen upon Alonso de Alvarado,

who was then in Chachapuyas, because he believed himself to have an advantage who was their in having been re-manded by Orders from Almagro, he obeyed them, and relinquished his design. Garçia de Alvarado being returned, Almagro departed from los Reyes, and marched towards Cozco with intention to fight Alvarez Holeuin, the force of Almagro confifted of three hundred Horse well appointed, of an hundred and twenty Harquebusiers, and about a hundred and fixty Pikemen. which being almost fix hundred, were all choice and approved Men; amongst which there were many Persons of great Quality, and rich, whom Almagro had seized. when he killed the Marquis.

And left after his departure any party should make an Insurrection against him, and serve him, as those who were Enemies to his Father had done to him, he took Order to fend all the Children of the Marquis, and of Gonzalo Picarro, out of the Countrey. And now first to find out whether the Marquis had left any secret Treasure, not discovered, he put the Question to Antonio Picado, Secretary to the Marguis, upon the Rack; and not being able to extort any thing from him, he fent him to the Gallows, and hanged him up; and so he paid the Medal with his awa Coin, which he had stamped for the Faction of Chili. After which he awa Com, which he had hamped for the Paction of Come. After which he narched towards Cocco, keeping in his way due martial Discipline and Order with much severity; where we shall leave both him, and Alvarez Holgain, to render maccount of what his Imperial Majesty ordained in Spain; after he had understood the great Commotions which had happened in Peru until the Death of Dan Diego de Almagro the Elder.

To appeale which, and to examine the true state of all matters, his Maiestv was pleased to give Commission to Dr. Vaca de Castro, one of His, Privy Council. to examine all matters concerning the Death of Don Diego de Almagro, Without making any alteration in the Power and Government of the Marquis, but in case the Marquis should be dead before his Arrival, then by a provisional Commission he was conflituted Governour in his place. This worthy Person (for so his Action they him) was a Native of the City of Lean, and of the Families of the Vaund Caffre, and Quintones, which are noble Houses, amongstomany others which flourish in that Royal City.

Kusa de Castro embarked at Sevil for Pern, and after many Difficulties and formy Weather, to which that Northern Sea is fubject, he arrived at Nombre de Dios much later than was expected, from whence he went to Panama, where he again emarked for Pern, upon a Ship not so well provided for such a Voyage, as was requifite, especially fince it was to execute a Commission of such great importance, so the Ship being defective, had not proceeded many Leagues on her Voyage, before the was detained on the Coast by contrary Winds; by force of which having loft one of her Anchors, the was carried by the Current into that Bay which is called the Bay or Gulf of Gozgons, which is a bad place, and very hard for any Sup to get out, which is bound to Perm Wherefore Vica do Cafire encouraged the Mariners to use all the diligence they were able, but finding all ineffectual. and to little purpose, he resolved to go by Land, fince he could not avail to go by Sea. But the Journey was long, difficult and tedious, by reason of the craggy Mountains, the great Rivers and Defarts which they were to pass, with want of those Provisions which were good and wholsome. This long delay gave opporunity to Almagro to revenge the Death of his Father, of which he was impatient, feeing that the Juftice which His Majefty had promifed was fo long deferred.

At length, after various chances of a difficult Journey, Judge Vaca de Caftro came to the Frontiers of Quint, where Pedro de Pueller relided in Quality of Demote the first of the Control of the

puty to Gonzalo Pigarro. So foon as he found himself within the Limits of his own Countrey, and had been rightly informed of all matters which had passed in Peru, and of the Practices and Deligns of the leveral Factions, he wrote unto all pans, giving them advice of his Arrival, and of the Commission he brought with him from His Majesty; by virtue of which he required them to receive him for their Governour. And whereas he had thereby a power to substitute other Officers, he dispatched his Commissions to all the Cities of Peru, constituting such Men Judges thereof, who (as he was informed) were moderate Perfons, and nor interefted or engaged in either party.

#### CHAP. XII.

The People of Rimac, and other parts, receive Vaca de Castro for Governour. Peralvarez, and his Complices. contrive a Strategeme of War against Almagro, and join with Alonfo de Alvarado.

A Monght the Commissions which Judge Vaca de Castro dispatched to several places; that for the City of Los Reyes was directed to Friar Thomas de St. Martin, Provincial of the Order of the Dominicans, and to Francis de Barionnevo, and to Geronimo de Aliaga, giving them power and authority to superintend the Government of that City, and of the parts thereunto belonging, untill he himself

arrived there in Person.

These Commissions were brought and delivered in the Convent of St. Dominico. some few days after the departure of Almagro, and in the absence also of the Father Provincial, whom Almagro had carried with him, to countenance his Enterprife with the prefence of fuch a Person. Howsoever the Mayor and Aldermen of the City affembled in the night, and having opened the Commission, they with common consent obeyed it, and received Vaca de Castro for Governour of that Empire, and Geronimo de Aliaga to be his Deputy, as the Commission specified. So foon as the Citizens had passed this Act, they fled to Truxillo; fearing the return of Almaero, who as yet was not advanced fo far on his march, but that upon the News of this Revolution he was ready to have returned with full intent to avenge this fudden defertion on the City with Fire, and Sword, and other Cruelties; but then fearing left this delay should give an advantage to Alvarez Holgain, he refolved to proceed, and to pursue his Design, which vvas of greatest importance. Hovvsoever in the Execution thereof many cross and unfortunate Accidents occurred; for fo foon as it was known in the Army, that a Govern nour from His Majesty vvas arrived in the Countrey, many of the principal Men revolted, and deferted him; amongst vvhich vvere the Father Provincial, John de Saavedra, the Agitant Yllen Snarez de Carvajal, de Agnero, and Gomez de Alvarado. Hovvloever in despight of all these discouragements Almagro resolutely pursued his Point and Delign, though to his great difappointment and prejudice his Lieutenant General, John de Rada, fell fick, by reason of vehich he veas greatly confused vvithin himself vvhat course to take; for in case he lest him behind, he yvas in danger of falling into the Hands of the Enemy, nor did the Extremity of his Sicknets admit of any motion; hovvfoever for his fake he leffened his days journies, and marched very foftly, knovving that his principal bufiness was to overthrovy Alvarez Holenin.

Pedro Alvarez being informed that the Enemy vvas dravving near, to vvhom his Force vvas much inferiour, he thought it no vviie prudent to adventure the fuccels of Affairs on the hazard of a Battel, confidering that the substitute of his Army vvas of great importance to the Service of his Majesty; vvheresore to supply that vvhich vvas vvanting in strength by some Strategeme of War, it yvas agreed by a Council of War, to detach a Body of tyventy choice Horse to ferve for Scouts, and to use all their endeavours to take some of the Souldiers of Almagro, vvhich accordingly happened out; for these Horse took three Spies belonging to the Enemy, which being brought to Alvarez, he hanged up two of them, and the third he faved, making him great promifes of Revvard for the fu-ture, and in hand bestovyed on him three thousand Pefor of Gold, conditionally, that he should return to the Camp of Almagro, and there persuade several of those vvhom he knevv to be vvell affected to him, to revolt from Almagro, and affilt him in the Fight, for that he defigned the next day, by twilight of the morning to affault the Army of Almagro on the East-fide of the Camp, which, by reason

that it bordered on the Skirts of the fnovvy Mountain, he imagined vvould be the worst guarded, and that therefore little or no provision would be made on that part against any Attempt. And farther they gave him instructions to affire fuch Friends as should join herein of the same Rewards; and should be more amply repaid according to those great Services, which thereby they would perform to the Emperour, his King and Mafter; and to fecure the Souldier's Faith in this matter, they tendered an Oath to him, whereby they caused him to swear never to discover this secret to any person whatsoever, saying, that having esteemed him for a good Friend they had entrusted to him the greatest secret in the World. The for a good triend they had childred to find the greater letter in the World. The Souldier returning, told his Story, how that his two Companions were langed by the Enemy, and he alone was faved and fet at Liberty, upon which Almagro reflecting a while, imagined that fome use was to be made of this Souldier, who without any apparent reason was better treated than the other; to discover which he feized on the Souldier, and put him to the torment. The Souldier being on the Rack, confessed the secret committed to him, and how Peralvarez designed to attack him on the Quarter which was next to the fnowy Mountain, by reason that that fide being effeemed almost inacceffible, would lie the most open and undefended. By which Confession Almagro finding that the Souldier intended to act in a trea-cherous manner against him, gave order to have him hanged. Howsoever giving some credit to his Words, he fortisted that side of his Camp, which bordered towards the fnowy Mountain, where for the space of three days he endured much old; howfoever by these means Alvarez got the start, and marched at a good diflance before him; Almagro followed him for fome Leagues, but finding that it was impossible to overtake him, he returned into the high Road, which leads to Coro. Alvarez proceeding on the way he intended, joined his Forces with those of Alonfo de Atvarado, at which meeting there was great joy and triumph, because that the greatest number of them consisted of such as had entred that Countrey with Don Pedro de Alvarado, which was the first original of Friendship and Associ-

ation which was commenced between them.

These Forces being thus joined, Letters were written by common consent to the Judge Vaca de Castro, giving him to understand of all matters that were past, and deliring him to haften with speed to them, for that his presence was necessary in that conjuncture for better countenance of their Affairs. So foon as these Letters came to hand, Castro de Vaca hastened to the City of Anius to recruit his People with the Forces which were in that place. When he came near, Lorenzo de Aldam, who was Lieutenant Governour for the Marquis in Anius, went forth to meet and receive him, as did also Pedro de Puelles, who was the Deputy of Gonzalo Pi-caro, and Captain Pedro de Vergara, not to be faulty or remiss in paying the same refrect, though otherwise employed in the Conquest of that Province, which is called Pacamuru, and by the Spaniards Bracamoros, went also to receive Judge Paca de Castro; and deserted the place, which he had already fortified, that he might be better enabled to defend himself, and fend his Forces against Almagro; but before Vaca de Caftro thought fit to leave Quitu, he dispatched Pedro de Puelles before to Truxillo, to make such provisions in that City, and in the Countrey thereabouts, as the War required. He likewise dispatched orders to Gomez de Rojas, a Native of Guellar, to repair with his Forces in all diligence to Cozco, and there to persuade the People to receive him for Governour; who accordingly made such speed, that he arrived at Cozco before Almagro, who was detained in his way by the fickness of John de Rada, who dyed afterwards in that Province. Gomez de Rojas was well received in Cozco, and his Orders and Instructions obeyed, and accordingly Castro was acknowledged for Governour; for that City remained loyal and obedient to His Majesty in such manner as it had been left by Alvarez Holguin. In the mean time Vaca de Castro departed from Quitu, and went to Truxillo, and by the way was met with many Noble Persons, who had been dispersed about the Countries, and by many Souldiers, who being defirous to ferve His Majesty, went forth to receive him. Pedro Alvarez, and his people, who then refided at Truvillo, agreed to fend two persons to meet him on the way, and in the name of them, and of the whole City, to make tender of their Obedience and Service to him, as Governour by Commission from His Majesty, by which Title we shall distinguish him hereaster; the Persons nominated for Envoyes on this occasion were Gomez de Tordoja, and Garcilasso de la Vega; with sight of whom the Governour was greatly rejoiced, being much encouraged to fee his party daily encrease to such numbers, that when L1112

620

he entered Truxillo, he brought with him above 200 Souldiers, befides feweral which fled from Almagra, amongst which the principal Persons were the Father Provincial, Then Sauera de Carvajal, Gomez de Alvarado, John de Sauvedra, and Diego de Aguero.

Being arrived at Truxillo, he was received with fuch folemnity as was due to a Governour, that is, in a military pomp, with found of Drums, and Trumpets, and Vollies of Shot; for as yet matters were in a state of War, and not prepared for a reception according to the formalities of Peace.

#### CHAP. XIII.

The Governour makes choice of Captains. Sends his Army before. Provides all things necellary for the service of His Majesty. Christopher de Sotelo is killed by Garcia de Alvarado: and Garcia de Alvarado by Don Diego de Almagro.

PEdro Alvarez Holguin, and his Captains and Souldiers, who had professed Submission and Lovalty to the Governour in his absence, did now upon his arrival testifie their actual Obedience by a publick Declaration in Writing, under their hands, and folemnly refign the Command and Power of the Army into his hands, the Captains and Officers delivering up their Commissions, and laying their Enfigns at his Feet; the like was followed by the Governours and Justices of the City of Truxillo, all which the Governour received in fuch manner as was fitting and renewed them again in the name of His Majesty, confirming every person in his Office, either Civil or Military, respectively as before. He gave six Commissions to Captains of Horse, namely, to Pedro Alvarez Holgain, Alons de Alvarado, Pedro Anzures, Gomez de Alvarado, Garcilasso de la Vega, and to Pedro de Puelles. The Captains of Harquebusiers were Pedro de Vergara, Nunno de Castro, and John Velez de Guevara, who was a Scholar, as well as a Souldier, and fuch a Mechanick, that he directed the making all the Musquets for his own Company, and was so active and industrious, that he divided his time between Letters and Arms in fuch manner, that both in this present state of Affairs, as also on occasion of the Troubles caused by Goardo Piçarro, as we shall hereafter relate, he was ordained and constituted in quality of a Judge; so that all the morning, until noon, he clothed himself in the Robes of a Lawyer, in which he heard Causes, and determined Differences; then afterwards in the afternoon he changed his Habit to appear like a Souldier, with Breeches and Dublet of divers colours, richly embrodered with Gold, and very gallant with his plume of Feathers; and buckling on his Coat of Mail, with his Musquet on his Shoulder, trained his Souldiers in shooting, and other Exercises of War. Thus far are the Words of Carate in the 15th Chap. ter of his 4th Book; by which it appears, that the same Person may be both? Souldier and a Scholar; and the Qualities of one so confistent with that of the other, as to be both usefull in their proper times and seasons. But to proceed.

Hernando Bachicao was named for Captain of the Pikemen, and Francis de Carvajal was made Sergeant Major, who was afterwards Major-General to Gonzalo Pigarro. Gomez de Tordoya was made Lieutenant General; and the Royal Standard he referved for himself, with which he performed the Office of General. Thus having fetled his Forces, he dispeeded them before him, under command of their respective Officers, which in all composed an Army of 700 Men, of which 370 were Harquebusiiers, 160 Pikemen, and the rest were Horse. Pedro de Puelles Was commanded to march before, with a Detachment of thirty Horse, to discover the Enemy and other Obstructions in the way; having Instructions to go by way of the Mountain, but not to pass Saussa; but there to expect the coming up of the Main Body, because their resolution was to march along the coast to the City of Los Reyes. In the mean time Diego de Mora was appointed Deputy Governour, and Commander in Chief of the Forces which remained behind-

Royal Commentaries.

Matters being in this manner disposed, the Governour marched to the City of Tot Refer, where he received into his Possession, and under his Command the Arms, and Souldiers, which flocked to him from all parts; and having left Francife Barionievo his Deputy in that place, and made and confituted four Perez de Guevara Admiral of the City, he parted thence to Sanfia, to follow his Army; leaving Orders, that in case Don Diego de Almagro should come to the City of Los Rices, that Captain Perez de Guevara, and his Deputy Barionnevo, should take care nembark on board the Ships then in Port all the Women and Children, and infirm and useless People, that so they might not fall into the hand of the Enemy to be ill treated by them; and that upon advice thereof, he would march to their

Relief. But let us here leave him in his way, to treat of what in the mean time paffed amongst the Almagrians in Cozco; where Discord was not satisfied with the fire of Diffention, blown into a Flame between the two Parties; but Emulation and Favy stirred up Strife in those of the same side, which proceeded to effusion of the Bloud of those who were of the chiefest Rank and Quality amongst them. For Almagro marching towards Cozco, made choice of Christopher de Sotelo, and Gartis de Alvarado, for his Counfellours, and chief Confidents, in the place of John de Rada, who (as we have faid) dyed on the way, and gave to them the chief Authority and Command in the Army. Christopher de Sorelo was dispeeded before to Com, with a certain number of choice Men, to take possession of that City, and to reduce all things to the Service and Devotion of Almagro, that when he arrived there, he might be received without any opposition. Sotelo accordingly performed his Orders, finding no Force to make refiftence against him; so that without any difficulty he removed all the Officers of Justice, which Pedro Alvarez had ordained there, and supplied their places with others of his own party. Moreover he gathered all the Provisions he was able from the parts round about, that when the Enemy came near, they might perish with Want and Famine. Soon after which Almagro arriving at Cocco, made great quantities of Gunpowder, of the strongest and finest fort, by means of the Salt-Petre, which in those parts is better than any in Peru; and by the help and art of certain Levantines, (the Greeks focalled in the Indies,) he cast several pieces of Cannon, of which People many came into those parts out of good-will and respect unto Pedro de Candia, who having (as we mentioned before) been disobliged by Picarro, followed afterwards the Party of Almagro; that Countrey abounding with Copper, and other Metalls, fit for making Cannon, they founded many Pieces, the Command of which was given to Pedro de Candia, with Title of Master of the Artillery. In like manner the Greeks, with the affiftence of the Indian Silver-smiths, made many Helmets. and Corflets of Silver, mixed with Copper, which proved admirably good. The Prince Manco Inca, who had for long time voluntarily banished himself into the Mountains, calling to mind the ancient Friendship he had entertained with Almagro the Father, was pleased to revive the same by his kindness to the Son, which he knew not in what other manner to testifie in his low condition, then by prefenting unto him the Coats of Mail, Armour, Swords, and Saddles; which had been the Spoils which the Indians had taken from the Spaniards, whom they had killed, during the Siege of Cozco; of which there was a sufficient quantity to arm two hundred Men.

But whilst matters succeeded thus prosperously on the side of Almagro, above his hopes and expectations, an unhappy controversie fell out between Christopher de Sotelo, and Garcia de Alvarado, who being the Chief Commanders, and leading Men of the Army, proved very unfortunate, confidering the circumftances of Af-fairs which at that time required Union and Communication of Counfels, when on the contrary whatfoever was proposed by one, was difliked and opposed by the other; and in this manner Malice boiled in each other's Breast to such a de gree, that one day being together in the Market-place, and happening to quarrel about a trivial matter, Garcia de Alvarado killed Christopher de Sotelo; and whereas these two were the Chief Commanders of the Army, they could not want friends on each fide to maintain the Quarrel; fo that many coming in to interest themfelves as feconds in that Rencounter, much Bloud had certainly been shed, had not Almagro interposed, and with fair and gentle Words appealed the Tumult, which

Book III

was raifed between the different Factions. Howfoever he could not forhear to refers the Death of Christopher de Sotelo, who was a person of an obliging deport-ment towards him, and ever forward to persorm his Commands; but as yet it was requifite to diffemble, and referve the punishment till a more feasonable occasion. Notwithstanding which Almago knew not how to conceal his Anger so well, but that Alvarado suspected his evil Intentions towards him; and considering that no gentle remedy offered, or could possibly be applyed, wherewith he might fosten his mind, and reconcile his Affections, but that he would sooner or later take his revenge, he concluded that the onely means to fecure his own fafety, was to kill Almagro, designing by his bloud to make a facrifice of Atonement to the Governour, whereby to obtain pardon for himfelf, and his Complices; and having confulted hereupon with some of his Friends and Confidents; the means agreed to compast this defign, was to invite Almago to a folemn Banquet, at which being prefent, and without suspition in his House, he might set upon him, and kill him. Accordingly an invitation was made unto Almagro, who to avoid the appearance of all fulpition and Jealousie relating to what he feared, he accepted the Offer: The day being come, and he more confirmed in the certainty of what he formerly suspected, seigned himself sick, and much indisposed; and unsit to be present at a Banquet. And here Carate proceeds on his story, and says,

Garcia de Alvarado finding himfelf disappoi ited, after he had disposed and prepared all matters in order to the execution of his Defign, determined to go with a great Train of Friends to importune Almagro to accept the Invitation; and being on his way thither, he met with Martin Carillo, and told him where he was going, to which he made answer, that in his opinion, he did not doe well. being affured that he would be there killed; another Souldier also confirmed the fame, all which was not sufficient to diffuade him to the contrary; so in he went to the Chamber, where he found Almagro lying on his Bed, having fecretly conveyed certain armed Men into an inner Room. So foon as Alvarado and his Complices came in , Come my Lord, faid he, arife, and give not may to 4 dittle Indifeptition, it will be good for you to walk, and divertife your felf; and they for the thing the first the would go, and arifing called for his Cloak, for he was laid on the Bed in his Wastecoat, with his Sword and Dagger; and being about to go forth, the People in the room went out first, and just as Alvarada, who was immediately before Almagro, was ready to go out, John de Rada, who kept the door, clapt it to on a sudden, and then closing with Garcia de Alvarada, Tou are my Prisoner, faid he; with which Almagro drawing his Sword, ran him through the Body, saying, Ton are not onely a Prisoner, but a dead Man; with which John Bassa, Alonso de Saavedra, Diego Mendez, Brother of Rodrigo Orgomor, and others, which lay concealed in the inner Room, rushed forth, and eave and others, which lay concealed in the inner Room, rushed forth, and gave him fo many wounds, as deprived him of his Life. The news hereof being reported abroad, began to cause great Tumults in the City, but Almagro appealed all with his presence, so that the mischief proceeded no farther, onely the " Complices of Alvarado thereupon fled to the Governour. Thus far Carate; the which is confirmed by Lopez de Gomara. The name of the Souldier which Carate fays, advited Alvarado not to goe, was Angustine Salado. And whereas it is said, that John de Rada was he who shut the Door, is a mistake, and slip of the pen, for as is before mentioned, he dyed at Saussa; but he who clapt the door to was Peter de Onnate, for which piece of Service 10 opportunely performed, Almaero made him his Lieutenant General.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XIV.

Don Diego de Almagro marches forth to meet the Governour; and Gonzalo Picarro, after having palled most incredible Difficulties, finds his way out of the Cinnamon Countrey.

Some days after that matters were quieted, which had been put into a fermentation and diffurbance by the Death of tation and disturbance by the Death of Alvarado. Almagro resolved to proceed with his Army against the Governour Vaca de Castro, who, as he had received intelligence, was departed from the City of Los Rejes, to meet and fight him. On which occasion Almagro resolved to give him to understand, that he did not fear his Force, esteeming himself the more formidable of the two; for that his Souldiers, being feven hundred Spaniards in number, were all brave and flour fellows; amongst which two hundred were Harquebusiers, two hundred and fifty Pikemen, and of them many armed with Halberds, the rest consisted of two hundied and fifty Horsemen, all armed with Coats of Mail, and Back and Breast of tron, many of which were made by themselves; and, as Gomana said in Chapter 149, were better Men, and better armed than any of those belonging to the Armies either of his Father, or of Piçarro. Moreover, he had a great Train of Artillery, to which he trusted very much, besides a number of Indians, &cc. These are the Words of Gomara, to which he farther adds, That John Balfa was his General, and Peter d'Onate his Lieutenant-General.

With these Souldiers, and with these Provisions and Equipage Almaero marched to meet and give Battel to the Governour, Vaca de Castro, and having proceeded fifty Leagues, he entred into the Province of Villea, where he received informa-

tion, that the King's Army was thirty Leagues distant from thence.

But let us for a while make a digression from both these Parties, and return to Gonzalo Pigarro, whom with his Companions we left engolfed in the most inextricable Difficulties and Necessities, which humane Nature was capable to sustain; for they were to contend with deep and rapid Rivers, with Bogs and moorish Grounds, which were unpaffable; and were to travel over Mountains of incredible height, on which grew Trees of an immense magnitude, as Gomara in the end was one of the Discoverers, and who having related what had befaln him in those parts, concludes at length with the strange Prodigies of that Countrey, of which he gives a Narrative in these following Words.

" The Discoverers brought with them the bark of certain Trees, which seemed to be Cinnamon, and the Skin of a Beast which put its young ones into its Breaft; and they related for a strange Story, that they had feen Trees which ", fixteen Men could not fathome, or encompass with their Armes, &c.

But besides the many Difficulties with which Gonzalo Pigarro and his Companions were to struggle, the most irresistible of all was Hunger, that grievous and cruel Enemy of Man and Beast, which hath been so satal to both in that uninhabited Countrey. We have faid before that Gonzalo Picarro resolved to return unto Peru, and therefore leaving the River, he took his way Northward, and paffed through Lands and Mountains no less difficult than the former, being forced to open a way and path with Bills and Hatchets, and to feed upon Herbs and Roots, and wild Fruit; which were so scarce, that when any plenty thereof happened, they esteemed themselves fortunate in that Days journey; when they came to Lakes and moorish Grounds, they carried their fick and infirm people on their Shoulders, in the control of the co ders, in which work none took more pains than Gonzalo Pigarro, and his Captains, who by their Example gave courage and chearfulness to all the rest. In this manner they had travelled three hundred Leagues through all the Difficulties we have related, and more than can be expressed; for who can fansie or imagine the Labours they had sustained in the Journey of sour hundred Leagues outwards; and in that of three hundred Leagues back, and yet after all, there was no prospect of an end, though they had killed their Horses, and eaten them one after another, till they had made an end of all. At first they eat their Grey-hounds, Spannels, and Massist Dogs, which (as we have mentioned in our History of Florida) were of great use and service to them in the Conquest of the Indiess, and of these they made their Delicacies, so long as they lasted. At length, as Gomura saith, Chapter 144, the Spaniards were ready to eat those which dyed, according to the Custome of those barbarous Indians, who inhabit those Mountains, exc

for 1.44. the spanarar were ready to eat those which type, according to the Cufrome of those barbarous Indians, who inhabit those Mountains, e.e.,
So soon as the Horse-stell failed, which being divided amongst so great numbers was inconsiderable; many Indians, as well as Spaniards, were starved with
Hunger, for the force of Herbs was not alone able to sustain Nature, so that
they began then to saint and droops so being socied to leave the Indian and spaniards by three and four in a company, abandoning them to the Woods, and so
the Mountains, there to perish, and dye without comfort; in the same manner as
we have related in the Journal of Grecologic de la Fegs, where they were exposed
to the like Misery, not being able to travely and keep company with their

Fellows.

632

But the want of Salt was none of their leaft needs, for that in their Travels of four hundred Leagues, as Carate faith in the 5th of his 4th Book, they found not one grane thereof; for the Countries being uninhabited, they neither found any, nor people to inform them what they used in the place thereof; for want of which they became weak in their joints, faint, and scorbutick, stinking, and almost reten alive; in the same manner as we have related in the History of Florida, where is demonstrated how much Salt is necessary for conservation of humane Life.

By reason of the continual Rains, and mosture of the Earth, their woollen Cloths and linen being always wer, became rotten, and dropped from their Bodies, so that from the highest to the lowest every Man was naked, and had no other covering than some few Leaves, with which they hid their privy parts both before and behind. And though that warm Climate did not require much clothing, yet it had been a good Desence against the Thorns and Bushes of those rough Mountains, over which they could make no other way than by Bills and Hatches, and yet the Briers and Brambles tore their Skins, that they seemed all over raw,

and half flead.

So great, and fo unsupportable were the Miseries which Gonzalo Picarro and his Companions endured for want of Food, that the four thousand Indians which attended them in this Discovery, perished with Famine, and amongst them a certain Indian greatly beloved by Gonzalo Pigarro, who took the Lances from the two Cavaliers, as we have before related; for which piece of brayery he was lamented by him with as much sense of Grief, as if he had been his Brother, as he often declared. Likewise of the three hundred and forty Spaniards which entred on this Discovery two hundred and ten dyed, besides the fifty which were carried away by Orellana. Those eighty which remained alive, after having passed the hist which remained alive, after having passed the hist wind passed the hist wind passed the history and a more dry Climate, where they found Birds, Deer, and other wild Beasts, which they killed with their Cross-bows, and Guns, by the help of a small quantity of their Powder, which they had reserved. Of the Skins of these Beasts they made themselves short Breeches, onely sufficient to cover their Nakedness, for they would not reach farther, their Swords they carried without Scabbards, all covered with ruft, and they walked barefoot, and their Vifages were become so black, dry, and withered, that they scarce keew one the other; in which condition they came at length to the Frontiers of Quitn, where they kiffed they Ground, and returned Thanks to Almighty God, who had delivered them out of fo many and fo Imminent Dangers. And being come now to a place of Food, and fuffenance, they were so greedy thereof, that they were forced to lay a restraint upon their Appetites, and stint themselves to a certain proportion, lest they should surfeit with excels; some of them, who were of a more weak Conflictation, and accu-flomed to Fastings, and Abstinence, were not able to endure repletion, their Stomachs rejecting the Food and Nutriment, administred to them. And

And now approaching near to the City of *Quitu*, they gave notice to the Inhabitants of their condition; but the place being almost dispeopled by reason of the Wars raised by *Almagro*, and by the absence of its principal Cltizens, and by the few Merchants which were therein; they were so poor, that all the Cloathing they could make was not sufficient to supply the wants of *Picarro* and his company: All the stock which the City could make, being onely six Suits of Apparel, contributed by several persons; one brought a Cloak, another a Coat, another a Wastcoat, another a pair of Breeches, another a Hat and Shitts, and all of several Pieces and Colours, which served to cloath *Gonzalo Picarro*; and his other sive principal Officers; for it was impossible to provide sufficient furniture for them all.

In the whole Town there were onely twelve Horse lest, for all the fest were sent to the Wars in Service of his Majesty; on these they laded Provisions, and food for them, and would have sent all the delicacies in the World, had that place afforded them; for Gonzalo Picarro was the most beloved Man in Pan; and indeed his Nature was so affable, and his Deportment so obliging, that he rendred himself acceptable to Strangers, wheresoever he came; and how much more to Friends and Companions?

Twelve of the most substantial Citizens were appointed to carry the Presents, and therewith travelled thirty Leagues from the City before they met with Gonzald Piparro. It is not to be imagined how much joy and satisfaction was expressed at this meeting, accompanied with such a sloud of tears upon rehearsal of the dolefull Story, that it is hard to determine which passion either of joy or forrow was the most prevalent; for Pigarro and his Companions were transported with an Excess of joy and comfort to see themselves delivered from those dangers and miseries out of which they once believed it impossible to escape. The Citizens on the other side grieved and lamented to see in what a miserable and squalid condition Gonzalo and his Friends returned, and to hear the dolefull story of those who perished with Famine, and in what manner they had less many of their Companions alive in the Mountains, and exposed to dye with hunger. But at length considering that there was no remedy for what was passit they comforted each other, drying up their Tears, which little availed.

Mmmm

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XV.

Gonzalo Picarro being entred into Quitu, writes to the Governour, offering his Person and his People to serve him. The Governour's Answer thereunto; and what Conditions the Governour offered to Don Diego de Almagro.

Onzalo Picarro, and his Captains and Souldiers, received the relief which was brought them with gratefull acknowledgment: But whereas they perceived, that the Garments which were provided, were onely fufficient to cloath the Chief Commanders, they refused to accept them, or (as Carate saith in the 5th Chapter of the fourth Book) to change their Habits, or mount on Horse-back, enduring and suffering equally with their common Souldiers; and so in this manner, which we have mentioned, they entred one morning into the City of Quiu, and went directly to the Church to hear Mass, and to return thanks to Almighry God, who had delivered them out of so many, and so great miseries.

Thus far is the Relation given by Carate; to which may be added, what I have understood from the testimony of those who were Eye-witnesses of what father passed in this matter; which was this: The twelve persons which brought the Presents to Gonzalo Picarro, perceiving that neither he, nor his Captains, would accept of the Cloths which were brought them, nor yet make use of their Hoss, but chose to enter the City bare-stoted, and naked; they agreed all to put them. felves in the same guise and fashion to participate of the Honour, Fame and Glorv. which these persons had acquired by their patience and sufferings, by which they had overcome fo many, and fuch immense labours; the City applauded their Ambassadours for their conformity thereunto; in which manner, after the Entry was made, and Mass was said, the people congratulated the Arrival of Picarro with all the joy they were able to express, but yet attempered with some grief and pity to see them in that lamentable condition. This Entry was made about the beginning of June in the year 1542, having spent in this Enterprize two years and a halfs time, though a certain Authour by miltake fays, that they were not more than a year and half both in their going out, and in their return home. During the time that they remained in the City, every one provided for himself the best he was able. And Gonzalo Picarro receiving informations of what had passed fince his departure, was given to understand what Revolutions had lately happened, namely the Death of his Brother the Marquis, the Insurrection of Don Diego de Almagro, his disobedience and rebellion against his Majesty, the Arrival of Doctor Vaca de Castro for Governour of that Empire; and that he was then on his march against Almagro with an Army, in which all the friends and party of his Brother the Marquis were joyned. All which being confidered by Gonzalo Picarro, he thought it not fit for him to be backward in that Service to his Majesty, in which all those Gentlemen who had been his Comrades and Companions, had been engaged. Wherefore he wrote to the Governour, giving him a relation of the Hardflips he had furtained and furffered in his Journey; and laftly, made tender of his Person and People to serve him in quality of Souldiers under his Com-

In answer whereunto, the Governour affured him of his kind acceptance of the good will and affection which he demonstrated to his Majesty's Service, and returned him thanks for the affistence he had offered both by his own Person, and with those Forces which had so long been trained up in Military Discipline, and intend to the Sufferings and Hardships of War. Howsoever, he intreated him as from himself, and required him in his Majesty's Name to continue still in *Quim*, and there to refresh himself after the miseries he had sustained, untill such time as

he thould by Orders from him be employed on those affairs, which may best conduct to his Majesty's Service.

Royal Commentaries.

duce to his majerty's dervice.

It was not for want of good affurance, which the Governour conceived of the Loyalty of Gorzalo Picarro, that he enjoyned him to remain in the parts where he was until farther Orders; but because he hoped not to need his affishence, in regard his design was to bring matters between him and Almagro to some conditions of Accommodation; which he believed to be the much more prudent course, for considering that the Animossities were very high and investerate between the two paties, it would necessarily sollow that the Battel would be sought with much obstinacy, and end with great essentiality and therefore to avoid such mortality and destruction, he endeavoured to make a right and good understanding

between himself and Almagro.

The Governour also farther conceived, that in case Governo Picarro were actually present in the Army, that the peace with Almagro would be effected with much more difficulty, and give Almagro occasion of jealousie, and distrust, and fear, to put himself into the hands of the Governour, lest Picarro should machinate or plot any secret revenge against him; of which he was the more apprehensive, when he considered the great interest which Picarro had made in the Army.

This certainly was the true intention and meaning of the Governour, but other ill-natured and malitious Men put him farther in the head, that the presence of Picaro in the Army was not to be admitted on other scores, lest the Souldiery, which had conceived a great affection to him for his Prowess and Valour, and experience in Military affairs, should by common consent make choice of him

In obedience to the Governour's Command, Governour gave order to those who had the end of the War. Moreover, the Governour gave order to those who had the care and tuition of the Sons of the Marquis, and of, Governour Picarro, that they should still continue their residence in the Cities of St. Michael and Travillo, and not to remove them to lot Reps., untill they should receive other instructions; declaring, that they were much more secure at that distance, than nearer hand 3 though some discontented Men interpreted this Order to be a design he had to estrange himself from them; and to proceed from a principle of jealousse he con-

ceived of them, though as yet they were but Children. Matters being thus disposed, (as we have said) the Governour marched towards Huamanca, upon a report that Almagro was come near to that City, and that his delign was to possess and fortifie it, because it was esteemed a place naturally flrong, being environed on all fides with broken cliffs, and inaccessible ways Wherefore he dispeeded Captain Gastro before with his Gompany of Harquebufiers, to take possession of a craggy Hill which lyes in the way, which the Indians call Faren, and the Spaniards Parcos: But whilft he was in his march thither, he received intelligence, that Almagro had already entred, and taken possession of the City, which troubled the Governour very much, confidering the disadvantage he received thereby, and that a great part of his own Forces were not as yet come up, but marched flowly, and in feveral parties. Hereupon he dispatched Alonfo de Alvarrado back to haften them, who with the diligence he used, speedily brought them all the other Companies in a body to joyn with the Army: To perform which, some marched four, others five and six Leagues in a day; with which long marches, though very much tired, yet the Enemy (as was reported) being within two Leagues of them, they were forced to remain all the night on the Watch drawn up in Battalia; but other intelligence coming in the Morning, which gave them advice, that Almagro was removed at a farther distance from the City: They drew off, and marched forward to Huamanca, where they took a convenient repose; and having refreshed their Men, they enlarged their Quarters, and removed their Camp into a more open Plain; for the Countrey where they then were, was enclosed, and so straitned with Mountains, that in case of a Fight, their Horse could not come to engage, and doe service; which would be of great disadvantage to them, confidering that their Horse was the Nerve of their strength, being more numerous, and better armed, than those of the Enemy. Wherefore leaving the City, he drew up his Army in the Plains of Chupas, from whence he dispatched two persons to Almago, one called Francisco de Idiacaez, and the other Diego Mercado, who informed him, that they were sent to him from the Gover-Mmmm 2

nour to offer unto him, and all his Souldiers and Followers, in the Name of his Maiesty, a general Pardon for whatsoever was passed, provided he returned to his Majefty, a general Pardon for whatloever was palled, provided he returned to his Obedience, and lifted himself under the Royal Standard; and that having Disbanded his Army, he promifed to confirm this Pardon with Honours and Preferments. Almagro readily made answer, that he accepted the Conditions, provided the Pardon might be General both to himself and his Associates, and that the Government of the New Kingdom of Toledo, the Mines of Gold, and all the Lands and Jurisdiction over the Indians, which his Father possesses, should be reflored and fetled upon him.

Almagro was moved to make this extravagant demand, upon an affurance which a certain Clergyman gave him, who fome few days before was arrived from Pa nama. and told him, that all the talk and news there was, that the King had fealed his Pardon, and given him the Government of the New Toledo in which Cores was comprised; of which he gave him joy, and asked a reward for his good

626

Moreover, he informed him, that Vaca de Castro had but a small number of Souldiers, and those ill armed and discontented: the which News, though hardly to be believed, vet Almagro entertained with some assurance, because it was in his favour: and was thereby encouraged to make those high demands to the Governour, whose weakness, as he supposed, would cause him to yield unto all the Ar-

ticles he could propose.

After Vaca de Castro had fent away the two Messengers before mentioned, he dispatched a Souldier called Alonso Garcia with several Letters to the Captains and principal Gentlemen of Almagro's Army, promising them pardon for whatsoever was past, and a reward of great and large possessions and jurisdiction over the Indians. This Messenger went in the Habit of an Indian, for his better disguise, and took a by-way out of the Road, that he might not be feized or intercepted in his Journey: But the misfortune was, that it had Snowed that day, fo that the Scouts of Almagro discovering the impression which he had made in the Snow. tracked him by his footing, and fo followed, and took him, and carried him with all his Letters and Dispatches to Almagro; who, as Gomara reports in Chapter 150th, and Carate in the 16th Chapter of the 4th Book, was highly incenfed, and angry at the double dealing of the Governour, who at the fame time that he was in treaty with him, was making Divisions and Mutinies in his Army: At which he was so greatly enraged, that he immediately caused the Souldier to be hanged, both because he came in a disguise, and brought Letters of Treasonable importance; and in the fight and prefence of the two Messengers caused his Army to be drawn out, and ranged in a posture ready to engage, promising to whomfoever thould kill the Governour, to beftow on him his Lands, his Wife, and all his Estate: And so he returned answer to the Governour, that he would never own or obey him fo long as he was affociated with his Enemies, who were Pedro Alvarez Holguin, and Alonfo de Alvarado, Gomez de Tordoja, John de Saavedra, Garçie lasso de la Vega, Illen Suarez de Carvajal, Gomez de Alvarado, and all the other Gentlemen who had sided with Pigarro.

Thus much Almagro uttered with intent to discourage the Governour from attempting any more the way of dividing his people by separate Treaties, or indeed to put him out of all hopes of attaining any thing by way of Accommodations for if one of his Conditions was to cashier all those who were of Pigarro's party, he must be contented to remain without Army or People, which he knew could never be affented unto. And moreover, he fent him word that he would doe well to leave off that way of feducing his people from him, for he might be confident there was none of them which would be tempted to forfake his party, but would all unanimoufly joyn in Battel to defend that Countrey against him, and all the World, which he would speedily verifie by marching out immediately to meet and fight him; Almagro was as good as his word, and accordingly marched against the Governour with courage and resolution to give him Battel; the which was confirmed by an unanimous confent of all his Souldiers, who generally difdained and refented the secret and treacherous dealing of the Governour, and caufed them to adhere more closely to the party of Almagro; concluding within themselves, that he who would be false towards their Captain, might very well be suspected of the like persidiousness and breach of Faith towards them. Whence it was agreed on all fides to dye fighting, and hearken no farther to any Articles of Treaty. It is believed, that had it not been for this Action. Almagro would have inclined to a Peace, upon the Pardon of his Majesty, which was already figned and fealed, and in the hands of the Governour.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Of the Order that Vaca de Castro, and Don Diego de Almagro observed in drawing up their Squadrons. The beginning of the Battel, and the Death of Captain Pedro de Candia.

UPon this Answer which Almagro had given, the Governour observed a strange unwillingness and distatisfaction in his Souldiers to an Engagement; who declared, that fince his Majefty was so ill pleased with the late Battel of Salinas, that he committed Hernando Piçarro to Prison for it; they ought to be wary and cautious how they incurred his Majesty's displeasure by any offence of the like nature. Wherefore the Governour, to fatisfie this feruple artien in the minds of his Souldiery, recounted to them the crinics and offences of Almagro, how he had killed the Marquis, and murthered many other persons; that he had confiscated the Goods and Estates of other Men, and converted them to his own use; that he had made a division of Indians, and reparted them amongst his friends without any Commission from his Majesty; that at present he came with an Army against the Standard-Royal, and gave defiance to the Governour, who was established by the King's Commission. And farther to justifie his cause, he did there in hearing of all his Army, by virtue of the Power committed to him by his Majesty, pronounce fentence against Almagro, proclaiming him Rebel and Traytor, and for his crimes did condemn him to die, and lose all his estate both real and personal; requiring all the Captains and the whole Army to be aiding and affilting to him in the execution of this Sentence, which he declared by virtue of a Commission from his Majesty, whereby he was constituted and appointed Chief Minister and Governour of that Empire.

The Sentence being given, Vuca de Castro concluded, that according to the Answer of Amagro, which evidenced a resolution to perfist in his rebellion, there was no farther place to hope for Peace by way of Treaty: Wherefore he put his people into a posture of defence, having received intelligence that Almagro and his

Army were approaching near

Having drawn his Forces into the Field, he made them a Speech, telling them, That they were to confider who they were, from whence they came, and for whom, and for what cause they were to fight; that the possession and enjoyment of that whole Empire was held up to them for a reward and prize to the Conquerours; if they were overcome, neither he nor they could escape death; and if on the contrary they won the Field, they would be for ever happy; for besides the duty and obligation incumbent on them, as true and loyal Subjects to serve their king, they would remain Lords, and Possessian Bidles and Riches themes which had been already made with the vaft Wealth and Riches thereof, and for ever to enjoy the fame in peace and quietuefs. And fo to those who were not as yet so well provided with possessions, he did promise them in the Name and Word of his Majesty, to divide and set out Lands to them, for reward of their Loyalty and Service to their King. In short, he told them, that he knew there was no need of long Speeches and Exhortations to incite Courage in such Noble Cavaliers, and Valiant Souldiers; and though he was well affitted they would be

forward in action, yet they should see him their Leader, to be the first who should break his Lance in the Front against his Enemies. Answer was made hereunto with common voice, that they would all dye, rather than be overcome; and since every Man esteemed himself equally concerned in this Enterprize, they earnestly intreated the Governour not to hazard himself in the Front of the Battel, but rather conserve his own Person, on whose safety the Welsare of the whole Army did greatly depend; and that he would please with a Guard of thirty Horse to retire to some place in the Rere, from whence he might see how the Battel went, and accordingly order and apply Succours to that part which he judged to be most hardly beset and oppressed; in compliance with the importunity of his Captains, the Governour consented to take his station in the Rere, in which posture they expected the coming of Almagoo, whose Quarters were about two Leagues from thence; and the day following the Scouts returned with news, that the Enemy was come within half a League with design to give them Battel.

Hereupon the Governour immediately drew out his Forces into Battalia; On the right hand of the Infantry he placed the Royal Standard, defended by Alonfo de Alvarado, and carried by Christopher de Barrienos, Native of Ciudad-rodizo, and Inhabitant of Truxillo, where Pedro Alvarez Holguin was possessed of a great Estate and Jurisdiction over the Indians: Gomez de Alvarado, Garcisasso de la Vega, and Pedro Angures, who were Captains of Horse, stanked the Foot on the lest Wing. Carate saith in the 18th Chapter of his sourth Book, "That these Commanders "marched very orderly, keeping their Colours and Companies in an equal sing, they themselves being in the first rank; and that the Insantry, Commanded by the Captains, Pedro de Vergara, and John Valez de Guevara, marched between the "two Wings and Squadrons of Horse, and India de Castro, who Commanded the Harquebuliers, was placed in the Van, to begin the Fight, and being repulsed to retire into the main Body.

" Vaca de Castro remained with his thirty Horse in the Rere, at some distance from the main Body, from whence he might be able to observe all that passed, and accordingly apply succours and relief where occasion did most require

Pedro de Alvarado wore over his Arms a Coat of white Satten, slashed and pinked, flying, That when Archers shoot at Butts, there are very sew which his the white Mark. In this posture they remained in expectation of the coning of Almagro, who by this time was entred the Plain, and encamped on the ridge of a Hill so far distant from the Royal Army, as was out of Cannon-shot. Pulso Suarez, Serjeant-Major, who had been long a Souldier in Italy, and trained up to the War, foon perceived the advantage they had of the ground, and drew up his Squadrons in form and manner to answer those of the Enemy. His Infantry he flanked on one fide and the other with Wings of Horfe Commanded by his Captain-General John Balfa, and Major-General Pedro d'Onnate; and the Captains Were John Tello de Guzman, Diego Mendez, John de Onna, Martin de Bilbao, Diego de Hojeda, and Malavez: All which were brave fellows, and well resolved to conquer the Empire, and acquire Dominion over the poor Vaffals of that Countrey. The Serieant-Major placed all the Artillery in the Front, (of which Pedro de Candia was chief Master or Captain) bearing directly on that side of the Enemy, where it was possible for them to be attacked: And then he went to Almagro, who with a Guard of eight or ten Men was placed in the midst between the Horse and Foot; and said to him in this manner: Sir, your Lordship bath now all your Forces so advantageously drawn up under the defence of your Cannon; that if you please but to continue in this order, and not to move from it, you may overcome your Enemies either without push of the Lance, or stroke of Sword: For let the Enemy come which way they will, and break and dostroy them with your Cannon, before they can come within shot of Mus-But by that time that things could be thus ordered and disposed, it was toands the Evening, when the Sun was onely two hours high.

Vuca de Cafiro and his Council were much divided in their opinions, whether they should engage that day or not. Francisco de Carvajal, who was Serieant-Major, and an experienced Souldier, was of opinion, that by no means the Batel should be deferred that day, though they sought part of the night; for that were to give courage to their Enemies, and a check to the sorward resolution of their own Army, and might, perhaps, give time and occasion unto several of them

to revolt unto Almagro. Hercupon the Governour refolved immediately to give them Battel, withing he had had the power of Josphuah to command the Sun to that his course.

Herewith the word was given to march directly against the Squadrons of Almagra, who upon their first motion ordered his Cannon to play upon the Enemy, and to flartle them in the first onset; but Francisco de Caravajal observing, that if they kept a direct course upon the Enemy, they should receive much damage from their Cannon, which were many, and very good; directed them another way under the covert of a Hill: But having paffed this thelter into the open Field, fo that they remained exposed to the Enemy's Cannon, Pedro de Candia, who commanded the Artillery, fhot over them, fo that they received no damage; which when Almagro saw and observed, he immediately fell upon Pedro de Candia, and killed him with his Lance upon the very Cannon; and being full of rage and anger for this piece of treachery, he leaped from his Horse, and mounted on the note of one of the Guns, and with the weight of his body lored it in fuch manner, as to make it bear on the Enemy; and then ordering the Cannonier to give fire thereunto, he placed his shot amidst the Squadron of Vaca de Castro, which taking them from the Front to the Rere, as Garate confirms in the 18th Chapter of his fourth Book, and Gomara in Chap. 150. but do not fay how many were flain thereby, which were seventeen Men; which unlucky shot, had it been followed by others with the like fuccess, they had needed no other force, but had fecured the Victory according to the affurance which Suarez the Serieant-Major had given; but all was lost by that treachery which Pedro de Candia had acted. For we must know that Captain Pedro, having considered that Hernando Piçarro, who was the Person that had affronted and injured him, was imprisoned in Spain, (as we have formerly mentioned,) and that by reason of him he had sided with the party of Chili. And that the Marquis, who by his Power and Greatness had much oppressed him, was now dead, he judged himself sufficiently revenged both of one, and of the other: And that now fince there was a new Governour. it was his best course to return unto the Obedience and Service of his Maiestv. that he might not utterly lose all the hopes and merit he had acquired by being ultill in the Conquest of that Empire. And on this Motive it was, that he fent secret intelligence to the Governour not to fear the Cannon, for he would so order it, that he should not need to apprehend any damage or hurt from thence. On confidence of which promife the Governour refolved not to delay the Battel, though Pedro de Candia did not attain the end he deligned.

#### CHAP. XVII.

The Relation of the cruel Battel of Chupas is continued A disagreement amongst the People of Almagro, The Victory of the Governour; and the Flight of Almagro.

THE Serjeant-Major, and the other Captains of his Majefty, observing what a Lane was made through their Squadron by the Enemy's shot, and that their Foot was daunted thetewith, they prefently clapt within the void place, and caufed their ranks to close up, and without stop or any delay to make up directly upon the Enemy; and to have no cause of retardment, they left and deserted all their own train of Artillery. The Captains of Almagro not well confidering their case and advantage, and as people not much used to such kind of emergencies. observing the Enemy to advance upon them, cried out with a loud voice, Let not our Enemies gain honour by our cowardise, they see us stand still as not daring to oppose them: Let us to them, let us to them, for we are not able longer to endure this affront. Here, with they forced Almagro to advance with his Squadron, and with io little confideration, that they made him to interpose between the Enemy and his own Cannon; which when Serjeant-Major Suarez observed, he went to Almagro, and with a loud voice told him, faying, Sir, had you kept the order which I directed, and had followed my counsel, you had been victorious; but since you take your measures from others, you will lose the honour of this day; and since your Lordship is not pleased to make me a Conourrour in your Capp, I will make my way to it on the fide of your Enemies. And having repeated these words, he set Spurs to his Horse, and passed over to Vaca de Castro, advising him immediately to close with the Enemy, and to give them no time, for that there was great diforder and confusion in their Counsels.

Vaca de Castro observing this good advice which Suarez had given him, commanded his Forces to march directly up in face of the Enemy; with which Francisco de Carvajal was so encouraged, and assured of victory, by reason of the unskilfulness of their Foes, that he threw off his Coat of Male, and his Head piece, and cast them on the ground, telling his Souldiers, That they should not be affrighted at the Cannon; for that if he who was as fat and big as any two of them, was not fearfull of them, much less ought any of them who were but half the mark that he was.

At this time a certain Gentleman who was of Noble Bloud, and rode with the Horse, observing both sides within Musquet-shot, and that there was no other remedy but that he must engage; he on a sudden passed forth from the Squadron of the Governour, and faid, Sirs, I declare my felf for the party of Chili, for all the World knows, that at the Battel of Salinas I was then on the fide of Almagro the Elder; and fince I cannot now be for them, there is no reason but that I should stand neuter, and not be against them. Herewith he fallied out of his rank, and separated himself at fome distance, where a certain Priest remained called Hernando de Luque, who was a Kinsman to that School-master of Panama, that was the Companion and Associate of Almagro and Picarro. With this Priest there was another Gentleman alfo, who being fick, was excused from the Fight; but the retreat of this Gentleman was interpreted by all the Army to be an effect of down-right cowardile, and that therefore he durst not engage on either side. The Harquebusiers of Caftro de Vaca would have fired upon him, but the haste they were in prevented their intention; and when they understood the reason for which he desired to stand a Neuter, they then were willing to spare their shot. I had once an acquaintance with him, and left him alive in a certain City of Peru, when I departed thence; and I know and remember well his Name, though I think fit to conceal it in this place, and onely recount the fact in general to the end, that fuch a piece of cowardife may be hated and scorned by all Persons of Quality and Worthy

In thort, the Souldiers of Vaca de Castro made such haste, that without much hurr they mounted the Hill, where the Squadrons of Almagro were drawn up, being much disordered, and removed out of that good posture in which they were first placed. Howfoever the Harquebusiers received them with such a Volley of Short that they killed many of the Poot, and wounded the Major General, Gomez de Tordora, with three Bullets, of which he dyed two days afterwards. Numo de Cafro was also desperately wounded, besides many others who were slain, which being observed by Francisco de Carvajal, he commanded the Horse to charge them, for they were the chief Force to which he trutted, being more in number than nor mey were the chief Polec to which he duffed, being more in number than those of Almagro; accordingly the Horse engaged, and both sides maintained the Fight with such bravery, that the Victory for a long time remained doubtfull. Pedro Alvarez Holguin was killed with a Musquet-shot; for being clothed in white, and by his Colour and Habit known to all, he became the common Mark, every one aiming to hit to famous a Person. On the other side the Infantry of Vaca de Caltro charging the Enemy, came valiantly up to the very Cannon, which were now of no use, in regard that by the ill discipline and disorder of Almagro's Commanders, they had interposed their own Souldiers between their Cannon and the Enemy. Howfoever both fides fought with fuch animofity and bravery. that they continued fighting in the night, which when it was fo dark and obscure. that they could not fee each other; they then made use of the words Chili and Pubacamac to make their diffinctions, whereby the Picarrifts and Almagrians knew their parties; the greatest flaughter was amongst the Horse, who after the use of their Lances, coming to a closer Fight, killed each other with their Swords and Pole-axes. The fuccess of this Battel being of high concernment, animated both fides with a refolution to dye, or gain the victory; being well affured, that as the Dominion of that Empire, and the Riches depended on this Victory; so being overthrown, there remained no other reward for them, but death or flavery. It was now above two hours in the night, and yet the Fight continued with equal flaughter, being full four hours fince it first began. At length the Governour charged the left wing of the Enemy, which was still entire, and not as yet broken. so that the Battel seemed to be again renewed: Howsoever, at length the Governour routed and defeated them with the loss of ten or twelve of his Guard, amongst which were Captain Ximenez, formerly a Merchant in Medina, and Nunno Montalvo. By this time both fides began to think themselves secure of Victory, and yet still the Fight continued: At length the Forces of Almagro seemed to grow faint; which when he observed, he put himself into the head of them, and being feconded by those few which were his Life-guard, he entred amidst the thickest of his Enemies with that valour and resolution, that he performed Mirades by his own Person, being desirous to be slain on the place; but being unknown, and well armed, he escaped with his life, and without a wound; fighting bravely, as Gomara reports of him in Chapter 150.

Royal Commentaries.

And now Victory began to incline to the fide of the Governour; which when Almagro and his chief Officers observed, they called out aloud, and said, I am such an one; it was I who killed the Marquis; and so they fought with fury and despair untill they were flain and cut in pieces. Many of Almagro's people escaped by fayour of a dark night, having taken off their white Ribbons, and placed the Colours of Vaca de Castro in their stead, with which they supplied themselves from those who were slain on the other side. Almagre himself seeing that there was no hopes of Victory left, and that Death fled from him, he escaped out of the Battel with fix Companions, namely, Diego Mendez, Bergan, and John de Guzman, and three others, whose Names I have forgotten. Thence he fled to Cozco, where he met that Death which he could not receive from his Enemies, by the hands of those Men whom he had there constituted in Offices of Justice and Military Employments: For so soon as they understood that he had lost the day, Rodrigo de Salacar, who was a Native of Toledo, and deputed by Almagro for his Governour in that place; and Amonio Ruyz de Guevara, who was Commissionated also by him to be chief Justiciary, immediately laid hands on him, and made him Prisoner; and to confummate this cruelty, they took those also who were his Companions, and attended his Person: To confirm which particular, Carate in the 19th Chap-

ter of his fourth Book, hath these Words which follow.

Royal Commentaries.

"Thus ended the Reign and Government of Don Diego de Almagro, who was one day Commander in Chief of all Pern, and the day following was feized " by an Officer, whom by his own Authority he had constituted chief Justicians " of Cozeo. This Battel was fought the 16th of September 1542. Thus far C. rate: and herewith he concludes the Chapter aforefaid.

This Victory was in part obtained about nine of the Clock at night, but not completed, for the noise of fighting and clashing of Arms was heard in several places of the Field: And lest Almagro should again rally, and in the Morning renew the Battel, (for as yet his flight and escape was not known) the Gover-nour commanded his Serjeant-Major to sound a retreat to his Army, and put them again into a posture of Battel, placing the Horse and Foot in their respective stations, with Orders to stand to their Arms until the Morning, when the light would discover the state of their Victory: Which being accordingly executed, they continued on their Guard, and in a readiness to receive whatfoever should occur.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Wherein those Principal Commanders are named, who were present at this Battel; the Number that was slain; the Punishment of the Rebels; and the Death of Don Diego de Almagro.

THE Governour paffed a great part of the Night in discourse to his Souldiers, praising the courage and resolution which his Captains, Cavaliers and Souldiers had shewed in that days Engagement; he applauded and admired their bravery which they had made appear in the Service of his Majesty. He then recounted some particular Actions performed by such and such, naming them by their Names; whereby he acknowledged the fidelity, love and friendship, which they had evidenced to the Memory of the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro, for whose fake, and in revenge of whose Death, they had exposed their own lives to all the hazards and perils in the World. Nor did he omit to mention the bravery of Almagra, whereby he had fignalized himself to revenge the Death of his Father, ha ving therein performed above what could have been expected from his years, not having passed above the Age of twenty: Nor did he forbear to commend the Courage of feveral Captains of the contrary party, who had carried themselves bravely in the Action of that day. In a particular manner he took notice of the stout resolution, and Military behaviour of Francisco de Carvajal, who without fear either of the great or small Shot, marched boldly at the head of his Men, being ever intent and ready to apply his fuccour and relief, where it was most required: Of all which Actions the Governour was the best Judge, and could give the best account of them, in regard he was retired to a place from whence he could have a prospect of all that passed. The principal Persons on his Majesty's side, who figualized themselves in this Engagement, were the Major General Gomez de Tordoya, the Agitant Illen Suarez de Carvajal, and his Brother Benito de Carvajal, Tohn Julio de Hojeda, Thomas Vasquez, Lorenço de Aldana, John de Saavedra, Francisco de Godo, Diego Maldonado, who afterwards obtained the Sir name of the Rich, John de Sa l.u, Brother of the Arch-bishop of Sevile, Alonso de Losssa, Brother of the Arch-bishop of los Reyes, Geronimo de Losssa, John de Pancorvo, Alonso Maçuela, Marsin de Meneses, John de Figueroa, Pedro Alonso Currasco, Diego de Truxillo, Alonso de Soto,

Antonio de Quinnones, and his Brother Suero de Quinnones, and his Cousin Pedro de Oginpones, who had been an old Souldier in Italy, and were all three near in Kindred to the Governour, Gaspar Para, Diego Ortiz de Guzman, Garcia de Melo, who loft his right hand in the Battel, Pedro de los Rios a Native of Cordova, Francisco de Amouero, Don Pedro Puertocarrero, Pedro de Hinojosa, John Alonso Palomino. Don Gomez. Ampuero, Don Elder Brother of Garcilasso de la Vega, Gomez de Alvarado, Gaspar de de Luna, the Lucie Diother of Garçunjio de la regu, Oumee de Alvaranao, Oajpar de Roja, Melchior Verdugo, Lope de Mendoça, Juan de Barbaran, Miguel de la Serna, Ge-ronno de Aliaga, Nicolas de Ribera, and Geronimo de Ribera, who for distinction sake we have in the other part of this Book called Ribera Senior, and Ribera lunior.

Royal Commentaries.

All which, and many others, whose Names we cannot call to mind, did that day in the Battel fignalize their Valour in an extraordinary manner, for fighting in the front of their Companies and to of them were wounded. In flort, there was not one Man of note in all Perk, as Gomara affirms, but was engaged in the Battel of that day on his Majesty's fide. On the King's party three hundred Spaniards were flain, many also were killed on the other, though not so great a number s the Battel was very bloudy; the flaughter fell much upon the Captains, of which most of them were killed; four hundred were wounded, of which most dyed with cold that night, it happening to freeze very sharply. These are the Words of Gamara, and therewith he ends the 150th Chapter of his History.

Of Almagro's fide two hundred were flain, fo that Gomara with much reason terms it a bloudy Battel; for of fifteen hundred Men on both fides, five hundred were flain, and five hundred wounded; of which last, four hundred were of the King's fide, and but one hundred of Almagro's.

There was one of the King's Souldiers to cruel, that after the Battel was ended. he killed eleven of the Almagrians in cold bloud; of which evil Act he made

be killed eleven of the Almagrians in cold bloud; of which evil Act he made great boaft, faying, that in fuch a place they had robbed him of eleven thousand pieces of Eight, in revenge of which he had killed eleven of them.

Many other things of this nature passed that night; and the reason why so many of those wounded were frozen to death, was, because the Indians finding them mable to help and defend themselves, made bold to strip them of all their cloathing, leaving them naked, and exposed to the weather, without regard to either side or party, of which there could no distinction be made in the night; and if there had, yet the Indians, whose business it was to pisser, would not have forborn on any small consideration, or complement to either side. Nor could the Consueany finall confideration, or complement to either fide. Nor could the Conquerous for the present take that due care of their wounded, because the Carriages with their Tents not being come up, they were all forced to lodge in the open Air; onely they made a shift to set up two Tents, wherein they made an Accommodation for Gomez de Tordoya, Pedro Angures, Gomez de Alvarado, and Garçilasso de la Vega, who were all mortally wounded; others who had received some slighter hurts, endured the open Air, which caused their wounds so to smart, that it was gievous to hear the groans, fighs and cries which they uttered. Nor did the Indians spare those who were fled out of the Battel, taking the courage to pursue and assail Men in their flight; so that they killed John Balfa on the way, with ten or twelve others of his companions, without any regard or respect to his Quality or Character of Captain-General; in like manner they killed many other Spaniards, who fled out of the Battel in divers parts: But so soon as it was day the Governour fent abroad to bring in the wounded, taking care to have their wounds dreffed: And as for the dead, they buried them together, in four or five large Graves, which were made for them, into which they cast them all without distinction, excepting onely Pedro Alvarez Holgnin, and Gomez de Tordoya de Vargas, with some other noble and principal Persons, whom they carried to Huamanca, and there celebrated their Funerals with what decency they were able. Above a hundred Horse, and fifty or fixty Foot, fled from the Battel, and escaped to the City of Huamanca; but being pursued by those few who remained Masters of the Field, were again defeated, they yielding up their Horses and Arms upon conditions of Quarter for their lives. And as that day they performed an Act of Charity in the burial of the Dead, fo likewise they performed an Act of Justice in punishment of the Offenders; for having found the Bodies of Martin de Bilbao, and Arbolacha, and Hinojeros, and Martin Carillo amongst the Dead, who cried out in the Battel on purpose to be killed, that they were the persons who had Assassinated the Marquis; and though they were then cut in pieces, yet according to a new form of Justice, they were afterwards drawn and quartered, the Cryer at the same time Nnnn 2

publishing their offence: the like piece of Justice was executed on other insolent and rebellious persons. The day sollowing the Governour went to Huamanca, where he understood, that Captain Diego de Rojas had killed Captain John Tello de Guzman, and Pedro d'Onnate, who was Major-General to Almagro: the punishment of other Offenders was referred by the Governour to Judge de la Gama, who condemned all the principal Leaders of the Almagrian party to dye, who were taken and imprisoned at Huamanca, such as Diego de Hocci, Antonio de Cardenas, whose throats he caused to be cut; and hanged John Perez, Francisco Peces, John Diente, and Martin Cote, and thirty others of the most culpable or chiefest Offenders; others who were pardoned for life, were banished into the remote parts of that Kingdom.

Whilft the Governour was thus employed in thing justice at Huamanca, he received intelligence that Almagro was taken and imprisoned at Cozco; wherefore hastning to that place, and arriving there, he immediately caused the Sentence to be executed, which he had passed upon him before the Battel, not being willing to spend more time in new Processes. Carate saith, that they cut his throat in the same place, and by the same Executioner, who put his Father to death, and who stripped him, and took his Cloaths in the same manner as he had done his Father's, onely some friends agreed for his Breeches, Wastcoat and Shirt, which were conserved to him; his Body was laid out, and exposed the whole day to publick view; afterwards they carried it to the Convent of our Lady of the Meceda, and there buried it by the side, or in the very Grave of his Father, without Winding-sheet or other Shroud than his own Cloaths, onely out of charity some

few Maffes were faid for his Soul.

This was the end of Don Diego Almagro Junior, which was so like to that of his Father, that fortune seemed to make the circumstances of their lives parallel in every thing; for besides that they were Father and Son, and had the same, they were endued with equal courage and conduct in War, and with the same prudence and counsel in Peace.; and if there was any thing of excellency more in one than in the other, it appeared in the Son, who from his youth had been trained up in good literature, in which by help of his good parts both for judgment and quickness of fancy he made great improvement: they resembled each other in their Deaths, which happened in the same place, and almost in the same manner; their Funerals were much alike, for having been rich and powerful, they died so poor, that their Burial-charges were paid upon charity; and to render the circumstances of their lives in all things agreeable, the Battels they sought and lost were both upon a Saturday.

Thus poor Don Diego Almagro Junior, concluded the Scene of his Life, who had been the bravelt Meflizo (that is, one begot by a Spaniard on the body of an Indian Woman) that ever this new World produced, had he taken the right fide, and obeyed the Governour, who was conflituted by Commission from his Majesty. He was a Man who had a handsome seat on Horse-back in both Saddles, either riding with his legs at length, or thort, as is the sashion on the Gennet: At last he died like a good Christian with great repentance for his sins. Almagro being dead, they hanged up Tohn Rodriguez Barragan, and Ensign Enriquez, with eight others, who adventured to follow Almagro unto Cozco. Gomez Pertz, and Diego Mendez, and another companion of theirs, made their escape out of Prison but finding no secure place wherein to conceal themselves in all Pern, they sed to the Mountains, where Prince Manco Inca remained in retirement, and were solowed by five others, who went also to hide, and cure themselves of their wounds in that place: All which were received with great kindness, and with as good entertainment by the Inca, as he was able to give them; but in what Coin they again repaid him, will appear by the sequel, for he was killed by one of them in requital for his savours and kindness towards them.

CHAP. XIX.

The good Government of Vaca de Castro; the peace and quietness of Peru; the cause and original of other Troubles.

Don Diego Almagro Junior, being dead, and all the Complices and Heads of that party being either put to death, or banished, the whole Empire of Peru began to enjoy peace and fettlement, the name and interest of that Almarrian Faction being totally extinguished. Judge Vaca de Custro being a prudent, and a difference of the section of the section of Spaniards and Indians, having established leveral Laws to advantageous to the Welfare of both Nations, that the Indiand themselves rejoyced in such happy constitutions, and esteemed them equal to those which had been made by their Incas. Likewise the Governour bestowed fuch Plantations of Indians, which were void and forfeited for Rebellion, on perfor who had well deserved for their Services to his Majesty in the late War: the alio encreased the Possessions of others, or exchanged them for those which were better in other places, or Cities, where they were most pleased to chuse their habitation. At that time many of the Inhabitants of Charcas transplanted themselves and Families to Cocco, amongst whom my Lord Garcilasso de la Vega was one, who (as we have said formerly) had left the Province Tapac-ri to settle himself in the Province Quechua, which belongs to the Nation Cotanera, and Huamampallpa. And though the Governour in the Divisions he made proceeded with all the equality and caution imaginable, as was apparent to all the World, yet many were discontented for want of having Lands, and Plantations of Indians allotted to them, which they believed and prefumed to be due for all their Services and Labours they had fultained in the Conquest of Peru. Amongst these difcontented persons there was a certain Gentleman called Hernando Mogollon, born at Badajoz, of whom we have made mention in the third Chapter of the first Book of our Hiftory of Florida. This Gentleman prefuming that he had well deferved and performed great Services in the Conquest of these new Countries, and particularly at the Battel of Chapus, where he fignalized his bravery in an extraordinary manner, of which Vaca de Castro himself was a Witness; for which finding he had no reward, or Lands, or Indian Servants divided to him, he went and applied himself to the Governour, and told him plainly:

Sir, In this Countrey, as your Lordling well knows, all People cat from the Labours of Mogollon, and he alone starves with hunger. And in regard that he was one of those who discovered Florida, and was sorward and active in other important Conquests which have been acquired to the Crown of Spain; and lastly, was present in the Battel of Chupas, where he sought under your Lordship's Standard; it is but reason that some remembrance should be had of him, who hath not forgotten his Duty and Scroice to his Majesty.

The Governour confidering well the Merits of the Man, and that he asked nothing but what was very reasonable, he bestowed upon him a small share of Lands, inhabited by Indians. And as an expedient to quiet the minds of other complaining and indigent Souldiers, of which many were unrewarded; and to prevent a farther Mutiny, he imitated the example of Marquis Pigarra, who on the like occasion dispeeded several Companies with their Captains, to conquer and posses divers other parts of the Countrey; by which means enlarging their Tertiories, every Man might obtain some Inheritance and Dominion over the Indians. And accordingly he gave order to Captain Pedro de Vergara to return to his Province of Pacamara, where he had made some progress in his Conquest, when

646

who were very good and experienced Southers.

Diego de Rojas, Nicholas de Eredia, and Philip Guierrez (a Native of Madrid) were fent to the Province of Mussu, called by the Spaniards los Mozos; with them were listed a Company of brave Men, who had sustained many great difficulties before they arrived at the River of Plate, of which we shall hereafter give a Relation. Gonzalo de Monrroy was fent to the Kingdom of Chili to recruit and affife the Forces of the Governour Pedro de Valdivia, who then was employed in the Conquest of the Provinces and Nations belonging to that Kingdom. To another Province called Mullinpampa he fent Captain John Perez de Guevara, who had made a late discovery thereof, and had there received intelligence and intimation of other new Countries, and large Territories, which stretch themselves Eastward between the Rivers called Orellana, Marannon, and the River of Plate: But that those were Countries very Mountainous, and full of Moors, Fens and Bogs; and inhabited by few Indians, who lived in a bestial manner, like brute Beasts, without Religion, Laws or Civility, and were fuch as ate one the other; and that the

Climate being hot, they needed no cloathing, but went naked. Thus the Governour Vaca de Castro having ridded his hands of the Souldiers. and cleared the Kingdom of Peru of the burthen of new Levies, having fent them from Quitu to the Charcas, which are seven hundred Leagues distant each from the other, he remained much at ease, and freed from the daily importunities which disturbed him; so that he attended to his Government in peace and quietness to the general fatisfaction of all people. And that he might form and establish Laws most agreeable to the nature and constitution of those Countries, he informed himself of the Curacas, and ancient Captains; of the Order and Rules which their Incan Kings observed in their Administration of Justice. our of which he chose and culled such as he esteemed most proper and agreeable to the constitutions of both Nations, whereby the Spaniards might be conserved. and the Indians increased. Then he sent Letters to Gonzalo Picarro, who still remained in Quitu to come to him; and having in the Name of his Majesty, and in his own behalf, thanked him for all the Services he had performed to the Crown, and applauded the dangers and adventures he had run, which his Maiesty would in due time reward; he gave him leave to return to his own habitation, and to his Dominion in the Charcas over the Indians there, advising him to take care of his health, and attend to the improvement of his Estate. The Indians finding themselves freed from the calamities and miseries they had sustained by the late intestine Wars, which had been carried on at the expence of their Lives and Estates; of which, as Gomara saith, the Spaniards had been so prodigal, that above a Million and a half of them were destroyed; at length being more at ease, they returned to their Countrey affairs, and to tillage and cultivation of their Lands, which by the industry and knowledge of the Spaniards in Agriculture yielded great plenty, and abundance of all Provisions; and both sides attending to their own quiet and ease, the Indians discovered several rich Mines of Gold in many parts of Peru; the richeft of which were fituated Eastward from Cozco in the Province of Collabuaya, called by the Spaniards Caravaya, from whence they digged great quantities of the finest Gold of twenty four Quilates; which Mines also yield some Gold to this day, though not in such abundance as formerly. To the Westward of Cozco, in the Province of Quechna, which is well peopled with divers Nations so named; and on that side thereof which is called Huallaripa, other Mines of Gold were discovered; which though they yielded not their Gold so fine as that of Collabuaya, yet it amounted to twenty Quilats more or less in goodness; howsoever the quantity thereof was so great, that about nine or ten years after the Mine was opened, I remember to have feen some Indians bring home to their Master every Saturday night two thousand Pelos of Gold Sand for his single part or share in those Mines. We call that Gold Sand, or Dust, which they gather like the Filings of Iron; there is also another fort fomething thicker, like Bran after it is fifted from the Flour, amongst which they find now and then some granes as big as the Seeds of Melons or Pompions, to the value of fix or eight Ducats each grane. From fuch confiderable quantities of Gold as were daily brought to the Mint, or Melting houses, the fifth part thereof which appertained to his Majesty, amounted to a vast Treasure; for of every

Royal Commentaries. BOOK III.

five Marks one, and of every five Pefos, one was delivered for the King's use and exactly counted to the last Maravedis or Farthing.

This by the prudent and good management of this Christian Governous, who was very much a Gentleman, prudent, wife and zealous for the Service of God and the King, that Empire began to flourish, and under many concurring circumflances arrived to that high pitch of happiness and felicity, that it daily increased and improved to greater benefits: But that which above all was confiderable was the propagation and increase of our Holy Catholick Faith, which the semiards with great zeal and labour preached over all those Countries; the which was re-rejyed by the *Indians* with the greater satisfaction and diligence, because that manv of those Doctrines which were preached unto them, were the same Precents and Commands which their *Incan* Kings had by the mere light of Nature deli-

vered to them. But whilft the Gofpel grew and flourished, and many were enlightned with the glorious Majesty thereof, and that the Indians, as well as Spaniards, enjoyed in Peru both spiritual and temporal Bleffings with peace and quietness: Behold, the Devil that common enemy to Mankind, laboured to diffurb the happy progress of this profperity: To destroy and overthrow which, he let loofe his Officers and evil inftruments, fuch as Ambition, Envy, Covetoufness, Avarice, Anger, Pride, Discord and Tyranny, to whom he gave Commission in their several places to endeavour the subversion of the Gospel, and hinder the conversion of the Gentiles to the Catholick Faith, the advancement of which tended to the destruction of his Power and Kingdom; and God in his fecret judgments, and for punishment of the fins of Men, permitted those devices of the Devil to succeed, in such fatal manner, as we shall find by the fequel. For some certain persons, guided by a blind and mistaken zeal for the common good of the Indians took false meafures in the proposals they made therein to the Royal Council; arguing in many Debates, that new Laws and Constitutions ought to be established with peculiar reference and respect to the Governments of Mexico and Peru. The person who most warmly and earnestly insisted on this point, was a certain Friar called Bartholomers de las Cafas, who some years past being a Secular Priest, had travelled over the Islands of Barlovento, and had been at Mexico, and in the parts adjacent; and having taken a religious Habit on him, he proposed divers matters, which he alledged, were for the good of the Indians, and tended to the propagation of the Catholick Faith, and increase of the Royal Revenue; but what effect and success his Councils had, Francis Lopez de Gomara, Chaplain to his Imperial Majefly, relates in Chapter 152, and the same is confirmed by Carate, Accountant-General of the Royal Exchequer, in the first Chapter of his fifth Book.

The same is also related by a new Historian called Diego Fernando, a Citizen of Palencia, who recites the many diffurbances which the new Laws and Constitutions caused both in Mexico and Peru; this Authour begins his History from those Revolutions, and differs very little from the substance of those particulars men-tioned by the two others. Wherefore we shall repeat singly what each Authour writes; for confidering the aversion I naturally have to all relations of fatal and dolefull passages, I unwillingly recount any thing of that nature; but being forced thereunto for declaration of the Truth, and for continuation of the Hiftory, I judge it convenient to fortifie my discourses with the testimony of the three foregoing Authours, that fo I may not feem of my own head to have framed matters which have produced fad and evil confequences to the whole Empire, and which have proved ruinous to the feveral parties and factions of those Countries: And lest in the Quotation of these Authours, or citing them by Notes in the Margent, I should be taxed of mistakes, or of having added any thing of my own, have rather chosen to follow my former method, by repetition of their words werbatim in those particulars, which contain matter of reflexion, or blame on any person; though in other things my discourses shall not be confined to their very words, but rather ferve for a Comment, enlarging on many paffages, and adding to what they have omitted; all which shall be performed with great respect to truth, founded on the testimony of those who having been Eye-witnesses. and Actors in those Revolutions, have delivered undoubted Narratives thereof unto me without partiality or prejudice to any.

549

Wherefore now to proceed after this preamble, we fay, That when the Vice king Blasco Numez Vela arrived in Peru, I was then about four years of Age; and afterwards in my riper years, I was acquainted with feveral of those who are no anterwards in hypothesis and a second and the second are the many troubles which the new Constitutions caused in Mexico, and the good effects which in the end were produced by the prudent and wife management of the Judge, who was employed to put them in execution. After which we will return to Peru, and relate the many misfortunes, flaughters, and other miferies which turn to *Pern*, and relate the many mistortunes, hadginers, and other miteries which attended them, caufed by the feverity, rigour and imprudence of that Vice king, who was Commissionated to execute those Laws, and govern that Empire. And though the History of *Mexico* is foreign to our discourse, yet I have thought fit to compare the successes of one and of the other Kingdom, which had various and almost contrary effects, arising notwithstanding on the same causes. That fo Kings and Princes may by the examples and precedents of History learn and observe how dangerous it is to establish Laws, which are rigorous, and cause them to be executed by fevere Judges, who for want of moderation incline the Subjects and Vaffals to a deternation of their Government, whereby they lose that respect, duty and allegiance, which is due thereunto. And indeed all Hiflories, both Divine and Humane, hath from all antiquity averred the twh here-of; and the experience of these Modern times have given us to understand, that never was any Rebellion commenced against Kings, who were gentle and kind to their Subjects; but when cruelty, tyranny and oppression by taxes, and heavy impositions prevailed, then all things ran to misery and consulion.

## CHAP. XX.

Of the New Laws and Constitutions made in the Court of Spain, for the better Government of the two Empires, Mexico and Peru.

TX/E must understand that in the year 1539, a certain Friar called Bartholomen de las Casas, came from New Spain to Madrid, where the Court resided at that time, thewing himself in all his Sermons and familiar Discourses extremely zealous for the good of the Indians, and a great Favourer and Protectour of them: In evidence of which, he propounded many things, and maintained them to be very reasonable, and which in themselves outwardly appeared holy and good, yet in the execution thereof they proved rigorous, cruel and difficult to be put into practice. The propolals notivithflanding of this Friar were offered, and laid before the Supreme Council of the *Indien*, where they were ill approved, and rejected by the prudence and understanding of *Don Garcia de Loaysa*, the good Cardinal of Seville, who was made of that Council, in regard that for several years he had been Governour of the Indies, and had more knowledge and experience of the affairs of those parts, than any of those who had been Conquerours and Inhabitants thereof: Wherefore differting from the opinion of the Friar, his Propofals were not entertained, but suspended untill the year 1542, when the Emperour Charles the Fifth returned into Spain after a long Journey he had made through France, Flanders and Germany. His Majefty, who was endued with great zeal and devotion for propagation of the Christian Faith, was easily persuaded to hearken to the gentle propositions of the Friar, which he infinuated under the specious colour of Conscience, and with the guise of Religion, offered several new Laws and Constitutions to be enacted and put in force for the greater good and benefit of the Indians.

After his Imperial Maiefly had duly heard and confidered all that the Frier had noffer, he affembled his great Council, to which he farther added feveral grave and learned persons both Prelates and Lawyers; and, having laid before them the and learned periods bent Fleates and Lawyers, and, having land other term the particular Laws and new Establishments, they were approved, and passed by the major part of the Assembly; notwithstanding many being of a different opinion distincted from the Majority, and declared their Votes to the contrary; amongst which were the Cardinal aforementioned, Prefident of the Council, the Bithop of Lugo, Don John Suarez de Carvajal (with whom I was once acquainted) Francisande los Covos, Secretary to his Majesty, Don Sabastian Ramirez Bishop of Cuenca and Prefident of Valladolid, who formerly had been Prefident in St. Domingo and Mexico; Don Garçia Manrique, Count of Oforno and President of Ordenes. who (as Gomara faith) had for a long time been Super-Intendent over the Affairs of the Indies, during the absence of Cardinal Garcia de Loaysa; all which having been long conversant, and Men of experience in the Affairs of the Indies. did diffike and disapprove the new Laws and Ordinances, which were 40 in number. as differeeable to the natural Constitutions of those Countries and People. Howfoever the same were passed and confirmed by the Emperour in Barcelona, on the 20th of November, 1542, as Gomara, in Chap. 152, relates: and the Battel of Chuwas fought between the Governour Vacca de Castro, and Don Diego Almagro Junior, on the 15th of September, of the same year, being two months and five days before these Laws were signed and passed it by which it may plainly appear how much the Devil was concerned to disturb and hinder the propagation of the Gospel in Peru: for no fooner was one Fire extinguished, before another was in a Flame more fierce and terrible than the former . occasioned by those Discontents which grose from the new Constitutions; of which we shall mention onely four, which are laid down by the aforefaid Authours, as most pertinent to the present History, and are these which follow.

The first Law was this, That after the Death of the Conquerours and of those who had Plantations, and had built Cities, those who were in possession thereof should hold them of the King, for their Lives onely, without right of Inheritance descending to their Wives and Children, but that when any one died the Kingshould succeed, giving to the Children such a proportion of the fruits thereof

as might support and maintain them.

That no Indian should be charged with any Tax or Imposition unless in those Countries where the Indians paid not the same by bodily Labour; that no Indian should be forced to labour in the Mines or fish for Pearls; and that having paid a Tribute or Imposition on his Goods to the Lord of the Manour or Freehold, he should be discharged from corporal services.

That the Lands and Plantations cultivated by *Indians*, which Bishops or Monafleries, or Hospitals held in their own right, should be quitted by them, and vested
in the King; and that all Governours, Presidents, Judges, Officers of Justice, and
their Deputies under them; as also all the Officers of his Majesties revenue should
renounce and disclaim all Title and Interest to such Lands and Plantations of *In-*dians; and that no Officers of his Majesty should be capable of keeping *Indian*Slaves, though they should renounce their Offices to be capacitated thereunto:

That all fuch as have Lands in Peru, (which is to be understood of those who have command over Indians) and have had any concernment, or been interested in the late disturbances between Don Francisco de Picarro and Don Diego de Almagro, shall lose and forfeit all their power and dominion over the Indians, as well one side as the other: by which Law and Constitution (as Diego Fernandez well obferves) all People were comprehended, there not being one person in all Peru, who was capacitated either to hold Lands, or to enjoy an Estate in all that Country; and confequently all Persons of Quality as well in new Spain as in Peru were excluded not onely by this, but by the third Law; for all or most of them had been Governours, Justices, Deputies or Officers of the Royal revenue: fo that both these two Laws were as Toiles which caught every person, being so comprehensive, as to take in every person in the *Indies*, and by virtue thereof excluded them from all their Pollellions: but for the better understanding of these Acts, Laws and Constitutions, and the grounds thereof, we shall mention and declare the Motives and Reasons which the Legislators produced and alledged for constituting and establishing the same. And as to the first Act or Ordinance we must know, that in recompence and reward to the first Discoverers and Conquerours of the

0000

After

650

Indies, a Grant was made to possess and enjoy the Lands they had gained for two Lives, that is, for their own, and the life of their eldest Son, and to the Daughter, in case a Son should be wanting.

Afterwards a Command was given, That every one should marry, upon sin. position, that men being married would defire to be quiet, and apply themselves to cultivate and improve their Lands, and not be mutinous and delirous of No. velties; and upon this Confideration, and for the encouragement of Marriage, it was ordained, that the Wife for want of Children should enter into the possess. on, and enjoy it for her Life. The reason of the second Law or Constitution exempting the Indians from payment of Taxes or Impositions was grounded on a fuggestion; that the Spaniards paid or allowed nothing to the Indians for their pains or labour in their fervices: perhaps this might be particularly true in relati. on to some Spaniards of evil consciences and tyrannical dispositions; but as to the generality, it could not be made good; for that many Indians were enterrained in the service of the Spaniards, and as Day-labourers hired themselves out to hew or faw timber, receiving their wages and hire for their labours: and therefore to ordain that the *Indians* should not be charged with labours or employed in work was to cut off their bread and their gain: and therefore it had been much more political to have made a Law feverely to punish those who withheld payment from the Indians, after they had done their fervice and labour which deferved it.

As to that Law, which forbids the Indians to be compelled to work in the Mines I have nothing to fay, but onely to referr my felf to the present practice, which is now used in this year 1611, when by order of the Government, the Indians are compelled to labour in the Silver Mines of the Mountain of Potofci, and in the Mines of Quick-filver which arise in the Province of Huanca: in which, if the Indians were not employed, the quantities of Gold and Silver which are yearly

imported from this Empire into Spain would greatly fail.

As to that particular Law which imposes a Tribute or Quit rent paiable by the Tenant to the Lord of the Manor, it was a matter fo well established, that it was received with general applause at that time when President Pedro de la Garca proportioned the Tax in Peru, of which I was my felf an eye-witness: but as to the exemption of *Indians* from personal service, they gave no good information, nor did they know how to make such a roport as might be proper in that case. For the matter stood thus: Every Adventurer that was an Inhabitant had a certain number of Indians allotted to him in lieu of part of his Tribute, for maintenance of his house; so that every Lord, besides his principal Mansion dwelling had some small Cottages of about fourty or fifty in number, or fixty at the most, fet out to him, obliged to personal Services; that is to say, to provide his house with Wood, Water, and Hay or Grass for his Stables, for at that time, they had no Straw; and, befides this, they were obliged to no other Tribute or Service: and of this nature my Father was possessed of three little Villages in the Valley of Cozco; and in the parts adjacent, the Inhabitants of Cozco held divers such like Cottages obliged to the use and service of the City. And where it happened out, that the lot fell to any person, in places uninhabited, they presently sent to the Head-quarters to be supplied with Indians in part of the Tribute due to them; and accordingly the fame was granted, and the Indians which were allotted to them, with great chearfulness and contentment followed and observed the imposition of their Masters: so that when the President Gasca came, and found this particular point so equally disposed and established, he approved thereof, and made no manner of alteration therein.

As to the third Precept, which retrenched the Bishops, Monasteries and Hospitals in those large proportions of services which former Governours had bestowed upon them, over Indians: It seemed neither injurious nor unreasonable wholly to take them away; for that the Intention of the Governours was not to grant them for a longer time than they were impowred by his Majesties Commiffion, which was only for two lives, which being expired, their right ceafed; and herein Monasteries, Bishopricks and Hospitals, though of perpetual durance, yet could not pretend to a greater privilege than the Adventurers and Conquerours of those Empires. The remaining part of this third and fourth Ordinance we shall declare hereafter, in the place where we give a relation of the Complaints which those made who believed themselves injured and damnifyed thereby. CHAP. XXI.

Of the Officers which were fent to Mexico and Peru, to put thele Laws into Execution. And a Description of the Imperial City of Mexico.

Hen these Laws of the new Establishment came over; It was farther ordered that the Course hald as new Course red, that the Court held at Panama should be dissolved, and another new one erected in the confines of Guatimala and Nicaragua, to which Court the

whole Terra Firma, or Continent, was to be subjected.

It was farther ordained. That another Court of Chancery should be erected in Peru, confifting of four Judges and a Prefident, to whom the title should be given of Vice-king and Captain General: And that a certain person should be sent unto New Spain with a power of Vilitation, to overfee the Government of the Viceking, and the Proceedings in the Court of Mexico and of the feveral Bishooricks, and to take an account from the Officers of the Royal Revenue, and of all the Justices of that Kingdom.

All which Regulations were iffued forth with the aforementioned Ordinances. which, as formerly declared, were fourty in number. And whereas there refided in the Court of Spain many Indians from all parts; divers Copies of these new Rules were translated, sent-over and dispersed, which all and every particular perfor inhabitants of those two Empires, took out for his information, being of gereal concernment: but so displeasing were these new regulations to the generality of those People, that in high discontent they caballed together, and held bu-

blick meetings to contrive a remedy.

Some few days after the publication of these Orders, his Imperial Majesty nominated Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval, a Native of Seville, who had been Inquisitor of Toledo, to be his Visitor, for which Office he judged him the most proper person he could chuse, in consideration that he had formerly been a member of the Royal Council of the Indies, and a person of great probity and prudence, and for that reason, was well worthy of the emploiment, to see that the new Laws floid be put in execution as well in New Spain as in other parts of the Empire, and to that purpose, that he should visit all places, to see them actually performed and put into practice.

At the same time Blasco Numez Vela, who was Surveyor General of the Forts of Caffile was named Prefident and Vice-king of the Kingdoms and Provinces of Pern, concerning which matter Carate, in the second Chapter of his fifth Book, hath these words following, "The great experience his Majesty had "of this Gentleman, whom he had tryed and approved in other Governments of Countries and Cities, namely, in Malaga and Cuenca; and having found that he was a Gentleman of great probity and rectitude, executing impartial justice unto all men without respect to persons, and that he was ever zealous for the Royal Interest, and that with great courage he performed the King's Com-"mands, and without failure in any thing; his Majesty therefore judged him worthy of this honourable emploiment. Thus far are the words of Carate.

Moreover Don Diego de Cepeda, a Native of Torderfillas, who had been Judge in the Isles of the Canaries, and Don Lifon de Texada, a Native of Logronno, who had been Judge of the Marshal's Court held at Valladolid, for deciding points of Honour, and Don Alvarez, who had been a Pleader or Advocate in the fame Court, With Don Pedro Ortez de Carate, a Native of the City of Ordunna, formerly Mayor of Segovia, were all four put into Commission, and appointed Officers in those

Moreover Augustine de Carate, who had been Secretary of the Privy Council, was appointed Auditor General of all the Accounts of those Kingdoms and Provinces, and of that whole Continent. To whom, and to the persons abovementioned, these Rules and Orders above mentioned were delivered, with Com-

0000 2

mand. That so soon as the Courts were setled and established in the City of Los Reres, where his Majefly commanded they should be held; the feveral Laws mentioned in the sequel of the Commissions, should be observed and maintained without any violation.

Thus much is reported by Diego Fernandez in the fecond Chapter of his Book and the like also is mentioned by Augustine Carate, almost in the same termes: and the like and is mentioned by many and that these Laws were issued out and dated in the month of April, 1542.

And now, in the first place, we will briefly relate the happy success of these matters in Mexico, from whence we will proceed to Peru, and there declare the fad and dolefull effects thereof, which happened in that Kingdom as well to

In the month of November, 1543. the Vice-king, together with his Judges, Ministers, and Chief Super-Intendent, Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval, embarked at San Lucar upon a noble Fleet, confifting of about 52 Sail of good and tall Shins. and loofing from thence with a prosperous gale arrived in 12 days at the Islands of the Canaries; from whence having taken some refreshments, they pursued their voyage; and then divided their Fleet, those for New Spain steering their course to the right-hand, and those for Peru unto the left; where we will leave our Vice. king in profecution of his voyage, to relate the fuccess of the Visitor or Super-Intendent in the Kingdom of Mexico. And passing by the many particulars of this voyage, which are mentioned by *Diego Fernandes Paletinos*; we shall say, in short, that in the month of *Febr.* 1544. he safely arrived in the Port of *St. John de Ulva*, and from thence proceeded to *Veracrue*; and in a short time afterwards came to Mexico; being received in his way thither by all People with that refrect, duty and joy, as was due to his Quality and Commission.

But the People of Mexico, being informed of the Rules and Instructions he brought with him, resolved to goe forth and meet him at some short distance from the City; not with Musick or Merriment; but as Diego Fernandee reports, clothed in Mourning, and with fuch fadness and forrow in their countenances, as might tellifie their refentments, fears and apprehensions, they conceived at his en-

trance into the Government.

Which Intention being made known to the Vice-king Don Antonio de Mendoca. he presently endeavoured to prevent the same, and to put the People into a bener humour, commanding them to receive him with Joy and Mirth; and according ly the Vice-king and Council, with the Officers of State, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, as also the Clergy, with above 600 Gentlemen all richly adorned and well-armed, went forth to receive him at half a League distance from the City. The Vice-king and the Super-Intendent met, and entertained each other with much complement and ceremonies, and the like paffed with all others: and then he proceeded to the Monastery of St. Domingo, at his entrance into which he was received by Father John Cumarrage, of the Order of St. Francis, Arch-bishop of Mexico, and was conducted thither by the Vice-king, who having feen him there in his Lodging, he left him, and committed him to his repose. All which being thus far related by Diego Fernandez, he proceeds to give us a description of the City of Mexico in these words.

" If it may be lawfull for me, who am an Indian, and for that reason may seem partial to my own Countrey: I thould gladly repeat the words which he uses in honour of that great City, which may be compared to the ancient greatness of Rome in its glory: His words are these. "This great City of Mexico is situated " in a plain, and founded amidst the Waters like Venice; and therefore for the " better communication of the Inhabitants, it is furnished with a great number of Bridges. The Lake in which this City is built, though it feems to be of one fingle Water; yet in reality it confifts of two, which are of different natures, the one is of a bitterish and brackish fort of Waters: and the other of a fweet tafte and wholesome for the body: the Salt-water ebbs and flows; but " the Sweet-water doth not fo, but being of a higher fituation falls into the " Salt-water, and the Salt-water on the contrary doth not arise so high as to da-

" mage the other.

" The Salt-water Lake is about five Leagues broad, and eight Leagues in " length; and the Sweet-water is much of the like dimension; upon these Lakes about 200 thousand small Boats are emploied, which the Natives call dealer, " and the Spaniards, Canoes; they are all made of one piece of Timber, and are higger or lefs, according to the proportion of the Tree out of which they

Royal Commentaries.

About this time this City contained 700 great and principal Palaces, well " built of Lime and Stone; the which were not covered with Tile or Slate. bur " made flat with a Tarras, fo that People might walk on the top.

"The Streets are very commodious, plain and streight, and so wide that four " Horsemen may be able to ride a-breast with their Lances and Targets. without

touching one the other.

Воок III.

"The Town-house, where the Tribunals of Justice are held, hath nine several Courts or Yards within it, together with a large Garden, and a spacious place, where they exercised their Sports called the Feasts of Bulls. Within this House the Vice king Don Antonio de Mendoca kept his Court, and the Visifor or Super-Intendent Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval, with three Judges and the Accountant General were conveniently lodged. Within the Verge also of this "Town-house, the Royal Prison was contained, and a House and Office for founding Bells and Cannon, as also the Mint for Coinage of Money.

Ilpon one fide of this House the Street fronts which they call Tacuba, and on the other fide runs the Street of St. Francis, and behind is the Street called the Chase, all which are Principal Streets; and on the Front of all is the open " Place where they bait the Bulls; and, in fine, this Palace is of that large Cir-"comference, that it answers to the eighty Gates belonging to the Houses of

Principal Inhabitants of that City.

The Indians of this City live in two great Streets called St. Jago and Mexico: the number of which are at this time reckoned to be 200 thousand. The Avenues to this City are four, one whereof is two Leagues in length, and is that

to the South-ward, by which Hernando Cortes made his entry.

Thus far are the words of Diego Fernandez, to which this Authour adds. That in those days there were 700 great capacious Houses, he might mean rather 700 large Streets, which may well be imagined, if we take the Measures thereof by the proportion of that vast Palace, wherein were contained the Vice-king's House. the Vilitors Apartments, with the Lodgings of the Judges and other Officers of the Kingdom, as also the Prison, the Mint, and the rooms wherein the Bells and Cannon were founded; all and every of which Offices were fo large that each of them of it felf contained a whole Street; which this Authour confirms in the Description he gives of this House, saying, That this House is so large that it answers to 80 great Gates belonging to the Houses of Principal Citizens. In short, we may positively affirm, that this Imperial City of Mexico is certainly one of the chief, if not the most considerable City in the World. The which I prove by the testimony of a Dutch Gentleman, who having out of curiosity travailed to see the most famous Cities of the Old World, did averre, that out of curiofity onely to fee Mexico, he took a voyage into the new-found World : and that, beliefs the pleasure he took in the fight thereof, he had gained 20 thoufand Ducats in his Countrey upon feveral wagers he had made, concerning the particulars he had related thereof; to prove which a man was purposely sent to those parts.

But not to make too long a Digression upon this Subject, we shall omit many particulars which he related to me hereof, as also of his long Travails he made there, and the many years he spent therein, which to my best remembrance he told me were 14. Palentino reports, that when the Vice-king went forth to meet and receive the Visitor or Super-Intendent, he was accompanied with the Privy Council, Judges and other Officers of State, as also with the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Clergy, together with 600 Gentlemen all very richly attired and well armed; all which was no Romance nor more than the truth. For befides other Grandeurs and pieces of Ostentation belonging to Mexico; it is most certain, that 'tis common and usual on Sundays, and other Festival days, to fee 5 or 600 Gentlemen riding through the Streets, not upon defign of Matches or Horse-races, or the like, but onely for common pastime, and to take the Air: which for a fubordinate Government without the presence of a King, is very ma-

gnificent and extraordinary.

#### CHAP. XXII.

Persons are appointed to petition against the New Laws; the same are publickly proclaimed. Of the Trouble and Mutiny which was caused thereby; and how it was appeased. And how matters slourished in all the Empire of Mexico by the prudence and good conduct of this Visitor or Super-Intendent.

**B** UT to return again to the course of our History from whence we are digressed; we are here to declare, that the next day after the arrival of this Visitor, there was a general mutiny and discontent in all the City of Mexito; saying, That this new Guest was come to put the new Laws in execution, and every one descanted on matters according to his own humour and fancy, so that there were feveral publick Cabals and Confultations held in what manner to overthrow, and prevent this general agrievance, the result of which was with general consent, that they should petition against these Ordinances, and lay before the content, that they inouid petition against their Ordinances, and lay before the Visitor their Objections against them; to consider and perfect which the Corporation of the City and Officers of his Majestics Exchequer spent that whole night and the Sunday following; and upon Munday morning, so soon as it was light, they convened together, namely, the chief of the Cabal with their Clerk who attended with a multitude of People, went to the Monastery of St. Domingo, where they delivered their Petition and Reasons against the new Regulations: and though the Monastery was very spatious, yet the Croud of People was so great. that the place was not capable to contain them. And though the Visitor was fomething fearfull and apprehenfive of the rudeness and insolence of the rabble, yet he put a good face upon the matter, and with much frankness declared unto them the Reasons of his coming. Howsover he gently reproved them with fair words, wondering that before he had opened his Commission, or declared the causes and matters upon which he was employed, that they flould to eagerly offer their Complaints against agrievances which never touched them. Wherefore he defired them to depart in peace with their multitude, and out of them to depute two or three of their principal Officers to reprefent their Complaints before him; and that they should return to him in the afternoon, when he would treat with them, and give Answers to their Demands: with this Answer they all retired, and upon confultation together, they appointed the Atturney General and two Justices of the Peace, and the Clerk of the Cabal, named Lepes de Legalpi, to be their Deputies; who accordingly at two a clock in the afternoon went to the Monaflery to offer their agrievances.

The Visitor to outward appearance seemed to receive them with much cheerfulness; and having admitted them into an inward room, began sharply to reprove them for the Tumult which they had raised in the morning, aggravating their Fault by the dangerous consequences which might have happened thereupon, to the dishonour of God, and the breach of the publick Peace. Moreover he assured them, that he came not to destroy or prejudice the Countrey, but to advance and improve it to the utmost of his power: he likewise promised to intercede with his Majesty on their behalf, and represent the Inconvenience of the most rigorous Statutes, and that untill an Answer thereof were returned, he would su-

fixed the execution of them.

In fine, he formanaged his discourse, and so overcame them with good words and forcible Persuasions, that without enforcing the particulars on which they were deputed, they returned with full satisfaction, and appeared the unquietness and rage of the Tumult; and so the Mutinies of the People being abated for the

fpace of feveral days, until Monday the 24th of March, when the new Statutes were publickly proclaimed, at which time the persons who were present were, the Viceking, the Visitor, and all the Council. So soon as the Proclamation was ended, the Sheriff of the City broke through the Croud, and in a confused manner came up to the Visitor, and delivered him a Petition which he had prepared, with several Reasons against the new Statutes; the People at the same time murmuring, and seemingly resolved to maintain their former liberties: Upon which the Visitor, searing the outrage of the People, began to excuse himself, and with much carnestness declared, that what he had done therein, was not of choice, but by compulsion: promising them with all the affurance imaginable, that whatsoever in that Proclamation tended to the prejudice of the Conquerours he would never ensorce or execute; and that he would affuredly perform whatsoever he had promised to the Deputies of the Common Council of the People. And whereas they seemed to give no credence to his words, he much complained, and with vehement Asserberg and the words and swore to them, that he was infinitely concerned, and that they themselves did not so much desire the flourishing estate and condition of New Spain. as he did.

He moreover promifed upon Oath to write unto his Majesty in savour of the Conquerours and Inhabitants, beseeshing his Majesty not onely to conserve unto them their Estates and Revenue, Privileges and ancient Charters, but likewise, to consum and enlarge the same, and to conserve unto them those other Lands to be equally divided, which lye waste and without a Possessor. In like manner the Bishop of Maximobserving the general sadness and discontent which appeared in the countenance of the Citizens, offered to engage his own Faith and Credit, that the Vistros should perform whatsoever he had promised; and for an evidence of his kindness, he invited all the People on the next day being the twenty fifth of March, and the great Festival of our Lady, to be present at the great Church, where he promised to give them a Sermon, and that the Visitor should celebrate Mass.

With these Promises and Assurances, though their Minds were a little eased. yet they departed fad and fearfull, doubting the performance of the many Promiles which were made to them; and though they passed that night with fear and anguilh of mind; yet in the morning they flocked to the great Church, where the Vice-king, the Judges and Officers of the Corporation of the City were prefent. The Visitor having finished the Mass, the Bishop of Mexico ascended the Pulpit, and began his Sermon, in which he produced many Texts of Holy Scripure pertinent to the Affliction of the People, and enforced them with that zeal and fervour of Spirit as gave great comfort and confolation to the People. After which their fullenness began to vanish, and more cheerfulness appeared in their conversation and business: so that the Attorney General and Judges went to make their visit to Don Francisco Tello, contriving with him the form and method whereby they were to make their application to his Majesty for a redress of these aggrievances which were designed against them: in pursuance of which, with the confent and advice of the Visitor, they named two Friers of good esteem. and two Burgomafters of the City Council, whom they deputed in behalf of the whole Kingdom to carry their address into Germany, where the Emperour at that time relided being employed in Wars against the Lutherans: with them the Visitor fent his Letters of recommendation, giving his Majesty to understand, how much the suspension of the late Statutes concerned the Service of God, and of his Majefty: and the confervation of the common peace and quiet of that Countrey; and on the contrary, what inconveniences, troubles and confusions might refult from the execution of them.

In all which particulars the Visitor performed his word like a Gentleman. For in his Letters to his Majesty, having in the first place given a relation of his voyage, and of what happened at his arrival in New Spain, he touched upon divers things relating to the execution of the New Statutes; remarking what in every Law might properly be restrained or enlarged: within this Letter he inclosed a paper containing 25 Heads, relating to such conditions as were proper and tending to the welfare of the Indians, and in what manner they might be best conserved, and the Natives increased: howsoever the Articles were all for the most part in favour of the Spaniards who were Inhabitants of those Countries.

With these Dispatches the persons deputed to carry the Address embarked for Spain, and with them several others who were willing to be absent, to avoid the

force

force of these new Laws, howsoever some sew days after they were published, the Visitor crastily and underhand began to infinuate and privately to put some of the new Regulations into practice. The most easie and safe way, as he thought, was to begin with the King's Officers, who could not reasonably complain of such Rules as their Master imposed on them; in pursuance whereof he acquitted the stans of their services to them; in like manner he released them from all manner of service to Convents, Bishops and Hospitals; and hereof gave immediate ad-

vice to his Majesty.

In the mean time the Friers and Burgesses who were deputed to carry this Message, departed from New Spain, and, having had a fair wind, gained a prosperous passage, and arrived sale in Castile, from whence they hastned with all diligence into Germany to represent their cause before his Imperial Majessy, and in regard the Wars in Germany were very hot, and the persecution of Monasteries and religious Persons which the Hereticks exercised in those parts were very grievous; the Friers thought fit to change their habit, and accounter themselves in the fashion of Souldiers. In short, their negotiations at the Court were successfull, and speedily dispatched, having obtained his Majesties Royal hand for the ease and redress of their aggrievances, they, by the first Fleet, gave an account of the success of their affairs, and how prevalent the recommendations and report which the Visitor had given them were towards the relief and redress of their aggrievances.

So foon as these Dispatches arrived at Mexico, and that the Letters were read at the Common Council of the City; they all immediately repaired to the House of the Visitor, but in a far different manner, and with a more cheerfull aspect than when they first came to offer their petition, and considerations against the new Statutes: for now, without that sullenness of look which they formerly shewed, they now with similes and pleasant looks returned him many thanks for the Letter which he had so kindly wrote in their favour; by virtue of which they had obtained the Royal Mandate, which they delivered to him, commanding the Visitor to suspend the execution of the new Laws, untill farther Order; and moreover it was therein added, that his Majesty would speedily give directions for dividing the Countrey among the Conquerours and the Inhabitiants thereof: and accordingly in the very next Fleet his Majesty sent a Commission to Dim Antonia de Mandora, to make a distribution of such Lands as lay waste, and without any Possession of the City gave orders for a day of self-vivity and rejoycing to be solemnly celebrated; which was performed with Bull-baiting and other Sports and Passing such amone as the like was never practifed before: After which, all seas and jealousses vanishing, every man followed his pleasures and delights.

And farther, to confirm them in the Affurance that the new Laws should not be put in execution, an Instance was given them by the death of one of the Conquerours, who leaving a Widow without Issue; the Vice-king and the Visitor ordained, that the Indians who were his Subjects, and whom he held in villenage, should still continue in the same condition, subjected to the Widow of the deceased; the which action took away the remainder of the jealousse they

apprehended concerning the Practice of the new Statutes.

Thus Don Francisco Tello having performed all matters in New Spain in the manner as we have related, and settled every thing according as he was commanded by his Majesty, he returned again to Cassile, where he was presented by his Majesty to be President in the Courts of Indicature in Granada and Valladolid, and made President of the Royal Council of the Indica: and in the month of Decembers, 1566. his Majesty conserved upon him the Bishoprick of Osma.

Thus much shall serve to have said concerning the new Laws and Constitutions in Mexico: We shall now proceed to give a relation of the many said misfortunes and calamities which were the consequences of them in Pern, where all things being managed in a different manner to those of Mexico, occasioned great Disorders in that Empire: the riches whereof being great, it was necessary to use the more severity and rigour to put the new Statutes in practice: whence proceeded so many slaughters, ruines, robberies, tyrannies and cruelties that we are not able to describe the tenth part of those Miseries which Spaniards and Indians of both sexes and all ages sustained in that great tract of Land where was nothing but Misery and Consulion for the space of 700 leagues together.

# Royal Commentaries.

## BOOK IV.

#### CHAP. I.

Of the Accidents which befell the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela so soon as he landed on the Continent and on the Consines of Peru.

N the preceding History we have given a Relation of the happy and profoerous State of Affairs in the Kingdom of Mexico, caused by the Moderation, Wisedom and good Conduct of the Visitor Don Francisco Tello de Sandoval: We are now, on the contrary, obliged to make a Relation of the Ruines, Slaughters and other Calamities of the Empire of Peru, caused by the Rigour, Severity and Evil difposition of the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela, who so obstinately, against the opinion and sense of all his Council and Officers, pursued the delign of putting the new Statutes into practice, that for want of due confideration of what might conduce to his Majesties service, he put the whole wellfare of the Empire into danger: We have formerly mentioned, how that the two Fleets bound for Peru and Mexico separated each from the other in the Gulf or Bay of Las Damas; and steering thence a different course, the Vice-king with a prosperous Wind arrived at Nombre de Dios, on the 10th of January 1544. from whence he travailed to Panama, where he manumitted, or fet at liberty great numbers of Indians, and freed them from their duty and servitude to the Spaniards, who had brought them from Peru, and caused them again to return thither; the which action was difflealing and ill refented on all fides; for that the Spaniards were highly troubled to be deprived of the Vaffalage of their Indian Servants whom they had inftructed and taught to be industrious: and they themselves being turned Christians, and inured to the service of the Spaniards, and domesticated in their families, were unwilling to quit their Masters. And though it was often infinuated to the Vice-king that this action would prove to the differvice both of God and the King, to exempt the Indians from their servitude to the Spaniards; in regard that fuch of them as had declared and professed themselves Christians, could not long continue in that state; but so soon as they returned to the power of their Caciques, would renounce Christianity, and revert to their old principles and Sacrifices to the Devil. Moreover, they represented unto him, that though his Majesty ordained that the Indians should be set at liberty, yet he commanded, that they should be free to reside where they pleased, and not be forced against their own wills to return unto Peru, and with so little Provision and ill accommodation, that it was almost impossible for them to be sustained, but that most of them must perish in the voyage thither: To all which the Vice-Pppp

king made no other reply than that fuch was the express command and pleasure of his Majesty, from which he was resolved not to deviate in the least tittle: and accordingly he fent his Orders to all Masters of *Indians*, that they should immediate accordingly he lend his Olders to an interest them with provisions for their you. age: in pursuance of which Command 300 balant were embarked, and dispatched away, but to ill accommodated and provided in the Ship, that many of them were starved with hunger, and others being landed and left to shift for them. felves on the coast, perished with famine and the hardship they sustained in there desolate Countrey. Such persons as undertook to dissuade the Vice-king from putting the new Laws into practice, offered many Reasons to the contrary, reprefenting unto him the many late unhappy Civil Wars which would eafily be renewed by a People whose humours were already in a fermentation, and diffused to make infurrections.

Thefe Discourses being displeasing and ungratefull to the Vice-king, moved him to unhansome expressions, and to sell them that such Motions as those were punishable, and that, were he in a place within his own jurisdiction, he would advance the Promoters thereof unto the Gallows: the which angry and rude Answer pave a check to all Addresses intended to be made to the Vice-king of this matter.

Blasco Nunnez remained twenty days in Panama, during which time the Sheriffs and Justices of the City received several advices of the state of Peru, in which two things were very confiderable: One was, that upon the advice of the co. ming of the new Rules, the Conquerours of Peru were all in a Mutiny, and in great Discontent: And the other, that it was impossible to put the same in execution without great danger of subverting the whole Government: For that it being but lately fince the Battel was fought, wherein Vaca de Castro overthrew Diego de Almagro the younger, with the Slaughter of 350 men: and that those who furvived effectmed that the dangers they had sustained by the suppression of this Rebellion was a piece of such service to his Majesty as deserved a high reward, rather than the least diminution of their Estates and Privileges. Howsoever the Justices and Officers, being acquainted with the humour and disposition of the Vice-king did not think fit to inform or press him farther, supposing that upon his arrival in Peru, having feen and observed the nature and constitution of those Countreys, he would be more easily convinced, and more apt to receive the impressions of better Councils: but the Vice-king, being of a sroward and petulant disposition, easily moved with the least occasion, resolved not to suffer the Judges to affociate or go in company with him; fwearing, that before they came thither, he would effect and compass all matters, according to the Rules and Laws which were prescribed.

Carate, who was then Governour of Panama, being at that time fick and in his Bed, the Vice-king made him the Complement of a Visit before his departure: when Carate told him, that fince he was resolved to depart without the attendance and company of the Judges, he earneftly defired and heartily admonished him to enter into the Countrey in a mild and gentle manner, and not to propose or attempt to put any of the new Laws into execution or practice, until the Courts of Justice were erected and settled in the City of Los Reyer; and till he was fully possessed of the Power and Authority of the Countrey; for before that time such an enterprize would not be feasible, nor prove honourable for his Majesty; nor conduce to the welfare of the People or conservation of the Government: And in regard that feveral of those new Laws which he designed to put in execution were very rigorous and opprefive on the People; he advised him to suspend them, untill he had given his advice thereupon unto his Majesty, with his opinion of the michiefs which might accuse thereby, and that if, after the property of the might accuse thereby. all this, his Majefty should continue his Pleasure to have them executed; it might then be more seasonable to promulge and put them in practice, for that by that time he might be able to get into Power, and establish himself in the Government. All which, and many other things, were declared to him by Carate; but he not relishing them, being contrary to his humour, served onely to move his Choler, and cause him in a passion to swear, that he would, without other preamble or address to the King for other Instructions, immediately execute the new Laws, without the help or affiftence of the Judges; who upon their arrival in Pers, should find that he had no need of their help to enforce those Laws.

In this manner, without other attendance than his own private Family, he emharked, and on the 4th of May he arrived in the Port of Tumber, from whence be travailed over Land, and all the way he went, he published the new Orders. and caused them to be executed and obeyed, laying a Tax or Imposition on the People according to the numbers of those Indians they held, and taking them away from others, caused them all to be held as of the King.

Royal Commentaries.

In this manner he passed through Piura and Truxillo, proclaiming the new Laws as he went, and caufing them to be executed, without admitting any Petition or Aronment thereupon. And though the Inhabitants alledged that this method of regument the Application of Management of Ma unto the contrary, and that the Laws were not to be enforced without knowledge of the Caufe, or publication of his Power, or Commission in a Court of Judicaores it being expresly fignified by his Majesty that those new Laws were to be published in Court in presence of the Vice-king and four Judges. Howsoever the published in the property of the king, unmoved by any reasons or persuasions proceeded resolutely to execute them, threatning those who resused to obey them, the which struck great terrour and confusion into the minds of the People, confidering that the Laws were general and comprehensive of all fort of People without any qualification or refliction. And herein this Vice-king was fo politive, that fo foon as he was landed on the Coast of Pern, he dispatched his Emissaries before him to the Cirv of Los Reyes, and to Cozco; giving them to understand, that he being arrived with in those Dominions, the whole power and authority as Vice king devolved upon him, and that thereupon the Commission and Command of Vaca de Castro was superseded.

Some few days before these advices were brought to the City of Los Reyes, the whole tenure of the new Regulations dispatched from the King by Blasco Nunnez Vela were made known by the Copies which were differfed in all places; to that the Corporation of Los Reyes dispatched away the Advices thereof to Antonio de Ribera and John Alonfo Palomino, desiring them to make Vaca de Castro acquainted therewith; but he was not ignorant before of all that paffed; for his Servant in Spain called James de Aller, being informed of the new Statutes and Regulations. freedily posted with them to his Master in Cozco, so that he was informed of everyparticular before the Vice-king arrived.

Thus far is reported by the Writings of Fernandez de Palemino, and generally all the Historians agree with him in the same Relation.

#### CHAP. II.

Judge Vaca de Castro goes to the City of Los Reyes, and discharges those who went with him upon the way. The great noise and disturbance which the Execution of the new Laws occasioned, and the mutinous words which the People uttered thereupon.

THE Governour Vaca de Castro having received information of the approach of the Vice-king Blasco Numes. Vela, and of the tenure of the Laws which he brought with him, and that he put them in execution with all the vigour imagnable, wirk at hearing any man speak or admitting any Petition to the contrary; he though: fit to secure his own interest and party by a due compliance with him; in order whereunto he went to the City of Los Reyes, there to receive him for Vice-king. And though the Corporation of the City of Rimac fent their Emiffaries Antonio de Ribera and John Alonfo Palamino to him, and also others from the City of Cozco and other parts, perfuading him not to goe in person to the Viceking, but rather to fend a Meffage to him in the name of all the People, defiring him to suspend the execution of the new Laws. And whereas this Vice-king by Pppp 2

reason of his rough and obstinate humour, had rendred himself uncapable of Or fice by not giving ear to the complaints and aggrievances which his Majefty's good Subjects offered to him; the wing nothing but fierceness in the execution of mar. ters of the smallest moment, they were generally of opinion that he should be ters of the imager montern, they were generally of patient that he mould be rejected and not admitted to the Government; and that in case Vaca de Castro would not concurr with them herein, they did not doubt but to fix upon another person who should join with them in the opposition which they intended to

660

make By this obstinacy and fierceness of the Vice-king all Pern was put into a flame and the humours of the people into a fermentation: there was now no other ralk or discourse over all Peru than of the new Laws, the contents of which the Met fengers of the Vice-king, whom he had fent before to take up his quarters, had openly divulged in all places: and thereunto the rumour of the people, as is common in fuch cafes, had aggravated the feverity thereof, the more to provoke and incense the people. Hereupon Vaca de Castro prepared himself for his Journey to Los Reyes; and being upon his departure from Cozeo, he was accompanied with a numerous Train of Citizens and Souldiers; for being a person well beloved, there would not have remained so much as one person in the City if he would have accepted of their attendance; and, being on his way, he was met by Meffengers from the Vice-king giving him to understand, that his Commission for the Government was now superfeded by his arrival in those parts, and that he was to receive and acknowledge him for the chief Governour of that Countrey; to all which Vaca de Castro chearfully submitted, and dessited from exercising the power of his Office: but before that time, by a Writing under his hand, he had be stowed and settled several Plantations of Indians on certain persons, who had by their fervices and fufferings well deferved the favour and reward of his Maielly. being such of whose merits he had been an eye-witness, or at least had received fufficient Tellimonials of their loyalty and good fervices before he came to the administration of the Government. The Messengers which the Vice king sent before to provide for his entertainment, gave a relation in all places in what manner the new Laws were put in practice and how enforced; how he had freed the Indians in Panama from their duty and vaffalage to the Spaniards, against whose will, and in despight of whom, he had embarked and sent them away to Pern; how he had in Tumpiz, St. Michael's and Truxillo laid a Tax upon some Lands, and freed others, and fettled them all in Capite to be held of the King, according to the rules prescribed by the new Laws, without any consideration of difference or diffinction of cases, but made all things equal without admitting of provides or reservations, or hearing what any man had to alledge; but with an unhaken refolution pretended that fo was his Majefty's pleasure. The which so much enraged the people who accompanied Vaca de Castro, that most of them returned back to Cozco without so much as taking their leave of the Governour, pretending that they could not appear before a man fo fierce and arbitrary without danger of being by him condemned to the Gallows: Howfoever they gave out, that when the Auditours and Justices came, they would then appear to give in their plea and reafons against such proceedings; yet in the mean time they seemed to act like difcontented persons, professing openly their aggrievances and distatisfaction: for when they came to Huamanca they took away all the Artillery which had been lodged there ever fince the defeat of Almagro' and carried them away to Cozco; the chief Authour of which enterprise was called Gaspar Rodriguez, who, by the help of great numbers of Indians, carried them away to the diffatisfaction of all those who either saw or heard of the action. Vaca de Castro, having intelligence hereof, proceeded on his Journey, and by the way it was his fortune to meet with a certain Priest called Balussar de Leassis, who out of kindness told him, that in the City of Los Reyes the people spake hardly of him; and therefore he advised him to be wary and to go well attended both with Men and Arms. Vaca de Castro making use of this information, defired those Gentlemen, who came in his company and entred into his attendance, that they would now be pleafed to leave him and return to their own homes: and that fuch who were unwilling to to doe, and were desirous to continue with him; yet at least, that they should quit their Lances and Fire-arms; though it were the practice at that time, as well as many years after, to travel both with offensive and defensive Arms. Accordingly his Friends that accompanied him laid afide their Weapons, and by thort journies

BOOK IV. Royal Commentaries.

arrived at length at Los Reyes: the persons who were his affociates were Lorenco de Aldana, Pedro de los Rios, Benito de Carvajal, a civil Lawyer, Don Alonso de Monte-Major and Hernando de Bachichao; whose arrival at the City of Los Reves was so. lemnized with great joy, though much abated by the apprehensions they conceived of the feverity of the new Statutes, and the inexorable and inflexible humour of the Vice-king, to different from the temper of his Predeceffour. So foon as he was arrived he immediately dispatched away from thence his Steward called Perowas at the minimal way of the vice-ting, congratulating his fafe arrival, with officers both of his life and fortune to Ring, congraduating in state arrival, with orders both of inside and fortune to ferve both his Majefty and his Lordship. Whilft these matters passed on the way between Corco and the City of Los Reco other more unpleasing passages occurred in the Journey between Timpiz and Rimac, where the Vice-king, without any difference or confideration of circumftances, but the new Rules into execution with all the rigour and fury imaginable, without giving ear to the defence or reasons which the Conquerours and Gainers of that great Empire could make or alledge in their own favour and behalf, faying, that fo was the King's will and pleafure, which admitted of no delay or contradiction, or any thing befides pure obedience: Hercupon all the Citizens and Inhabitants, being generally concerned. were inflamed and inraged; for as Fernandez faith, there was not a man amongst them unconcerned; fo that people began to talk loudly and fcandaloufly against those new Laws, faving, that this course was the effect of the pernicious Counsels of evil men, and of fuch as being envious of the riches and power which those Conquerours had acquired, had for their own ends put his Majesty upon indirect means, and upon rigorours courfes very prejudicial to the publick welfare, and perfunded him to fee them executed by Officers inflexible and without reason: all which is fully reported by Gomara in the 155th Chapter of his Book, the Title of which is this.

The manner how Blasco Nunnez treated with those of Truxillo, and of the Reasons and Objections which the People gave against the new Rules and Statutes.

" At length Blasco Numez, entred into Truvillo to the great discontent and general " forrow of the Spaniards; for he immediately made Proclamation to impose a new " fort of Tribute, and to affrighten men from bringing the Indians under vaffalage; "forbidding all people from oppreffing, or caufing them to labour without pay or against their inclinations: in fine, the *Indians* were all brought under validage against their inclinations: In this, the manney were an orough, under various, or to the King and no other. And though the people and feveral Corporations petitioned against the most oppressive Articles of the new Rules, being willing to admit of the Tributes and Taxes which were imposed upon them, and to "free the Indians from their fervices; yet the Vice-king would hearken to no " terms of composition or moderation, but positively persisted in the execution of the express commands of the Emperour, without any Appeal: All that they could get of him was this, that he would write and inform his Majesty how ill "he had been advised in the constitution and establishment of those new Laws. Notwithstanding which fair words, the Inhabitants, who observed his inflexible disposition, began to mutiny; some said that they would abandon their Wives; "others declared that those Women or Wenches which, by command of the "Government, they had married and taken for Wives, they would renounce and cut them off from alimony and maintenance; others faid it were better to have no Wives or Children to maintain than to want the subsistence and benefit of "Slaves who might labour in the Mines for them, and in the works of Husbandry and other fervile Offices, for their support and easiness of living; others required money, and the price of their Slaves, for which having paid the fifths unto the King, their brand and mark had been fet upon them; others murmured and complained that their Services were ill rewarded, and their time ill employed, to have spent their youth and flower of their years in hardships and difficulties, and at last to be deprived of their Servants and convenient attendances in their old age; fome shewed how their Teeth were fallen out with eating roasted Mayz during the time of War in Peru, and others opened and displayed their wounds and fractures of their Bones, and the bites of Serpents and venemous Creatures received in the enterprifes they undertook to gain that Empire; in which also they had spent their Estates and shed their Bloud, and all to increase the Dominions of the Emperour, in reward for which he was pleafed to de-

" prive them of those few Vassals they had purchased to themselves: and the Souldiers hust and muttered, that they would not concern themselves farther in "new adventures, fince they had no encouragement: but were refolved to live

" upon fpoil and plunder on all hands. The King's Officers and Ministers complained, that they were hardly deale with, to be deprived of the vaffalage of the Indians whom they had so kind ly treated and used in their Services: and the Friers and Clergy declared, that they should be unable to support and sustain their Monasteries, and Churches and Hospitals, without the necessary fervices of the Indians. But none spoke more daringly and freely, both against the Vice-king and the King himself then did Frier Peter Munnez, of the Order of Merced, faying plainly, that his Majefty had ill rewarded those who had served him well; and that those new Laws finelt rank of interest and selfishness rather than of equity; for it was an intolerable injustice in the King, to take away those Slaves whom he had fold, and yet not return the money for them, and the price he had received; and that Monasteries, Hospitals and Churches, and the very Conquerous them. felves should be divested of their servants and slaves, to make them vassals so the King: And, what was most unreasonable, in the mean time a double dity and tribute was imposed upon the Indians; which was intended for their ease " and relief, though in reality it proved their greatest aggrievance and oppress.

#### CHAP. III.

" on. Thus far are the words of Gomara,

Of the Discourse and Reports the People of Peru raised against the Promoters of the new Laws; and particularly against the Civil-Lawyer Bartholomew de las Catas.

Clich Liberty the People generally took in their Discourses against all those D who had been Contrivers and Promoters of these new Laws, that they reported a thousand evil things of them; and particularly of Fries Bartholomer de las Cafes, who being notoriously known to have had a chief hand in these new Regulations, fell under the fevere lash of their Tongues; for as Diego Fernandez, one of the first Adventurers and Conquerours of Peru, reports, they ript up a thousand Misdemeanours of which he was guilty before he entred into the profession of a religious Life; and particularly how he had endeavoured to make himself the Conquerour and Governour of the Island in Cumana; and that he had been the cause of the destruction and slaughter of many Spaniards; by the salle reports he had given to the Emperour of the State of Affairs in Pern; making great and large Promises of advancing the King's revenue, and of sending valt quantities of Gold and Pearl to the Flemins and Burgundians, who refided in the Court of Spain. Many of those Spaniards who had been employed in the Conquest of the Illes of Barlovento, were well acquainted with Bartholomew de las Cafas before he professed himself a Frier, and were well informed of the effect and fuccess of the Promises he made touching the Conversion of the Indians in the Isle of Cumana; of all which Lopez de Gomara, in the 77th Chapter of his Hiltory writes to particularly that it is probable he might have received a Relation thereof from some of the Conquerours of that Countrey; in confirmation whereof, and for the better authority of this his History; I will here infert the very Chapter it felf, the Title whereof is as followeth.

Chapter the 77th, wherein is contained a relation of the Death of those Christian Syaniards who followed Bartholomew de las Cafas a Prieft.

Bartholomer de las Cafas, a Priest was in that time at St. Domingo, when the Monasteries of Cumana and Chirivichi were in their flourishing state and conditions and having heard a good report of the fruitfulness of that foil, of the gentle and pacifick humour of the Natives, and of the great abundance of Pearl which that

Countrey afforded; he failed into Spain; and demanded of the Emperour the Government of Cumana, promiting to improve and increase the Royal Revenue. which was much abated by the frauds and abuses of those Officers who had in in managemet. But John Rodriguez de Fonseca and Dr. Lewis Capaton, and Secrerary Lopez de Conchillos contradicted him in his report and represented him as a perton uncapable of such office and emploiment, in regard he was not onely a Prieft. but a person of ill same and reputation, and ignorant of the Countrey, and of the thate of those affairs which he pretended to declare. Howsoever, upon the pretence of being a good Christian, and of a new method he proposed by a more ready way to convert the Indians, and upon promiles of advancing the King's revenue, and fending them store of Pearls, he obtained the favour of Monsieur Lord Chamberlain to the Emperour, and of feveral Planins and Burgundians who were men of power and authority in that Court. At that time great councities of Pearls were imported into Spain, so that the Wife of Kenres begged 1000 \*Marks of them which came on account of the King's fifths, and many \*Plemin; 65 Ryalis and others begged great quantities from the King. He defined to have Workmen plate to every and Artificers to be fent with him, rather than Souldiers who were fit for no. thing but to plunder and pillage, and to be mutinous and disobedient to Commands: He defired also to be accompanied with a new order of Knights, who hould wear a golden Spur and carry a red Cross of different shape and fashion to the order of Calatrava, which diffinction, as it ennobled them, fo also it was a testimony, that they went voluntarily, and of their own accord. Moreover, Orders were fent to Seville to provide him with Ships and Seamen at the charge of the King; and with this equipage he arrived at Cumana in the year 1520, with about 300 Artificers, all wearing Croffes; at which time Gonçalo de Ocampo refided at New Toledo; who was much troubled to fee fo many Spaniards under the command of a person of that ill character, and transported thither by order of the Admiralty and Council, because the Countrey was of a different nature to what it was reported to be in the Court. Howfoever, Bartholomers prefented and flewed his Commission, requiring that, according thereunto, they should quit the Country, and leave it free for him to plant his People, and to govern the place: Whereunto Gonçalo de Ocampo made answer, that with all ready obedience he did submit thereunto; but howsoever he could not put those matters into execution without first receiving directions from the Governours and the Judges of St. Domingo, by whose Commission he was placed in that station. And in the mean time he paffed many a jeft upon the Priest on certain occasions which had formerly happened, for he was well acquainted with him, and knew his humour and his conversation: sometimes he jeered his new Knights and their Crosses, all which the Priest would put off with a Jest, though he was inwardly troubled to be taxed with fo many Truths which he could not deny: And in regard they would not give him admittance into the Town of Toledo, he built himself a House of Wood and Morter, near to the Monastery of St. Francis, which served him for a Magazine wherein to lodge his provisions, stores and instruments, during the time that he went to St. Domingo to make known his Complaints and feek a Redress. Goncalo de Ocampo went also, I know not for what cause or reason, whether on this occasion, or for some Law-suit he had with the People of that place; but certain it is, that all the Inhabitants followed him; fo that the Town was abandoned by all excepting the Artifans and Mechanicks which he brought with him: The Indians, who were glad to make their advantages of these differences and quarrels amongst the Spaniards, took this opportunity to demolish their Houses, and to kill all the golden Knights and others which remained there, excepting some few who made their escape in a small vessel, so that there remained not one Spaniard alive in all the Coast where the Pearl is taken.

Royal Commentaries.

So foon as Bartholomero de las Cafas was informed of the death of his friends and the loss of the King's Treasury, he entred himself a Frier amongst the Dominicans; with which an end was put to all his great Actions; fo he neither advanced the King's revenue, nor ennobled his Artifans, nor fent his Pearls to the Flemins and Burgundians, as he had promifed: And thus far are the words of Gomara.

This and much more, to the prejudice and disparagement of Bartholomers de las Cafar, was reported by those who found themselves aggrieved by the late new regulations: though Gomara endeavours to mince and disguise much the matter:

but those of *Peru*, who speak more plainly of this matter, report, that he had turned Frier in discontent, because he was fallen under his Majesties displeasure. and feared lest he should be called to account for the false relations he had given of matters which he had never feen nor understood of the Country of Cumana; and because he was conscious to himself that he had been a principal Contriver of the new Statutes, upon the fpecious pretence of railing the King's revenue, and out of a zeal lie shewed to the good and benefit of the Indians: but how real and sincere all this was, may very well be judged by his actions, of which people spake and talked more at large than can be expressed in this History. Diego Fernander retalked more at large than can be experied in this timely. Diego Fernander reports, that this Frier Bartholomers was by the Emperour created Bilhop of Chiapa, which is a Countrey in the Kingdom of Mexico, but he durft not go to his See, by reason of the many mischiefs which he had been the Authour of in the Indie. In the year 1562. I met him at Madrid, where he gave me his hand to kifs: hor when he understood that I was of Peru, and not of Mexico, he was a little more referved in his behaviour towards me.

#### CHAP. IV.

The Reasons which the Complainants gave against the new Regulations. And the manner how they prepared to receive the Vice-king.

MUCH and many were the Reasons which the Complainants produced a gainst the new Regulations, as well those of the City of Los Rejes as of all Peru. And the better to clear this point, we must observe, that both at Mexico and in Peru the Spaniards had then a Custome amongst them which continued until 1560, (which was the year that I came from thence) to make choice of four Gentlemen of principal quality, in whom they could repose most confidence and trust, to be Officers of the Royal revenue, to collect the fifths of the King's gold and filver, in what part foever it did arife; and this was the first Tribute which the Catholick Kings imposed upon the new World. These Officers of the revenue were Treasurers, Accountants, Factours and Comptrollers: and to them was committed the care (besides the fifths) to collect such Tribute from the Indian as became due by the death of the Inhabitants, who all held their Estates of the

Besides which Offices, the Spaniards every year, in all parts where they inhabited, made choice of two chief Constables in ordinary, one Judge and a deputy Judge, with 6, 8, or 10 Justices of the peace, more or less, according to the extent of the Countrey; and to them feveral other Officers were adjoined, to conferve the fafety and welfare of the Commonwealth.

These Officers, as also all Governours, Presidents, Judges and other Ministers of Justice and their Deputies were concerned in the third ordinance: by virtue of which both they, and fuch as had been employed in Offices, were commanded to quit all claim, interest and power in and over the Indians.

In opposition whereunto the Complainants made this Reply. We, faid they, at the hazard and expence of our Lives and Bloud, have gained this large Empire, which contains many Kingdoms and Dominions, the which we annexed to the Crown of Castile. In reward of these our services and adventures the Indians, which we now possess and retain in our services, were given and granted to us for two Lives: the which dominion and jurifdiction ought to be as firm and valid as the Seigniories or Lordships are in Spain. Now the reason why this privilege is taken from us is no other than because we are chosen to be Commissioners of his Majesties Royal revenue, and employed in the Offices of Justices of the peace and Judges.

If we have administred these Offices faithfully and without the prejudice or aggrievance of any person; what reason is there that we should be deprived of our Indians, onely because we are in the service of his Majesty, and bear our part in the Government of the people. It had been better for us to have been Thieves. Adulterers, Homicides and Robbers rather than honest men, fince that the Law is in force against the latter and not against the former.

Royal Commentaries.

With like liberty and freedom of speech, did those who were comprehended under the fourth Law vent their anger; namely, those who had taken party with the two Factions of the Picarrills and Almagrians; by virtue of which (as Diego Frinandez observes) no person in all Peru could be master of Indians or Estates. What fault, faid they, had we who obeyed the Governours and Magistrates which his Majesty had fent us, as both those were, and who acted by Commifwhich his Majefy that ich as a soul those wice and who accessly comming fon from his Majefy: And if there arose private quaries and animolities amongst hemselves, by the inftigation of the Devil, to which men diversly adhered; yet neither of these Parties acced against the Crown. And if one Party was in the wrong, and was guilty of Delinquency, yet the other acted for the King's service and why then should they be equally punished by confiscation of their Goods and Estates with those who have offended; which seems to be such a piece of Iniuflice as is not to be parallel'd by the tyranny of Nero, and feems rather to proceed from an arbitrary Constitution, to satisfie the lust and interest of certain persons. than from a defire tending to the welfare and good of the Subject.

To all which they added a thousand curses upon those who had contrived these new Laws, or countelled his Majesty to pass and sign them, and to order the exeoution of them with fuch feverity, on pretence that it was for his fervice, and

advancement of his Royal Crown.

BOOK IV.

If they (faid they) had been at the Conquest of Porn, and sustained those labours and hazards which we have done, they would have been of another mind than to make such Laws; nay rather, they would have been the first to oppose them. In confirmation whereof, they quoted feveral paffages in Hiftory both ancient and modern, which might be compared to the civil Wars between the Almagrians and the Picarrifts; and particularly faid they in the Wars of Spain, between those two Kings, Don Pedro the Cruel, and his Brother Don Henrique, to whose parties all the Noblemen and persons of Estates in Spain adhered on one fide or the other, and actually ferved untill the death of one of them determined the quarrel; if a succeeding King, after the Wars were ended, should have depriwe want the who were engaged in this quarrel both of one fide and the other, what troubles would it have created, and how would it have moved the fpirits of all the powerfull men in *Spain?* The like which happened between the House of Castile and that of Portugal might be brought into example; as namely the Party which held for Beltraneja, who was twice fivorn Princess of Castile, and in fayour of her many of the chief Lords of that Countrey appeared; whom when Queen Ifabella called Rebels and Traitours, the Duke of Alva replied, pray God, Madam, that we may overcome them, for if we do not, I am fure they will call us Traitours and prove us to too. To apply these particulars in History to the present case; what will become of us, said they, if the Successour to this King should feife on the Estates of those who were concerned in this War. Besides all which, they uttered many fcandalous and feditious words, which we purpofely omit not to offend the ears of the hearers; howfoever the contrary Party was highly incensed thereat, and both sides put into a fermentation, whence all those mischies were derived which afterwards happened.

But to return to the Vice-king, who was now on his Journey to Los Reyes; fo foon as the Messengers from Vaca de Castro came to him, he received them to outward appearance kindly and with much respect, and gave them a speedy dispatch that they might return freely again to Los Reyes; where being returned, they rendred a lad relation of the rigour and severity wherewith the new Laws were put in execution, and of the rude and morose humour of the Vice-king, who admitted of no Pleas, or Petitions, or Appeals to the contrary; which ferved to add new fuel, and blow all into a flame both in Los Reyes, Cozco, and in all that King-

So that now they began generally to discourse, that they would neither receive this Vice-king, nor obey the new Laws which he was putting into practice; for that they were well affured, that the very day that he entred Vice-king into Lar Roes, and his Laws were published, they should be no longer Masters of their Indians nor of their Estates; and that besides the point of taking their Indians from them, his Laws and new regulations included fo many fevere things, that all their Qqqq

Estates were conflicated and their Lives endangered: for by the same rule that they took away their *Indians* from them, because they had been engaged on one side or the other, with the *Almagrians* or the *Pigarrifis*, they might also take off their heads; which was a case intolerable and not to be endured, though they were reduced to the condition and lived under the notion of Slaves.

To fuch a pitch of mutinous humour the whole City of Los Reyes was incenfed, that they had almost taken a resolution not to receive the Vice-king; which they had certainly pursued, had not the Receiver General, named Suares de Carvajal, and Diego de Aguero, who were principal men of that Corporation, and greatly estemed for their prudence and moderation, prevailed upon the people, and dissipated them from that rash design: so that at length it was resolved to receive him in state, and with much solemnity, in hopes that by their services and humility, they might incline his mind to some fort of slexibility and good nature; at least that he might lend a gentle ear to the Pleas which they made for themselves, and in favour of those Laws which the Catholick Kings, and the Emperour himself had made in savour of the Conquerours and of those who had gained and subdued this new World, with particular respect to the people of Penn, who having acquired this rich Empire, ought more especially to be cherished and savoured, as persons of highest merit and defert.

It being thus determined to receive the Vice-king, all the people decked themfelves with their beft ornaments and array, preparing themselves against the day of his entry into this City; when in the mean time Then Snarez de Carvajal, and Captain Diego de Aguero were scandalously treated by the people, who always mutinied against them, whensoever as any thing went cross, or contrary to their humour; saying, that for their own interest they had solicited and persuaded them to receive the Vice-king; namely one of them being Receiver General of the King's Treasury, and the other having been in the late Wars; and both of them being Justices little esteemed the loss of their Indians, more in regard to their own

interest than to the service of the Emperour.

In the mean time the Vice-king pursuing his Journey, put the new Laws in execution in all places wheresoever he arrived, with his usual severity and rigour without admitting any plea to the contrary; giving them to understand, that he stood in fear of none, but as a good Minister and Servant to his Master. he was to

obey his commands without respect or regard unto any.

At length he came to the Valley called Huaura, where at the Inn he neither found Indian nor Provisions, nor any accommodation whatsoever; the which though in reality was caused by the default and omission of the Inhabitants of Los Royes, whose duty it was to take care of the Provisions in the way for the Vice king; yet he otherwise took it, and attributed the want thereof to Intervise took it, and attributed the want thereof to Intervise took in the way for the Solar, who was a Native of Medina del Campo, and a Citizen, because he was the chief Proprietor of that Valley; for which reason he was highly incensed against him, and more vehemently, when upon a white Wall of that Inn, which, as the saying goes, is the paper of bold and angry men, he saw this Motto written, He that will drive me from my House and Lands, I will drive him out of this world if I can. The which Sentence being supposed to be written by Intoin Solar, or some other by his order, he conceived a mortal hatred against him, which though he concealed for a while, yet at length it burst out, as hereaster will be declared.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. V.

In what manner they received the Vice-king, the imprisonment of Vaca de Castro, and of the great trouble which it caused both to the Vice-king and the People.

THUS were the people discontented, sad and enraged (though they endeavoured as much as was possible to conceal and dissemble it) when the Viceking arrived about three Leagues distant from Rimac, where he was met by several Gentlemen of Quality, and particularly by Vaca de Castro, and Don Geronimo de Lonssa, (Bishop of that place, afterwards made Archbishop) who came hisher to conduct him to the City. The Vice-king received them all with much kindness and humanity, especially the Bishop and Vaca de Castro, entertaining no other discourse with them in the way as they travelled than what was of indifference with them in the way as they travelled than what was of indifference with them in the way as they travelled than what was of indifference.

rent things, and of the pleasantness and fruitfulness of that Valley.

When they came to the palfage of the River, he was met by the Garcidias, de Arias, who was elected Bishop of Quitoo, who, with the Dean and Chapter of that Church and the rest of the Clergy, remained there in expectation of his coming, and at their meeting there was much joy and chearfulnes. And proceeding farther untill he came near to the City, he was met by the Jurats and Corporation of the City, accompanied with the Citizens and principal Gentry thereof; and, as all the three Authours do agree in their report, the Commissary of the King's Revenue, named Then Suarez de Carvajal, went forth in the head of them all; and being the chief of the Corporation, did in the name thereof offer an Oath to the Viceking, whereby he was to swear that he would maintain the Privileges, Franchises and Immunities which the Conquerours and Inhabitants of Pern had received and did hold of his Majesty; and that in the Courts of Justice he would receive their Petitions and give ear to the Reasons they should offer against the new Regulations.

The Vice-king would five ar no otherwise than that he would perform all that which was conducing to the King's service and to the benefit of the Countrey; at which many took exceptions, and said that he swore with equivocations and what would admit of a double meaning. Thus far are the words of Diego Fer-

nandez.

This Oath which the Vice-king took being onely in general terms, and which might admit of fuch a fense as he himself would be pleased to put upon its was occasion of much discontent both to the Clergy and Laity; so that all their mirth was dashed, and every one turned fad and melancholy; faying, that nothing could be expected of good from such an Oath, which rather administred just cause to fear and suspect that in a short time they should be dispossessed of their Indians and Estates, which was a hard case for men of their age, who were grown old and infirm by the labours and hardships they had sustained in their youth to gain and conquer that Empire. Notwithstanding all which they conducted the Vice-king with great triumph into the City, under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold, supported by the chief Magistrates of the Town, in their Gowns of crimson Sattin lined with white Damask; the Bells of the Cathedral Church and of the Convents rang out, and all forts of mufical Instruments resounded through the Streets. which were adorned with green Boughs, and triumphal Arches erected in various works and forms made of Rushes, in which, as we have faid, the Indians were very curious. But yet fo much fadness appeared in their countenances, that all the folemnity feemed rather a performance of fome Funeral Rites than triumph for receiving a Vice-king; all their joy being forced and strained to cover an inward grief which lay heavy upon their fpirits.

In this manner they went in Proceedion to the great Church, where having adored the most holy Sacrament, they conducted the Vice-king to the House of *Don Francisco Pigarro*, where he and all his Family was lodged.

669

Some few days after which, the Vice-king having notice of the great noise and firs which were making in the Streets, by those who were upon their reprints this which were making in the Streets, by those who were upon their return to Cozco with Vaca de Cafro, he prefently suspected, as Curate in the sifteenth Chapter of his third Book reports, and with whom other Authours agree; that Vaca de Cafro had been the cause of all that noise and disturbance; for which reason he ordered him to be seised and committed to prison, and all his Estate to be seque.

The people of the City, though they had no very great kindness for Vaca de Castro, yet they petitioned the Vice-king in his behalf, desiring him, that fince Vaca de Castro was one of his Majesty's Council, and had been their Governour, that he would not be so severe upon him as to commit him to the common Pri fon, fince that a person of his Quality, though condemned the next day m loose his head, might be secured in some decent and convenient Prison; whereunon he was fent to the Town-house, under bail of an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, in which Sum the Citizens of Lima had engaged for him. With fuch rigorous courfes as these the people being much disjusted, many of them forsok the City, privately departing by sew in a company taking their way towards Cozze, where the Vice-king had not as yet been received. Thus far are the words of Carate: the which is confirmed by Diego Fernandez almost in the same words to which he adds, that Vaca de Castro remained a Prisoner in the common Gaol; his words are thefe which follow.

Such as remained behind in the City often met in feveral Caballs and Coun. fels, lamenting together the mifery that was come upon the Land and the Inhabi. tants of it, bidding adieu to all the Riches, Liberty and Jurisdiction which theu as Conquerours and Lords of Indians had gained and acquired, which would be a means to unpeople the Countrey, and to cause an abatement of the King's Cufroms and other parts of his Revenue; and therefore they positively averred, that it was imposfible that the King's Commands could be executed herein, or that ever there should be any new discoveries made, or Trade and Commerce maintained for the future; besides a thousand other inconveniences, and damages which they alledged. And with this fear and distraction of mind was every man posfessed, when some of the most principal persons, pretending to make a visit to the Vice-king, in hopes that he, having proved and had some experience of the Constitution of the Countrey, might be induced to alter his humour, or at least render it more flexible and easie; but so soon as any person touched on that string; though with the greatest gentleness and submission imaginable, he immediately put himself into a passion, and by his authority forbade all farther discourse upon that point, obviating all objections with the name of the King's pleasure and command; which abrupt manner of treaty gave great discontent, and excited in the minds of men rancour and malice against his person.

Some few days after the Vice-kings reception, three of the Juffices which remained behind with Doctour Carate, who lay fick at Truxillo, came then to Town: upon whose arrival he immediately caused a Court to be called, and appointed a place of Judicature to be crected in the House where he himself was lodged, being the most convenient for his own accommodation, as also because it was the most sumptuous Chamber in all the City. He also ordered a stately reception to be made purposely for his Commission under the Great and Royal Seal, which was put into a Cafe covered with Cloth of Gold, and carried on a Horse decked with a Foot-cloth and Trappings of Tissue, the which was at each end held up by Judges of the City, clothed in Gowns of crimfon Sattin, and one of them led the Horse by the Bridle; the which was performed with the same solemnity as they used in Castile to receive the person of the

King.

So foon as the Court was fate, they began to treat and enter upon business as well relating to Justice as Government, and herein he thought to render himself the more popular by favouring the cause of the poor, who generally are more pleased with revolutions and changes, than the rich. And now the Devil, who defigned the downfall and ruine of this pernicious and evil Vice-king, began to disturb and disquiet all the Countrey, which was so lately settled after the troubles of an intestine War; the first commotion took its rise from an ill understanding between the Vice-king and the Judges, and indeed of all the Kingdom; for that the Vice-king resolving to carry on his work, in putting the new Laws in

execution, he little regarded the Petitions and Addresses which were presented to him from the City of Los Reyes, of Lima and other smaller Corporations.

Thus far are the words of Fernandez Palentino, in the 10th Chapter of his Book. And this Authour, farther discoursing of the humour of this Vice-king, and the And this Author, statute introducing of the hamour of this Alec-Hing, and the flame the Devil owed him for being the caule of all those Commotions which were raised in the Countrey, and also that he was the occasion of that discord which ruines Kingdoms and destroyes Empires, and which particularly proceeded not onely to a quarrel between the Vice-king and the Conquerours of that Kingdom, but also to such a mortal feud between him and the Judges, as was not obe reconciled: And indeed herein the Judges had much advantage, for that they were men of great temper, difcreet and unbiaffed; who foreseeing the many inconveniencies which the rumour onely, much more the execution of the new regularion would occasion, diffuaded those rash proceedings, wherein they were the ons would occation, diffuaded those rain proceedings, wherein they were the more positive, in consideration that this Kingdom, which was scarcely appeased and settled since the late Wars, and was still in agitation and commotion, would never be able to support such extravagant oppressions which would certainly be the cause of the total ruine and destruction of that Empire.

These plain representations made to the Vice-king, with intention and design onely (if it had been possible) to attemptr his angry and froward disposition, ferved to little purpose and effect; for that his humour being wholly bent on his own obstinate resolutions, he termed all those who concurred not with him in the same opinion, rebellious to the King and enemies to himself. And farther, to widden these breaches, he ordered the Judges to remove from his neighbourhood in the palace, and to take other lodgings in other quarters for themselves. All which, and much more, so inflamed the minds of both parties, that sharp words and reparties frequently intervened between them: Howfoever, in regard the Judges for better administration of affairs, were obliged to keep fair with the Vice-king, they so concealed and diffembled their resentments, that their passions were not publickly made known. But because the resolution of the Vice-king to put in execution the new Laws, became daily more and more apparent and manifest; the Discontents and Quarrels arose daily to a higher degree, and those who were injured and prejudiced thereby became uneasie and impatient: And as Diego Fernandee, in his 1 oth Chapter, faith, that the Judges confidering the obstinate and inflexible humour of the Vice-king on one fide to execute the new Regulations of the Emperour, to whom by reason of the distance of the place, no opportune or feafonable applications could be made for a moderation or redrefs; and that on the other fide, in case they should condescend to be deprived of their Indians, it would be very difficult to recover that vaffalage again: they were by these difficulties teduced to fuch a kind of *Dilemma*, that they were all diffracted, and knew nor which way to turn or refolve. Nor was the people onely confused and unquieted by these thoughts; but even the Vice-king found himself reduced to an inquietude and diffraction of mind when he found the people mutinous, and turmoiled with a thousand fancies, and resolved to facrifice their lives and fortunes rather than to fubmit tamely to their own destruction. As hereaster we shall find by the fuccess. And thus far are the words of Palentino, which we have extracted verbatim from his own Writings.

CHAP.

670

BOOK IV.

The fecret quarrel concealed between the Vice-king and the Judges breaks out in publick. Prince Manco Inca and the Spaniards who were with him write to the Vice-king

OR did the quarrel between the Vice-king and the Judges contain it felf within the limits of private refentments, but burft forth into the publick Streets and places of common Meetings: the which calling into the mind of the Vice-king that Motto or Sentence which he had read in the Inn of Huaura, helonging to Antonio Solar; and which he believed was either wrote by himself. or hu his order; for which cause, as both Carate and Diego Fernandez report, sending for him and discoursing with him in private, and having given him some very severe terms and reprehentions, he gave order to have the gates of the palace thut, and calling his Chaplain to confess him, with intent to have him hanged on one of the Pilafters of the Court-yard, which leads towards the High-street. But Antonia Solar refusing to confess, his execution was suspended till such time as that his danger and case was divulged through the whole Ciry, upon the rumour of which the Arch-bishop and all the persons of quality came to intercede for a pardon or fuspension of Justice; and after great intercellions, all that they could prevail was for one day's reprieve, upon which he was committed to close imprisonment. But the fury and impetuofity of this choler passing over, he considered, that it was not convenient to put him to death, but rather to detein him in prison, and accordingly he kept him under restraint without process of Law, Endictment or any Accufation whatfoever, for the space of two months, untill such time as the Judges going on a Saturday to visit the prisons, were defired by some of the friends of Antonio Solar to make their enquiry concerning the state of his affair, with which though they were well enough acquainted before, yet, for form fake, they asked him the cause and crime for which he stood committed; to which he replied, that he knew not any; and then calling for the books of the prifon to fee what actions or process had been made against him; and finding none, and that the Keeper of the prison could assign no cause against him; the Judges, on the Monday following made a Report to the Vice king, that having visited the prison, they found that Antonio Solur had been there committed; and upon examination of the books, no crime or cause was entered against him; onely that he was there imprisoned by his order: Wherefore, in case no crime were laid to his charge, his imprisonment was not justifyable; and therefore according to the rules of Justice they could not doe less, than to fet him at Liberty.

Hereunto the Vice king replyed, that he was committed by his order, and that he intended to have hanged him as well for that Motto or Sentence which was wrote on the wall of his Inn, as also for several other scandalous reports he had vented against his person. And though he had no witness to produce in this matter, yet by the authority and privilege of a Vice-king he had power not onely to imprison him, but also to put him to death, if he so pleased, without rendering an account to any person whatsoever: to which the Judges replyed, that there was no Government but what was agreeable to Justice, and founded on the Laws of the Kingdom; and on these terms they parted, so that the Judges on the Saurday following freed Antonio Solar from the prison, and confined him onely to his own house, and speedily afterwards they set him at liberty. This manner of proceeding angred the Vice-king to the very foul, and provoked him to contrive fome way of revenge, which he supposed he had effected in this minner, which was this; It feems that thefe Judges with their Servants were lodged and dieted in the house of one of the richest Citizens in the whole town; and had been there lodged and boarded by order of the Vice king for a thort time, until they could otherwise provide for themselves. And now the Vice-king, thinking to doe them a discourtesse, recalled the aforesaid Order, forbidding the Citizens to entertain them longer upon pretence that it was not suitable to the King's honour nor to their own quality to lodge upon free-quarter, or to keep company with Citizens and Merchants.

concernment to him. With this news Diego Mendez and his Companions were highly pleafed, and perfuaded the Inca to write a Letter to the Vice-king, defiring his Licence to be enlarged

To which the Judges gave for answer; That, as to their lodging, they could find no other convenient place, untill fuch time as they could hire a house by lease for forme term of years; that for the future they would pay for their diet. And for water of their conversation with Merchants, it was not unlawfull or prohibited hur, on the contrary, it was practifed in Castile by all those who were of the King's Council, as being beneficial to them to understand by information from trading men all the transactions and businesses of the World. In this manner both parties remained at variance each with other, which was apparent at all times whenfoever occasion offered. In pursuance whereof one day Dr. Alvarez made Affidavit helire a Malter of Chancery, that he had paid a certain fum in Gold to Diego Algene, who was brother-in-law to the Vice-king to have him nominated and pre-ferred to an Office by the Vice-king; the which deposition he highly referred. This far are the words of Carate, and the fame is again confirmed by Diego Fernundez, almost to the same purpose.

Royal Commentaries.

For in this manner, faith he, the Vice-king and the Judges feemed like two different factions and parties; to increase which, so soon as Antonio Solar was set at therry, he went privately about railing mutinies and discontents in the minds of the people against the Vice-king 5 to increase and inflame which they reported abroad many bad things which the Vice-king had said and done. And though all was so far from being true that nothing of that nature did so much as enter into the thoughts or imagination of the Vice-king: yet by reason that Blasco Nunnez was hated and detelted by the people, all the evil that was faid of him found eafie admittance, and he appeared as black as common fame could make him; for fuch indignation the people conceived against him, that the name of Vice-king became as odious (though the first that ever governed Peru) as the name of King was to the Romans after they had expelled Tarquinius Superbus and his Family. Thus far are the words of Diego Fernandez Palentino.

Also Dr. Gonçalo de Yllescas, in his Pontifical History of the Popes, having occasion to treat of the affairs of Peru, gives this Character of the froward and un-

easie disposition of Blasco Nunnez Vela.

After these things, says he, Vaca de Castro, for the space of a year and a half, quietly and peaceably governed all matters, untill fuch time as he was superfeded by Blasco Nunnez Vela, a Gentleman of good quality, of Avola, who was sent this ther with Character of Vice-king; bringing with him many fevere Rules and Laws which he put in execution; over and above which he put in practice others for which he had no Commission; the which this Doctor These declares in a few words, and favs more than all our Historians durst to fav or write upon this particular fubiect.

Whilst these disturbances happened in the City Los Reges the like mutinies or meater arole in other Towns and Corporations of less consideration. Howsoever, the like spirits of Ambition, Envy, Tyranny and Desire of Government did not

so far prevail as they did in that City of Los Reyes.

And now diffention and quarrels over-ran all, and amidst these Turmoils, the poor Prince Manco Inca had the misfortune to be killed, though he remained content and quiet in his retirement, and became a voluntary exile, whilft other men striving for his Empire committed many murthers and slaughters, as appeared in the late Wars, and we might apprehend others more bloudy yet to come, in ease it were possible for any to be more bloudy and cruel than those which were

And here it is to be noted; That Diego Mandez and Gomez Perez, with fix other Spaniards whom we formerly nominated, and mentioned to have made their escape out of prison, where they had been confined by the faction of the Pigarros, and by the Justice of *Vaca de Castro*; and having taken refuge with this *Inca*, they by his means came to know and receive all the Informations and Advices concerning the new Troubles and Diffentions arifing upon the execution of the new Laws: for whereas it was reported that the Vice-king came to turn all things upfide down, and to change and alter all the Constitutions of the Countrey; the lica, who was encompassed within the craggy and lofty mountains, was informed by his Subjects of all these revolutions which he thought might be of benefit and

birds of the air, which they supposed to be the highest indignity and dishononic that they could show to their Corps.

Royal Commentaries.

enlarged from his retirement, and appear in his prefence, and ferve his Majelly in any thing, as occasion should offer: the *Inca* was induced at the perfuasion of the Spaniards to make this Petition, who told him, that it might be a means to open a way to his recovery of the whole Empire, or at least of the best part of open a way to his recovery of the whole Empire, of at least of the peripart of it. The *Spaniards* also wrote as from themselves desiring a pardon for what was past, and a protection or safe conduct in the attendance of his Lordship, to per-

form their duty to him.

Gonez, Perez, was the person appointed and elected to be Ambassadour from the Inca, attended with 10 or 12 Indians, who by command of the Inca were ordered to doe him fervice; and being come to the Vice-king, he prefented his Letters of Credence to him, giving him a large relation of the State and Condition of the Inca, and of his true and real defigns to doe him fervice. The Viceking joyfully received the news, and granted a full and ample pardon of all crimes as defired. And as to the *Inca* he made many kind expressions of love and respect, truly considering that the Interest of the Inca might be advantageous to him both in War and Peace. And with this fatisfactory Answer Gomes. P. rez returned both to the Inca and to his own Companions, they provided to he gone, and with all convenient speed to attend the service of the Vice-king; bur Blasco Nunnez Veia was not so fortunate as to obtain and enjoy so great a good, for now ill fuccess attended him in every thing, as will apport in the following Chapter.

#### CHAP. VII.

Of the unfortunate Death of Prince Manco Inca, and of the Mutinies which arose amongst the Spaniards by reason of the new Laws.

THE Inca, to humour the Spaniards and entertain himself with them, had given directions for making a bowling green; where playing one daywith Go mez Perez; he came to have some quarrel and difference with this Perez about the measure of a Cast, the which often happened out between them: for this Perez, being a person of a hot and siery brain, without any judgment or understanding, would take the least occasion in the world to contend with and provoke the Inca; who notwithstanding being a very discreet person and of good temper, did moderate and difguise his passion, and would not refuse to play with him, as he did with other *Spaniards*, who were more obliging, and less offensive in their gaming: but Gomez Perez, being puffed up with the late favours he had received from the Viceking, and with the hopes he had in a short time to disengage himself from that place, became more rude and infolent towards the Inca than he had formerly been; treating him with the same terms that he did those poor Indians who were his servants and flaves. At length Gomez Perez became so intolerably insolent, that, playing one day with the Inca, he so affronted him, that, being no longer able to endure his rudeness, he punched him on the breast, and bid him to consider with whom he talked. *Peres*, not confidering in his heat and paffion either his own or the fafety of his Companions, lifted up his hand, and with the Bowl ftruck the Inca so violently on the head, that he knocked him down: The Indians hereupon, being enraged by the death of their Prince, joined together against Gomez and the Spaniards, who fled into a house, and with their Swords in their hands defended the door, the Indians fet fire to the house, which being too hot for them, they fallied out into the Market-place, where the Indians affaulted them and shot them with their Arrows until they had killed every man of them: and then afterwards, out of mere rage and fury they defigned either to eat them raw, as their custome was, or to burn them and cast their ashes into the river, that no sign or appearance might remain of them; but at length, after some consultation, they agreed to cast their bodies into the open fields, to be devoured by Vulters and

This was the fate and unhappy deftiny of the poor Prince Manco Inca. to perith by the hands of one whom he had protected, and nourifhed, and entertained with all the hospitality he could show: thus we see, when a man's time is come, that neither his voluntary exile, nor the inaccessible rocks to which he was fled for refuge, were able to defend him from the stroke of a rash fool and mad-man, who was destitute of all sense and reason. Francisco Lopes, in the 156th Chapter of his Book touches upon this particular point, though he differs fomething in the relation of the manner and circumftances of his death: but I have informed my felf very perfectly from those Incas, who were present and eve-witnes-(sof the unparalled piece of madness of that rash and hair-brained fool; and heard them tell this Story to my Mother and Parents with tears in their eyes, relaring in what manner they came out of those mountains in company with Inca Sapri Tugae, fon of that unfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-king Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça Marquis of Cannete; all which we shall (God willing) re-

late when we arrive at the due and proper place.

The Devil, who is the mortal enemy of mankind, being always vigilant and intent to take his advantages, did now make use of this opportunity to give a stop to the propagation of the Gospel in that great and opulent Empire of Peru; and to promote and further his defign herein, he dispeeded his Emissaries into all parts. who infinuated jealoufies, and fears, and discontents into the minds of the people; which so prevailed, that a stop was given to the preaching and spreading of the Gospel: and all that peace, concord and good correspondence which flourished during all the Government of Vaca de Castro, was now totally subverted and brought to confusion. But this Sedition, by the endeavours of evil spirits, was blown into a flame, and highly increased in the City of Cozco, where being above eightv families of principal Citizens, more concerned than any others in the vaffalage of Indians; the new Ordinances became more grievous to them than to others. whole interest was not so great: howsoever the discontent was general over all Pen, for the Conquerours were fenfible of their lofs, feeing themselves deprived

in one day of all their Indians, fortunes and estates.

These Mutinies and Discontents of the People incensed the hot and violent firit of the Vice-king to a higher degree; so that he rejected all Petitions and Addresses from particular Cities, Boroughs and Corporations: for which reasons. the four Cities, namely, Huamanca, Arequepa, Chaquifaca and Cozco resolved to ioin together in the Address, wherein they thought they might be the more plain, in regard the Vice-king had not as yet been received in any of those places: and to promote their defires declared in that Address, they made choice of a General Solicitour, who was not onely to represent the Case of the four Cities, but also thereby included the common concernment of the whole Empire, inafinuch as Corco was the head and capital City of Pern. The whole matter was negotiated by an intercourse of Letters, and by common consent Gonçalo Picarro was the perfor fixed upon as the most proper person to act in this affair; both because he was brother to Marquis Francisco Picarro, and a man of great interest, having been a chief Actour in the Conquest, and fullained therein all the hazards and hardships we have before, though in brief and imperfectly, expressed: he was moreover as to his extraction noble, in his condition vertuous and generally beloved: belides all which, had he not been elected and appointed thereunto, yet he had a right to this Office, in respect to the Title he had of being the Protectour and Desender of all the Indians and Spaniards in that Kingdom. Upon these Considerations general Letters were wrote from the Corporations of the four Cities to Gonçalo Pigarro, who was then at his Plantation in the Charcas, desiring him to come up to Coscos, to confider with them what course was to be taken in this Conjuncture for the good and fafety of the common welfare; and to move him hereunto, they acquainted him that he was most concerned of any in this affair; for, besides the loss of his Indians, he was in danger of his Life; for that the Vice-king had often faid and declared, that he could produce a Command from his Majesty to take off his head. Picarro having received these advices, gathered what money he could make of his own Estate, and of what belonged to his Brother Hernando Picarro, and with ten or twelve Friends in company travelled to Cozco, where, as Curate faith in the fourth Chapter of his fifth Book, the whole City went forth to meet

Rrrr

674

and welcome him, being overjoyed at his coming; and every day people fled from Los Reves to the City of Cozco, reporting fad ftories of the practices of the Vice-king, which ferved to enflame and flir up the minds of the People and Citizens to Sedition. Many Meetings and Confultations were now held by the Magistrates of the Town, where the Judges were affembled with the generality of the chief Citizens. And coming to treat upon the matter, how they were to treat and receive the Vice-king when he should come thither, some were of our nion that they should not refuse to receive and entertain him; but as to the new Statutes and Laws, they should not be admitted untill they had by their Messen. gers represented their Case unto his Majesty, and received his farther pleasure thereupon. Others were of a contrary fenfe, and faid, that having once admired of those Laws, and suffered themselves to be deprived of their Indians, they should with much difficulty retrieve them again. In fine, It was agreed and refolved that Goncalo Picarro should be the person elected for the City of Cozco, and that Diego Centeno, who was constituted Plenipotentiary for the City of Plate, should delegate his power to *Pigarro*, whereby being authorized and endued with a peneral and common power from feveral Cities; he might with greater confidence and affurance appear at the City of Los Reges in prefence of the Vice-king But before the matter was concluded there arose many debates upon the point. whether Picarro were to be attended with Souldiers and Guards for his person. and after some dispute it was agreed, that he ought to be guarded and defended with Souldiers; for which many reasons were produced; as first, that the Viceking had already beat up his Drums in Los Reyes, and had declared, that he would march against those who had seized the great Guns and carried them out of the Fort, and punish them as Rebels to the King: and moreover, confidering the morole and angry temper of the Vice-king, who was inflexible in his humour and refolved never to admit the Addresses of those, who petitioned for a suspension of the new Laws: which he put in execution without the concurrence and affent of the Officers of the King's Court, which was contrary to his Instructions from his Ma. jefty. And likewise considering what he had often declared, that he had his Majesty's Command to cut off the head of Gonçalo Piçarro, as an Actour and evil Instrument in the late unhappy Wars, and a Conspiratour in the Murther of Don Diego, and therefore they ought to appear open saced, and desend themselves with Armes; but others, who were more moderate men, would not allow that a Guard should be granted on the reasons aforesaid, but rather on pretence that there was need and occasion thereof to defend the person of Picarro on the way in his travails to Los Reges, being to pass a dangerous Countrey infested with Wars and Souldiers belonging to the Inca. But others who would speak more plainly, and not mince the matter, declared openly that the Souldiers were defigned to defend their Agent or Messenger from the implacable spirit of the Vice-king, who observing no Laws of justice or reason, there could be no security for any man to treat with him: And as to other proceedings by way of Witneffes and Informations, little could be effected, having to deal with Proctours and Clerks of his own; who would confound all bufineffes, and make them to turn according to his own will and pleasure; so that being deprived of all ways of Law and Justice, there was no other means left, than to have recourse unto Arms, and to repell force with force; and that a Judge who availed himself on violence and on law, was to be fet at defiance and openly refifted. The matter being thus refolved; Gonçalo Piçarro fet up his Standard, to which the Citizens flocked in great numbers, offering both their persons and estates and vowing to dye in maintenance of that quarrel.

Thus far are the words of Angultine Carate in the fourth Chapter of the fifth Book of his Hiltory of Peru. That which now follows, are the words of Francis

Lopez de Gomara in the 157th Chapter.

#### CHAP.

#### CHAP. VIII.

The Diffentions and Troubles are increased. The four Cities write to Gonçalo Piçarro, and elect him to be Procuratour or Agent General of all Peru. He raises men to march with him to the City of Los Reyes.

Oncalo Picarro living quietly and in retirement in the Charcas, was fo folicited by the constant Letters which came to him from particular persons, who had anained to confiderable estates, that he was at length persuaded after Vaca de Cafro was gone to Los Reyes, to leave his dwelling, and repair to Cozco. Many of those who seared a deprivation both of their estates and vassalage of their Indians flocked to him; which numbers were increased by many who affected novelty; howfoever liberty was pretended and protection from the violent deligns of Blasco Nunnez, who refused to incline to reason, to admit appeals, or to hearken unto any addresses; so that they were forced to have recourse to Arms, and to make choice of Picarro for their Chief, whom they would follow and defend: but Picarro, who was desirous to prove them and justifie himself, told them, that they would doe well to confider first, what they did, for to oppose the Commands and Ordinances of Regal Power, though by way of Petition, was to contradict the Authority of the Emperour himself. That War was a matter of great moment, and not lightly to be undertaken; that the management was laborious and painfull, and the fuccess doubtfull; that he could not gratifie their defires in things which were contrary and in opposition to the King's service, or accept the charge of Procuratour or Captain for them: but they on the other fide infifted on the justice of their cause, and the lawfulness of the enterprize; arguing that, if the delign of conquering the Indians were justifiable, then likewise it was lawfull to bring them into vallalage; that it was not in the power of the Emperour to deprive them of the people and flaves which he once had given them, or recall his donation, having bestowed them on several persons in consideration of marriage. That it was as lawfull for them to defend the vaffals which they had gained, and privileges; as for the Gentlemen of Caftile their liberties, which were granted to them by the Kings, for having been aiding to them in the Wars against the Moors, and on the same terms might they insist who had wrested those dominions out of the hands of Idolaters. In fine, they concluded, that they were not resolved to trouble themselves about these Laws, or supplicate or intreat against them, for that they found no obligation in the least to acknowledge orreceive them; notwithstanding all which, there were some who maintained the honour and the Loyalty which was owing to the King, and declared the folly of these men, who, upon pretence of maintaining their own rights and immunities, contradicted and opposed that Loyalty to which they were all engaged. and made themselves States men in matters of which they were all ignorant: but all this was to no purpose, to inculcate matters unto men who were deaf, and refolved not to hear or understand: but this rash language stopped not here, but proceeded to farther extravagances, and Souldiers began to speak ill of the Government, and reflect upon the Emperour himfelf, imagining that fuch threats would mollifie his displeasure, and incline him to favour towards such brutes as themselves. To aggravate all which, they reported, that Blasco Numez was an unexperienced person in affairs, obstinate, an enemie to the rich men, an Almagrian, who had hanged a Priest in Tumbez, and hanged and quartered a fervant of Gongab Piçarro, because he was an enemie to Diego de Almagro, for having brought the command for putting Piçarro to death, and for the punishment of those who had joyned with him in the battel of Salines. And to accomplish all the evil sayings which could be alledged against him, they reported, that he prohibited wine, and to eat spices and fugar, and to wear filk cloaths, and to travail with Hamocks or Bedding.

And thus, with these reports, some true and some salte, Picarra made his ends and advantages, being willing and ready to take hold of any pretence to ground

Rrrz

his

his Title of Captain General or Procuratour General, supposing that he might according to our Proverb, be enabled hereby, To enter in at the fleeve, and come out at the collar.

Thus was *Picarro* chosen and elected Procuratour General of Cozco, which was the Metropolis of Peru; in like manner the Corporations of Guamanga, the Town of *Plate*, and other places concurred in the fame choice, and the Souldiery gave him the Title of their Captain General, with full and ample Authority to be their Agent and Plenipotentiary, promising to stand to whatsoever he should a gree and confent unto in their names: And on the other fide he took the uffect

Oath which is commonly administred on such occasions.

After this Picarro fet up his Standard, beat up his Drums, and feized all the Gold in the Exchequer belonging to the King: and there being a good Magazine of Arms at Chipas, he made use of them, and armed 400 men therewith both of Horie and Foot. Those persons who were concerned in the Government, name. the state of this matter, did upon fecond thoughts begin to repent of the power they had over unto Gonçalo Piçarro; knowing how fait he had them by the hand, when they onely had hold of him by the finger; howfoever they thought not fit to revoke their power, though privately, and in their hearts, they wished that they

could handsomely have retracted it.

Thus far are the words of Francisco Lopez extracted verbatim from his own Writings. But, to explain the meaning of these Authours, who write something confuledly upon this point, and feem to describe the minds of these people, as if they were overmuch prompted to rebellion, which afterwards too manifefly anpeared by the fuccess. Howsoever we are to understand that when Gonçalo Picarro was by confent of the people elected and chosen Procuratour or Adjurant General, they entertained no imagination or thought of vindicating their rights and privileges with the Sword; but their meaning onely was in an humble and plain manner to make their Address and lay their case before the Chief Governour, reprefenting, as Loyal Subjects, their great merit in the conquest of that Empire, and annexing of it to the Crown of Spain: supposing that in case the Vice king would onely vouchfafe to hear them; their cause was so just as could not be rejected even at the Bar or Judicature of the most barbarous Nations of the World.

This was certainly the true meaning and original intentions of the four Cities at the beginning, when they dispatched their Agents with full and ample power to fignifie their concurrence in the election and choice of Gonçalo Picarro to be their Representative: but such was the rude and turbulent spirit of the Vice king, and the rumours and reports which every day filled the City of Cozco, concerning the extravagances which he acted; that Gonçala Picarro thought it not fit to trust the fafety of his person to bare Papers or the dead letter of Laws, though never fo much in his favour; but rather to provide in prudence to fecure his person with Arms and a forcible defence, as we shall understand by the sequel of this

And indeed herein Gongalo Pigarro wifely confidered, that he had to doe with a wild brute Beaft, rigorous and positive to execute the new Laws; against whom there was no defence but power, for the Vice-king had often declared, that he brought with him a Command from the Emperour to take off his head; to fecure which, he refolved to goe attended with a company of about two hundred Souldiers appointed for a guard to his person; but that he would neither carry Ensigns or Colours, or name Captains, left it thould look too much like a martial force, or fayour of a rebellion. And this doctrine was notified and interpreted by the Judges of every City, declaring that their intention was nothing, but to act by way of Petition for conservation of their own rights, which being so reasonable, they could not doubt but to obtain favour from their King and Prince therein; and upon this ground they advised Pigarro to dispose himself to act in form and manner of one who was by way of Address to represent the state and condition of the peoples aggrievances; in regard they entertained no other thoughts and intentions than such as became loyal and obedient Subjects. To which Pigarro made anfiver, that fince they were well acquainted with the implacable spirit of the Viceking, who had often boafted that he brought a Commission with him to take off his head; he could not but wonder, that they should fend him bound to the hands of the Executioner; and with the glorious title of their Representative to

fland with his hands in his pockets untill the other should cut his throat. And therefore rather than go in such manner on this errant, he would chuse to return unto his own house and retirement, and there expect his fate, than to anticipate his death by going to the place of execution.

The Citizens feeing the resolution of *Picarro*, and confidering the reasons which he alledged, could not but concurr with him in his opinion as reasonable, and therefore permitted him to raife Men, under notion onely of his Guard and to defend him, as feveral Authours averr, in his paffage through those Mountains, wherein the Prince Manco Inca had fortified himself. And with this license, and under this colour for railing Men, he increased his numbers to four hundred men under this colour for faring twen, he increased in numbers to four numbers which as Gomara faith, both Horfe and Foot; and as fome fay to many more: which when the City observed, they began to repent them of their Election and Defign, which put on the face of a Rebellion rather than the humble guise of Petitioners; against which way of proceedings many made their protests, and particular larly the three before named, as Gomara reports. Howfoever Goncalo Picarro purfling his defign, wrote very instant and urging Letters unto all parts, where Spaniards inhabited, and not onely to the three Cities before mentioned, but to the Plantations of Indians; addressing bimself to them all particularly with such endearing terms as might best affect them, offering to them his Life and Fortune to frend in their Service, either upon the present emergencies or upon any other occasion which should occurr for the future: by which his design was no longer under a dubious sense or disguise, but became clear and evident, as the three Historia rians write. for that he fet up a claim and title to the fole Government of Peru. by virtue of an ancient Patent from the Emperour to his Brother Francisco Picarro. constituting and appointing him chief Governour, and after him whom he should nominate to succeed him during life; so that the Government was given for two Lives, as was also the distribution of Indians, and those held by vassalage for two Lives, according to the original Grants given to the first Conquerous.

#### CHAP. IX.

Gonçalo Piçarro, having named and appointed his feveral Captains and Officers, departs from Cozco. The Viceking in like manner assembles his People, and appoints Captains, and imprisons Vaca de Castro, and other principal men of note and quality.

ITH this specious pretence Gonçalo Piçarro proceeded in raising Men. so that now it feemed rather an open War than an Address by way of Petition for relief against Oppressions; and to make his designs yet more manifest, he sent Francisco de Almendras (who was my Godsather) into the great Road leading to the City of Los Reyes, with a party of twenty Men besides Indians, carefully to intercept all persons that passed, not permitting any to travel thither, eight ther from Cozco or Rimac. All the Gold and Silver which was in the King's Treafury he feifed, as also the Estates of persons deceased, and Monies deposited; which he took up by way of loan, and to re-pay the same again with interest; all which he made use of for payment of his Souldiers, and carrying on his design. The Cannon which Galpar Rodriguez and his Companions transported from Huamora to Cozco, and which were many and very good, he seifed upon, and took with him for his Train of Artillery; for the supply of which he gave order to make great quantities of Gun-powder, for compounding which they wanted not Salt-peter in abundance; for in the parts near Cozco the best Salt-peter is digged in all that Kingdom. The Captains named for his Army were Alonfo de Toro Captain of Horfe, who had formerly been Major General to Don Pedro Porto Carrero, Pedro Cermenno was appointed Captain of the Harquebusiers, John Velez de Guevara,

and Diego Gumiel were made Captains of the Lances, and Hernando Bachicao was made Mafter of the Ordnance, of which there were twenty excellent Pieces Moreover Carate, in the Fifth Chapter of his Eighth Book, tells us, that he provided both Ball and Powder, and all fort of Ammunition necessary and required to his Cannon: And having thus prepared every thing in order to his evil intent he then professed openly, that he and his Brothers having discovered that great and vast Continent, and by their Adventures, Hazards and Atchievements reduced the fame with the help and authority of his Majesty's Commission under his Royal Power, in return whereof he had remitted vaft quantities both of Gold and Silver to his Majesty's Exchequer, as might evidently appear upon the List and Register. And that whereas after the death of the Marquis, his Majesty was so far from fettling the Government upon his Son or himself, as was confirmed by the Letters Patents, that in lieu thereof he fent to make seisure of their Estates from which no person is exempted, who by one matter or the other is not concerned and brought within the compass of these Rules and new Regulations. and to mend the matter, an obstinate person, one Blasco Nunnez Vela, was employed to put them into execution, who would neither receive Petitions, nor hearken to Reason, treating the people with injurious and severe terms, as might be easily proved by good and sufficient Witnesses; and likewise that he had sent a Commission to take off his Head, who had never differred his Majesty, but on the contrary, as was manifeftly known, had been loyal, faithfull and a good Subiect, as was apparent to all the world. For which reasons as aforesaid he was refolved, with the confent and approbation of the City, to make a Journey to Lor Rejet, there to complain in the publick place of Judicature of the aggressances of his Majesty's good Subjects; after which they would dispatch Messengers to the King in the name of the whole Kingdom, to inform his Majeffy of the truth of all that had paffed, with their humble offers for a redrefs, not doubting but his Majeffy would yield a gentle and a gratious ear thereunto; and when they had performed this their duty, and could receive no relief, they would then contentedly acquiesce, and with humble refignation submit unto his Maiesty's pleasure. And whereas they could not efteem themselves safe and secure from the designs and menaces of the Vice king, who was marching against them with a Body of Men, they agreed, that this their Plenipotentiary should likewise be attended with a Body of Men, merely for the fecurity of his Person, and to remain onely on the defensive part. And with this design onely and no other, he exhorted the Souldiers that they would keep Order and Military Discipline to avoid surprise, and that he and the other Gentlemen who were his Affociates would maintain and pay them as was reasonable, in regard they were employed for conservation of their Lives and Estates. And with such fair pretensions as these, he persuaded the people to joyn with him in the justification he had made of his cause, which being generally approved, they freely offered their Services to defend him to the last drop of their bloud: and in this manner he departed from Cozco, attended with the Citizens and Inhabitants as before mentioned. Thus far are the words

With these preparations before-mentioned, which amounted unto five hundred Souldiers, and twenty thousand Indians to attend the Camp; for twelve thousand onely were requisite to draw and manage the Cannon and Artillery, Conscalo Picarro departed from Cozeo to march unto the City of Los Rojes, giving out that design was no other than onely to petition and to treat; and being marched as sat as Sacsanana, being four leagues distant from the City, we shall leave him there a while and return to the Vice-king, to declare how matters passed between him

and his Subjects in Lor Reyer and other parts.

Though Blasco Numnes I ela was settled in the seat of his Authority, and received for Governour of that Empire, yet he was uneasis and unable to relish the sweetness of Power, by reason of those discontents and jealousies which the people conceived in execution of the new Rules of Regulation; wherefore to secure his Person from any treasonable attempt, and as a mark of his Authority and State, he gave order to Captain Diego de Orbina to raise and arm fifty Archebusiers to be his Lise-guard, and attend his Person on all occasions, (as Gomara reports in the 158th Chapter of his Book.) And now none durst open his mouth to him, for suspending the practice of the new Laws; as Carate saich in the Fisth Chapter of the Fifth Book: And though a Petition had been preserved to him in open Court

from the Corporation of that City, where it had been publickly debated, yet he refused to hearken thereunto; and though he plainly confessed himself, that those Laws were prejudicial to the interest of the people, and could not be put in execution without differvice to his Majesty, and that if those persons who formed and ordained them were here present, and had observed the difficulties and inconveniences that attended them, they would never have persuaded his Majesty to have constituted or enacted the same: and that though for these reasons he was resolved to send his Commissioners' together with theirs to supplicate his Majesty that he would be pleased to recall those Ordinances, as inconsistent with the good of his People, howsover in the mean time he could not suspend the execution, laving Instructions and Commands from his Majesty to the contrary. Thus sar are the words of Cavate, who, with other Writers, proceeds in this manner.

During this time the Road from Cozco was to ftopped that all intelligence was intercepted, fo that none was brought either by the Spaniards or Indian Meffengers, more than that Gonçulo Picarro was come to Cozco, where the people, who were fled from Los Reyes and other parts, flocked to him upon the news that there was like to be a Civil War. Whereupon the Vice-king and the Judges dispatched their Orders to the Citizens of Cozco, giving them to understand that their duty was to receive Busson of Cozco, giving them to understand that their duty was to receive Busson the Citizens of Cozco, giving them to understand that their duty was to receive Busson the Total Cozco by forth with at Los Reyes with their Horse and Arms. And though these Orders were intercepted on the Road, yet some Copies of them were brought to Cozco by some persons who came by by-ways, the which so wrought upon several of the Citizens, that they accordingly came and made their appearance at Los Reyes to serve the Vice-king; as shall hereafter be declared.

Affairs standing upon these terms; certain intelligence came to the Vice-king of all that had passed at Cozeo, which so alarm'd him that he gave immediate Orders to increase his Army; to raise and maintain which having occasion for a good sum of Money, he caused the Money, being an hundred thousand Pieces of Eight, laden by Castro de Vaca on board a Ship for account of his Majesty, to be brought a shore, and employed for the use and service of his Army.

The persons to whom he gave Commissions of Captains to command the Horse, were Alonso de Monte Major and Diego Alvarea de Cuero his Brother-in-law; of the Insanty were Martin de Robles, Paul de Meneses; and Captain of the Arquebusiers was Gongala Dies de Pinnera: his Brother Vela Numnea was made Captain General, Diego de Urbina Lieutenant General, and John de Aguire Sargeant Major. His whole Amy besides Natives consisted of six hundred Souldiers, of which there were an bundred Horse, two hundred Fire-arms, and the rest were Pikes and Lances.

He caused great store of Fire-arms to be made, some of Iron, and some of Bellmettle; for he gave Orders to take down the Bells of the great Church, and to calt them into Muskets: he also made great quantities of Halberts. And because he suspected the affection and reality of the peoples good will towards him, he caused several false Alarms to be given, that so he might try in what manner the Souldiers and People would behave themselves if occasion were. And because he was jealous of the practices of Vaca de Castro with his Servants, and others of his Party to whom he had given the liberty of the City, under a confinement not to exceed the bounds thereof; he one day about Dinner-time caused an Alarm to be given, that Gonçalo Piçarro was near at hand, and had entred the Market-place with his Army: upon which occasion he gave Orders to Diego Alvarez de Caero to feife on the Person of Vaca de Castro, who with other Officers took also Don Pedro de Cabrera, Hernan Mexia de Guzman his Brother-in-law, as also Captain Lorenço de Aldana, Melchior Ramirez, and Baltasar Ramirez his Brother, and carried them all together to the Sea-fide, and embarked them upon a Ship belonging to the Fleet, commanded by Captain Teronimo de Curbano, a Native of Bilboa: in a few days after which, he fet Lorenço de Aldana at liberty, and banished Hernan Mexia to Panama, and Melchior and Baltafar de Ramirez to Nicaragua; but he continued Vaca de Castro in the Ship, without making any Process by Law, or legally laying any Fault or Crimes to their charges, or receiving any information against them. Thus far are the words of Angustine de Carate in the fixth Chapter of his

68 t

#### CHAP.

Royal Commentaries.

Two of the Inhabitants of Arequepa revolt to the Vice-king, with two of the Ships belonging to Gonçalo Picarro. and the Citizens of Cozco desert his Army.

Hill the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez was troubled with these thoughts and fears, a lucky accident happened much to his advantage and fatisfaction. for two persons which belonged to the City of Arequepa, one of which was called feronino de Serna and the other Alonso de Carceres, seised upon the two Ships in that Port belonging to Gonçalo Piçarro, which he had bought with his own money. with intent to thip his Ammunition and Provisions thereupon, and with them to be Master of those Seas, which was of great and high concernment to him: these two persons, as we have said, corrupted the Mariners, and persuaded them to sail the Ships to Los Reyes, where the Vice-king refided, who received them with great joy and contentment; for thereby perceiving that the Forces of his Enemy were wavering, and enclining to his fide, he took it as a good Omen of his following fuccefs.

In the mean time it happened out in the Army of Gonçalo Piçarro, which we lest in Sacfahuana, that the Citizens which belonged to Cozco, reflecting within themselves upon the design in which they were engaged, and considering how unbeseeming and improper a matter it was to petition for Justice with Arms in their hands, which ought to be performed in a more humble and submissive manner; it was agreed amongst the principal men amongst them, (as was before privately discoursed) to desert the cause of Gonçalo Picarro and return again to their

own habitations.

The chief and leading men in this defign were Craviel de Rojas, Garcilallo de la Vega, John de Saavedra, Gomez de Rojas, Jeronimo Costilla, Pedro del Barco, Martin de Florencia, Jeronimo de Soria, Gomez de Leon, Doctour Carvajal, Alonfo Perez de Ef-

quivel, Pedro Picarro, and John Ramirez.

These are all particularly mentioned by the two Authours, Carate and Diego Fernandez; but befides thefe, there were feveral others not named by them, as John Julio de Hojeda, Diego de Silva, Thomas Bazquez, Pedro Alinfo Carrafco, John de Pancorvo, Alonfo de Hinojofa, Antonio de Quimones, Alonfo de Loyafa, Matria de Menefes, Muncio Serra de Leguicamo, Francisco de Villa Fuerta, John de Figueroa, Pedro de los Rios, with his Brother Diego, Alonfo de Soto, and Diego de Truxillo, Gaspar Jura, and others whose names I have forgotten, who were in all about forty in number, with many of which I had a personal acquaintance.

All these having deserted the cause of Gonçalo Piçarro, returned to their own homes at Cozco; where having provided themselves with such conveniences as were necessary for their Journey, they with all diligence took their Journey to Arequepa, with defign to feife the two Ships belonging to Gonçalo Piçarro, which they knew lay at that place, and embark themselves thereon, and fail to Los Roes, efteeming it for a great piece of fervice to the King, and a means to ingratiate themselves with the Vice-king; but herein they were disappointed, for that the Captains Alonso de Carceres and Jeronimo de la Serna had forestalled them in their

defign, having carried the Ships away to Los Reyes before their arrival.

And being thus disappointed of their hopes, they considered of the securest way they were now to take to get to the Vice-king; for they knew that Gonçalo Picarro had stopped all the Roads and Passages over the Plains and Mountains; wherefore they agreed to build a great Boat or Vessel, and thereon to take their paffage by Sea to Los Reyes: the building of this Veffel took up forty days time to little purpose; for the Carpenters being both unskilfull in building, and the Timber green and unfeafoned, no fooner was the Veffel lanched, and her Provitions laden upon her but she funk down to the bottom in the very Harbour. Wherefore finding that there was no other way now left them, they refolved to hazard themselves on the Land, which succeeded according to their desires, for the Road being clear'd of their Enemies, they arrived fafe at Los Reyes; but when they came thicker, they found that the Vice-king was made a Prisoner, and embarked and fent away into Spain. As we shall understand more particularly in the sequel of this History.

This delay of forty days in building the Vessel, was the cause of all the mis thief which enfued; for during that time the Vice-king was made a Prisoner. which had otherwise been prevented had those Gentlemen opportunely arrived: for had it been known that persons of that Quality had revolted from Picarro, and were come from Cozco to joyn with the Vice-king, it would have brought so great arenitation to his affairs, that none would have dared to have touched the Viceking, or declared for the Party of Pigarro. And as some Authours report, the people feifed on the Vice-king and put him on Ship-board, onely out of fear to feare him from Gonçalo Piçarro, who they heard was on his march with intention to kill him. But these Gentlemen of Cozco, finding, contrary to all expectation, that the Vice-king was fent away, every man shifted for himself as well as he could: Some of which remaining in the City, we shall have occasion to discourse

of them hereafter.

BOOK IV.

On the other fide, Gonçalo Piçarro, perceiving that those who were men of the preatest interest and power in the Army had relinquished his interest, he gave himself over for lost, and, as the Historians report, resolved to return to the Charcas, or to retire into Chile with about fifty of the most faithfull of his Friends and Comrades, who, he was affured, would fland by him to the laft: but whilft he was meditating of these matters, Pedro de Puelles came to him, and brought the news of the departure of the Vice-king, which was so much to the advantage of Pigaro, that he with new courage and triumph returned to Cozeo. The Indians which belonged to those who revolted he appropriated to his own service, onely those who were in vassalage to Garcilasso de la Vega he bestowed on Pedro de Puelles. and gave up his Houses to be plundred by the Souldiers, one of which afterwards intended to have fet fire to them, having a fire-brand in his hand to that purpose, and had certainly effected it, had he not been prevented by another of a better and a more mild temper and disposition, who said to him, What hurt have these Houses done you? if the Master were here we might revenge our selves upon him, but what evil have these Walls deserved? This word gave a stop to his intention and faved the House; howsoever they plundred it from the top to the bottom, not leaving any thing in it which was worth one farthing; and turned out the Indian Servants both Men and Women, charging them not to come within the Walls upon pain of death: howfoever they permitted eight persons to remain therein, namely my Mother, and Sifter, and a Maid-fervant, as also my self, (for my Mother would rather have died than have been without me) and John de Alcobaça my Tutour, with his Son Diego, and his Brother, and an Indian Maid, which they would not deny me the service of.

John Alcobaça, being a person of a good life and exemplary piety, void of pasfion and worldly interest, gained that respect and favour amongst them, that they would not take away his life; the friendship we had amongst several of them, faved us also; for many of those who adhered to Picarro were yet Friends to my Father, and would fay, turning to us, what have these Children and old People done, or what punishment have they deserved for the faults of another? Howsoever after this we had certainly perished with hunger, had not the Incas, and some Ladies of their Family, who were related to us, fent us fecretly and by private ways, some Food wherewith to support our selves; but such was the sear and dread they had of these Tyrants, that the Provision was so little as was scarce able

to fultain us.

A certain Cazique, who was under the command of my Father, called Don Gartia Pauqui, who was Commander over two Plantations, which are fituated on the Banks of the River Apprimac feven leagues diftant from the City, one of which is called Hnayllari, was more kind and faithfull than all others relating to us; for he, not fearing the threats they had given, adventured with danger of his life to relieve us, and came one night to our House, to give us notice that we should fit up and watch the night following, for that about such an hour he would send us in twenty five Bushels of Mayz, which he accordingly did; and about seven or eight nights after he fent us in the like quantity, which was a fufficient provision to relieve us during the eight months of our famine and restraint, untill the time

that Diego Centeno entred into Cozco, as we shall relate hereafter. I have thought fit to mention this particular passage to shew the faithfulness and loyalty of this good Curaca, and record the same to the honour of him and those who descend from him.

Royal Commentaries.

But besides the Charities we received from this good man Panani, I received some other relief from a noble Person, called John Escobar, who at that time had no command over Indians, though some years afterwards Doctour Castro bequeathed some to him, upon an intermarriage between him and the Daughter of Visco de Guevara, begotten on the body of Maria Enriquee, both Persons of Honour and

Quality.

This worthy Gentleman John de Escobar, who lodged in the House of Allows de Mela, in a certain Street built in the midst of my Father's Rents, very much compaffionating our wants and penury, defired my Tutour to give me leave to come every day to dinner, and at night to supper with him; we accepted very kindly the dinner, but as to the supper, we thought it not convenient to keep our doors open at that time of the night; for we were hourly in fear of being maffacted for which we had good grounds, being always threatned by them; and none that us into more fear than Herhando Bachicao, who was Master of the Ordnances for though he went not out with them, yet he mounted fome Cannon at his own House and made a Battery upon ours, which, in the Map or description we made of the Town, just fronted with his, nothing being between us but onely the two Market-places of the City, which he had certainly levelled to the ground, had not some Friends and Relations interceded for us: Nor did the Relations of those others who revolted fare better than we; though they evidenced a more particular lar malice and anger against my Father, as one who had more fignally been co-cerned in this revolt than any other. Graviel de Rojas was as deeply engaged as he, but having his Houses and Possessions in Chuquisaca the City of Plate, they had not the same opportunity to be revenged on him.

Having thus vented their anger upon the Houses of those Citizens of Cozco who had revolted from their cause, they returned again into the Road of Los Rejusto meet Pedro de Puelles and the people who followed him; but they were very tedious in their march to Huamanca, by reason of the great Incumbrance of their Cannon which followed the Camp. Jeronimo de la Serna, and Alonso de Carceres, who had revolted with the two Ships to Los Rejes, reported amongst other things to the Vice-king, how that Gonzalo Pigarro was elected General Representative of the whole Empire, and that he was raising Men, and providing Ammunition and

Arrillery to march unto Los Reyes.

This report being brought to the Vice-king and the Justices, which as yet was news to them; for (as we have faid before) the Roads being all stopt, they had received no other intelligence of Gonçalo Pigarro than that he was come from Cozco to the Charcas: but so soon as they understood that he was raising Men, they immediately dispatched away Orders to the four Cities, requiring and commanding them to receive Blasco Nunnez Vela for Vice-king by Commission from his Maiesty. And that in case they had any aggrievances they should send their Commissioners to the City of Los Reyes, there to represent their Complaints and demand Justice in those matters wherein they judged themselves aggrieved. And in order hereunto, as Gomara fays, the Vice-king fent Friar Thomas de San Marin to affure Gonçalo Piçarro, that he had no Commission to his hurt or prejudice, but rather Instructions from the Emperour to reward and gratifie him for his many labours and services performed towards his Majesty: And therefore desired him, that laying all fears and jealousies aside, he should dismiss his people, and come freely and frankly to him to converse and treat upon affairs. Thus far Gomara. Now we will proceed to the Rebellion of Pedro de Puelles.

# CHAP

#### CHAP. XI.

Wherein is related, how Pedro de Puelles rebelled against Blasco Nunnez Vela, and revolted to Gonçalo Piçarro; and how others whom the Vice-king sent after them to setch them back, did the like, and joined with the contrary Party.

Besides the Orders which the Vice-king sent to the four Cities, and the Meffage which he had dispatched to Gonçalo Piçarro; he likewise sent his Summons to Pedro de Puelles to come and serve his Majesty, the success of which we may find written by Diego Fernandez, in the sixteenth Chapter of his Book, and by Angustine de Carate, in the tenth Chapter of his fish Book, who give a re-

lation thereof, almost in the same words.

When the Vice-king was first received in the City of Los Rejes, Pedro de Puelles, a Native of Seville, came to kish is hands, being at that time Deputy Governour for Vaca de Castro in the Town of Granneo: And having lived long in the Indies, he was highly esteemed by the Vice-king for his great experience; so that he gave him a new Commission to be Deputy Governour of Granneo, enjoyning him to get the People of that City in a readines, that in case necessity should require, they might at an hour's warning appear with their Horse and Arms. Pedro de Puelles obeyed the Commands of the Vice-king; and not onely put his own Citzens into a posture to march, at the suff Summons; but also retained several other Souldiers, who came from the Province of Chapapoyas in company with Gomes de Sosis and Bonistae, to attend the Commands of the Vice-king, for their march: and accordingly upon his Orders dispatched by Teronimo de Villegus, a Native of Burgos. Pedro de Puelles immediately marched away with intention to join with him.

But being come as far as Gnanneo, they began to lay their heads together and confider of the iffue and event of affairs, in case they should subdue and overthrow Gonçalo Piçarro and his party; and having concluded most certainly, that in that case, the Vice-king would make use of his Victory, to put in execution the new Laws without controll, to the great damage and ruine of the People; and that no man, as well Souldiers as others should be able to enjoy the service and vassalge of their Indians, which would disennable many from paying the taxes for maintenance of the Army: they all unanimously resolved to revolt unto Gonful Piçarro's party; and so marched another way to join with him in such place

where it should be their fortune to meet him.

The Vice-king, having speedy intelligence thereof by an Indian Captain called Thatopa, greatly refented the ill-fucces; but howsoever, taking courage, he immediately dispeeded his brother Vela Nunnez with a Detachment of fourty light Horse and thirty Arquebusiers, under the command of Captain Gonçalo Disa, which for better expedition were mounted upon so many Mules, which cost twelve thoufand Ducats taken out of the King's treasury; and to them were added ten other Souldiers, who were the kindred, friends and relations of Vela Numez, for that the number of the Foot were made equal to the Horse, and had Orders to intercept Pedro de Puelles in his march, and to get before him, and dispute the first pass with him. Being thus provided with all things necessary, and being on their march as far as Guadachile (which is about twenty Leagues from the City;) it is faid, that they agreed to kill Vela Numez and revolt to Gonçalo Pigarro; and that some of the Scouts being advanced about four Leagues from Guadachile happened to meet with Frier Thomas, the Provincial of St. Domingo, whom the Vice-king had fent to Cozco, with Commission to treat and accommodate matters with Gonçalo Pigarro: and being met, one of the Souldiers who was born at Avila, taking him aside, discovered to him the designs the Souldiers had to kill Vela Numez; that so he might fore-warn him thereof, and advise him to take some course for his security, for otherwise he would be killed that hight by the Souldiers, S I I I 2 The 684

BOOK IV

The Provincial made great halte in his journey, and with him the Scouts also returned upon the advice he had given them, that Pedro de Puelles was two days march before him, and had passed the Xanxa, so that it was impossible for them to overtake him: And being come to Guadachile, he told the People the fame Story, and that it would be to no purpose to goe in pursuit of him; and taking Vela Numez on one fide, he privately whispered to him the Danger in which he was, advising him to make use of this Information for his own fasety. Vela Nun. nez revealing the treachery against him to four or five of his kinsmen who were with him, they privately towards the glimps of the Evening, stole on horse-back as if they intended to give their horses water, and having the Provincial for their guide, they made their escape under the protection of the night. So soon as their flight was known, John de la Torre, Piedra Hita, George a Grecian, and other Souldiers who were concerned in the Confpiracy feized upon the Guard in the night, and clapping their fire-locks to the breafts of the other Souldiers, fiwaring to kill them, if they refolved not to goe and join with them. Whereupon every one almost freely declared, that they would be of their fide, and particularly Captain Gongalo Dias; and though they affrighted him with the same terrour as did the others, and bound his hands behind him, and in appearance offered many other affrighting things to him, yet it is believed that he was in the Conspiracy, and the principal in the Plot; and so it was believed and went for currant amongst all the People of the City; for it could not be imagined, that he who was a king man and son-in-law to Pedro de Puelles, could be of a contrary party to him, there having been no quarrel or cause of difference between them. And thus all of them getting up and mounting their Mules which had cost fo dear, they travailed towards Gonçalo Piçarro, whom they met near Guamanga, where Pedro de Puelles and his men being arrived two days before them; found fuch discouragement in the Camp of Pigarro, by reason of the slow motion and coldness of Gaspar Rodriguez. and his Aflociates; that had Pedro de Puelles and his men stayed onely three days longer before they had come up, the whole Camp of Picarro had most certainly broken up and been dispersed: but the arrival of Pedro de Puelles put such life and spirit again into them, both by his recruits and by his words; that they resolved to proceed in their enterprise; for he told them, that in case Goncalo Picarro would retract, and not think fit to proceed, he notwithstanding was resolved to undertake the delign, not doubting but to be able with his own men to take the Vice-king and rid the Countrey of him, confidering that he was generally hated, and that all the people were disaffected to him. Pedro de Puelle had little lefs than fourty Horse with him, and about twenty Musquetiers; but when Gongal to Dist and his men were come up and joyned with them, then all parts were encouraged, and refolved without any fear or doubt to proceed: by this time Vela Numer was arrived at Los Reyes, and had acquainted the Vice-king with all that had passed; who, as we may believe with reason, resented this ill beginning as ominous, finding his affairs every day to fall into a worfe effate. The next day Rodrigo Ninno, who was fon of Hernando Ninno, Mayor of Toledo, returned to Toledo with three or four more who refused to follow Gonçalo Dias, nowithstanding all the affronts and abuses they could put upon them; for they took from them their Arms and Horses, and stript them of their Cloaths; so that Rodrigo Ninno came onely in querpo, with a pair of old Trunks, without Hofe, or Shoes, or any thing on his Feet, unless a pair of pack thread Sandals, walking all the way on foot with a Cane in his hand. The Vice-king received him with all the kindness Imaginable, and praifing his Loyalty and Constancy, told him that, considering the Cause for which he suffered, the Habit in which he was, seemed more becoming than if he were vested in Cloth of Gold. Thus far the two Authous agree in the same sense, and almost in the same words: To which Diego Fernandez Palontino adds, as follows:

When news was brought to the Vice-king of these ill Successes, he greatly refetted them, clearly now perceiving that his Affairs went cross, and that the affections of the people were tainted with rebellion: Howsever, that he might in some manner revenge the disloyalty of Captain Goncalo Diste, who had so ignominioully broken his faith and word with him, and since he could not inflict a punishment on his person, he caused the Colours or Ensign of his Company to be tailed along through the Market-place in the sight and view of the Captains, Soulciers, and of all the City, and commanded the Serjeants and Ensign of the Com-

pany of Gonçalo Diaz, and of all the other Companies, to run the points of their Lances into his Colours, and tear them in pieces in dishonour, and to the ignominy of the absent Captain; but Gomez Estacio, who was Ensign to that Company, and other the Associates, who were to support the Colours, were not a little netled at this Assicuate, as if it had in some manner restected upon themselves: and more particularly Gomez Estacio sound himself aggreeved, because the Vice-king had commanded him to trail the Colours with his own hand; and from that time he became disassected to the Vice-king, and a friend to the Cause and Party of Gonçalo Picarro. And though it be granted that many did approve the action of Gonçalo Picarro. And though it be granted that many did approve the action of Gonçalo Picarro. And though it be granted that many did approve the action of Gonçalo Picarro. And though it be granted that many did approve they were well enough pleased to see the power of the Vice-king weakened, whose ruine and down-sall they desired by the better sortune and success of Gonçalo Picarro. Thus did nothing thrive which the Vice-king acted, but all turned to his prejudice; of which he was sensible, though he strove to conceal his inward trouble, and put the best face upon it that he could. Thus far are the words of Diego Fernandez.

And now men who were diaffected began to blame the Council which was given to the Vice-king, to fend Gonçalo Diaz against his Father-in-law; and, as other Authours say, it was much wondered that the Vice-king should be so much overseen as not to consider the inconvenience of engaging the Son-in-law against the Father, between whom there had been no quarrel or ground of dicpleasure. And in like manner reflecting on the concernment of Gomez Espacio, Ensign of Gonçalo, divers were of opinion, that it was an Affront given him without any Cause; and that it was improperly done to command him who had in no manner been engaged in the Treason of his Captain, to be an Executioner of a diffgrace which could not be acted without great reflexion on himself. Thus did the hatted which men had conceived against the Vice-king turn all the actions he did

to a bad interpretation.

#### CHAP. XII.

A Pardon and safe Conduct is given to Gaspar Rodriguez and his Friends. His death, and of divers others.

NOW to fet forth what these Authours report of Gaspar Rodriguez, whom Carate sometimes mentions by the name of Gaspar de Rojas; we are to observe that he was a brother of the good Capain Perangures de Campo rotondo, who was slain in the battel of Chupan, and after his death he came to the inheritance and possession of his Indians, which Vaca de Castro bestowed upon him by special Grant. This was the Gentleman who rashly and without consideration seized upon the Cannon which were at Huamanca, and carried them to Cozco, and was greatly engaged in the deligns of Gonçalo Picarro: but observing that many of the principal Citizens who had taken part with Picarro, had relinquished his Cause, and fled from him s he also resolved to follow their example, and revolt to the Vice-king: but being conscious of his Crime in carrying away the Cannon; he thought it best and most fecure to obtain a Pardon for the same, both as to life and estate, before he trusted himself in the hands of the Vice-king, whom he knew to be a man of a morose and severe disposition, and one who would not spare him, in case he fell into his hands, without such a Precaution: and to make his access and pardon the more easie by an appearance of some signal service, he treated with some friends of his, persuading them to pass over to the other party, following the example of those other noble Citizens who had lately done the like: and with them he so prevailed, that they resolved on the point, and as a preparation thereunto, to demand their Pardon first, and to receive a Protection or Letter of fafe conduct feely to come and offer their fervice.

But whilft these Matters were in agitation Pedro de Puelles (as the Authours report) arrived very opportunely; for, had his coming been delayed but three days longer, it is the general opinion, that all the Army of Consalo Piçarro had of themselves been dispersed and disbanded. Howsoever, these new recruits did not alter and remove the intentions of Gaspar Rodriguez and his Companions from their former purpose; in pursuance of which they communicated their design to a certain Priest, a Native of Madrid, called Baltasar de Lotysa, with whom after I was acquainted in Madrid, in the year 1563. I cannot say that I knew him before, being very young; though he knew me very well when I was a child, being a friend of my father's, and one who had a general acquaintance with all the noble families of that Empire.

Gaspar de Rodriguez and his friends treated with this Priest (who was more sit for a Souldier than a Priest) and persuaded him to take a journey in their behalf to Los Reyes, and to obtain a Pardon for them, with a Letter of Licence for their Security; and with that occasion, that he should give an account of the number of those who were come lately to join with Piçarro and of those who were gone off; and to assure him, that the Affairs of Pigarro stood on that uncertain soundation, that so soon as he and his accomplices were gone off, that all the other For-

ces of Gonçalo Picarro would speedily disband.

With this Message Baltasar de Loaysa privately departed from the Camp, of which fo foon as *Picarro* had notice, he immediately fent after him to fetch him back; but having taken a by-way out of the common road, they miffed of him. and he got fafe to Rimac where the good news he brought, made him welcome to the Vice-king; for the intention of Gaspar Rodriguez and his Companions was of great importance to him: the joy whereof the Vice-king not being able to funpress, and esteeming it necessary to be divulged for the encouragement of his people; the fecret took air and was made publick; which being with all expedition wrote back to Gonçalo Piçarro, Gaspar Rodriguez was seized with his Companions, and were all afterwards put to death. Howfoever, before that was known Baltasar de Loaysa was dispatched with the Pardon and Letters of safe-conduct. which he defired; which was no fooner done, but it was divulged over all the City (as Carate reports, whose authority we rather follow in these passages, than any other, because he was present at these transactions) and thereupon the Citizens, and other persons who were inclined and secretly well-affected to the Cause of Gonçalo Pigarro and his Party, did really imagine that in case he were deferted by Gaspar Rodrigues and his Accomplices, it would strike so great a damp to Gangale Picarro and his Souldiers as would cause them to disperse and break up their Camp, as despairing of their design; and then the Vice-king would remain triumphant; to execute his new Laws without any contradiction or restraint upon him: to prevent which fome of the Citizens and Souldiers refolved amongst themfelves to fend a party of light Horse after him; hoping speedily to overtake him.

It was in the month of September 1544, when Losofa with one person onely in his company called Heynando de Cavallos lest the Town; and the next night afterwards was pursued by twenty five light Horsemen, the principal of which were Don, Baltasar, well known for his crouch-back, and was the person famous for taking Don, Diegolde Almagro Junior in Cozoo; there were also with them Diego de Cavalal, surranged the Gallant; and Francisco de Escobedo, Francisco de Carvasal, Pedro Martin de Giessar, which company together travailed with so the number of twenty siyes, all his papers and dispatches from him; and sent them away by Souldien, who, crossing the Countrey came by a shorter cut than the common road to the Country of an adapting the Camp of Pigarro, and acquainted him with the whole matter, who at first secretly communicated it to Francisco de Carvasal, who was sately made his Majol; General in the place of Alonso de Poro, who was fallen sick: then he impatted it to other Capatins and Persons of quality, who were not privy nor congented, in the Consederacy: and having considered of the matter amongs themselves, they all generally agreed, some from a principle of particular emity; others from eovy, others from covetousness, fearing to lose their Indians and their Postessions, that it was necessary for example unto others, and to deter them from the like persidiousness, to punish this act of Treachery with the greaters.

reft feverity: and accordingly it was concluded amongst those who were unconcerned in this safe Conduct and Pardon; to kill Gaspar de Rojas, Philip de Gutierez. the son of Alonso de Gutierez, who was Treasurer to his Maiesty and born at Madrid, and also Arias Maldonado a Gentleman of Galicia, who, with Philip Gutierez. had loitered two or three days Journey behind in Guamanga, upon pretence of cersin businesses to be done there in order to their Journey; but during their stay at that place Gonçalo Picarro dispeeded Pedro de Puelles with a party of Horse to take off their Heads: but the execution of Gaspar Rodriguez was more difficult. for he was then a Captain in the Field, and actually at the head of almost two hundred Lances, and being a person very rich, of great interest, and very popular, they could not act their design publickly upon him, and therefore they had recourse to this Strategeme. Gonçalo Piçarro commanded an hundred and fifty Harquebusiers of Captain Cermenno's Company to be in a readiness, and having given out to each of them private Arms, and placed the Artillery in good order, he called the Capnins to come to him, telling them that he had certain advices, which he had lately received from Los Reyes, to communicate to them. And being all come, and amonest the rest Gaspar Rodriguez, Gonçalo Piçarro stept out of his Tent, which was well guarded with Cannon, and pretending as it were some other business, in the mean time the Major-General Carvajal comes to Gaspar Rodriguez, and laying his hand on the hilt of his Sword, drew it out of the Scabbard, advising him to call for a Priest and confess, for that he was to die immediately: Gaspar Rodriguez refifted a while, pretending to be innocent, and to clear himself of those accusations which were against him; but that would not ferve his turn, for immediately they cur off his head.

Royal Commentaries.

The execution of these men terrified the whole Camp, and more particularly those who were conscious to themselves of being Complices in the same Action for which those were put to death; and these acts of severity were the more affighting because they were the first which Gorçalo Piçarro had committed since the usurpation of his tyrannical Power. Some sew days afterwards, Don Bahasar and his Comrades came to the Camp bringing Bahasar & Loaysa and Hernando Cavallos, sawe have said Prisoners, but the day before he knew that they were no enter into the Camp, he sent his Major General Carvajal before him, with orders that wheresever he met them he should put them to death: but such was the good fortune of Loaysa and Cavallos, that they mistaking their way, the Major General was disappointed of his prize, and the Prisoners were brought to the Camp, where so many intercessors appeared in savour of the two Delinquents; that Loaysa was released and sent away without any provision made sor him, but Hernando de Cavallos was continued, and carried away with the rest of the Army. Thus sar is the account given by Carate in the slisth Book and the eleventh Chapter.

In fine, they killed Gaspar Rodriguez and his Accomplices, whose death was haftened and occasioned by their applications to the Vice-king for a Pardon and a safe Conduct, which he and his adherents demanded for safety of their lives, as Gomara confirms in the 164th Chapter of his Book; The Vice-king's Pardon and a safe Conduct was general for all, Pigarro, Francisco de Carvajal, Benito de Carvajal and some sew others onely excepted; at which Pigarro and his Major-General were so much offended, that they immediately hanged up Gaspar Rodriguez, Philip Guierez with the rest; which are the words of Gomara. In this manner this poor Gentleman Gaspar Rodriguez de Campo Rotondo ended his days; for being of an unquiet spirit, he was neither well with those who were called Tyrants and Rebels, nor with those who were esteemed for Loyalists.

CHAP.

688

BOOK IV.

Of the Death of Agent Yllen Suarez de Carvajal, and of the great mutiny and disturbance he caused in Peru.

Ulring all these troubles and slaughters in the Camp of Gonçalo Picarro, there happened an accident fad and tragical in the City of Los Reyes, which Go-mara in the 159th Chapter of his Book relates to have been in this manner. Lewis Garcia San Manes, who was Postmaster in Xanxa, brought certain Letters which were wrote in Cyphers by Benito de Carvajal to the Agent Illen Suarez his Brother: the Vice-king prefently took a jealousie upon the Cypher, and a suspicion of the Agent's faithfulness, and shewing them to the Judges, demanded their opinion, whether they were not ground sufficient to put him to death: to which the Judges replied, that it were convenient first to know the contents of them Hereupon the Agent was called for, who coming, did not feem, as they fay, to be startled or change his countenance, though he was severely treated with sharp words; but took the paper and read it without hefitation, Doctour John Alvarez, noting the words which he read: the sum or substance of all the Cypher was, the number of Souldiers that were with Pigarro, and what his intentions were, who were in his favour and who not; and in fine declared, that he would watch his opportunity to flip away, and come to the fervice of the Vice-king fo foon as he could difengage himfelf, according to the Counfel which the Agent had given him. After which the Key of the Cypher was called for, and the matter being thereby disclosed, it was found to agree with the interpretation given by the Agent. and to verifie the truth thereof Benito Carvajal came to Lima two or three days after Blasco Nunnez was selfed, not knowing any thing of the death of the Agent. Thus far are the words of Gomaras

How foever there still remained upon the mind of the Vice-king such a jealousie of the Agent, that like an evil Spirit it still haunted and followed him, never fuffering him to be at rest untill at last the direfull effects thereof broke out in the very Chamber of the Vice-king, where the Agent was affaffinated without any cause or reason for it, which struck a greater terrour into the minds of the people on this fide than was the late confternation in the Camp of Gonçalo Piçarro, lo that neither Party was free from Tragedies of their own. And particularly here happened out one the night following, occasioned by the slight of Balinsar de Cafilla and others afore-mentioned. The three Authours report this History almost in the same manner: and first we shall repeat what the Accountant Angustine Carate fays upon this Subject, and then we shall add that from the others which he hath omitted. That which he relates in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book is as follows, and herewith we will return to the Subject of our History.

Some few hours after Don Baltasar de Castilla and his Companions were departed from the City of Los Reyes in pursuit of Losyfa as is before-mentioned, the matter was not fo fecretly carried but that it came to the knowledge of Captain Diego de Urbina, who was Major-General to the Vice-king; for he going his Rounds in the night through the City, and calling at the Houses of some of these who were fled, neither found them at home, nor their Arms, nor Horses, nor the menial Indian Servants which belonged to them; upon which suspecting what was faln out, he directly went to the Vice-king's Lodgings, who was then in Bed, and told him that he had reason to believe that the greatest part of the people had deserted the City.

The Vice-king was greatly troubled (as was reason) at this report, and arising from his Bed gave immediate order to found an alarm, and that every man should stand to his arms; and calling his Captains, gave them order to go from House to House and make enquiry who were absent, that so he might be informed of the number of those who were departed. And having accordingly made search, and sound that Diego de Carvajal, Jeronimo de Carvajal and Francisco de Escobedo were missing, who were Kinsimen of Agent Then Suarez de Carvajal, it was instantly be lieved that he was engaged in the Plot, and in favour of Gonçalo Piçarro; for it

could not be imagined that his Kinfmen could have acted herein without his confent, or at least without his knowledge, in regard they all lodged under the same Roof, and onely had two different Doors to each Apartment: but for better affurance of what was suspected, the Vice-king sent his Brother Vela Numer, with a guard of Musquetiers to bring the Agent before him, and he being in Bed they caused him to rise and dress himself, and so carried him to the Lodgings of the Vice king, who having not flept all night, was laid upon his Bed with his Arms on, to take fome little repose. And the Agent being introduced by way of the Court-vard gate; those who were then present report that the Vice-king presentby arose and said, Is it so, Traitour, that thou hast sent away thy Kinsmen to hip not to call me Traitour, for in reality I am not so: then replied the Viceking. I fivear by God, that thou art a Traitour to the King. I fivear by God. hid the Agent, I am as good a Servant to the King as your Lordship. At which words the Vice king became so enraged, that coming in his fury to him, he stabhed him in the breast with his Dagger; though the Vice-king denied to have done it himself, but that his Servants and Halbardiers of his Guard, hearing how incolently he answered, gave him to many wounds with their Halberts and Partilans, that he dyed upon the place without so much time as to confess or speak one word: And left, being a person generally well-beloved, the manner of his death should cause some mutiny and disturbance amongst the Souldiers, of which an hundred every night kept watch within the vard of the House; the Vice king gave order to have his Corpse conveyed away by a certain private Gallery leading to the Market-place, where some few Indians and Negroes received it, and buried it in a Church near thereunto, without other Shroud or Winding-theet than onely his own Scarler Cloak which he usually wore.

Royal Commentaries

Three days after which, when the Judges feifed on the person of the Vice-king (as we shall relate hereafter) one of the first things they laid to his charge was the death of the Agent; and the Preamble to their Process was, that being carried about midnight into the House of the Vice-king, he never fince that time appeared; and it was proved, that they had wounded and buried him. So foon as this murther was made publick, it occasioned much talk and murmuring in the Town, for every one was affured that the Agent was a true Friend to the Viceking and his Cause, having been the chief Instrument to persuade the Town of La Rejus to receive him, against the sense and opinion of the major part of the Judges. These matters happened out upon Sunday at night, being the thirteenth day of September, 1544. Thus far are the words of Carate, which are confirmed allo by Diego Fernandez, who in the feventeenth Chapter of his Book, adds this farther :

They conveyed, favs he, his Corpfe by a certain Gallery, and buried them in a comer or nook of the great Church near adjoining thereunto; but some few hours after that his anger grew cool, and that the Vice-king began to reflect with reason upon what he had done in his passion: it is most certain that he repented of this rash act, and bewailed it with tears from his eyes. Howsoever so soon as the death of the Agent was made publick in the Town, the Vice-king fent to call the principal Citizens to him, telling them, in excuse for what he had done, that the infolent words of the Agent had drawn his death upon himfelf; adding, that none ought to take offence thereat, for whether he had done well or ill, he was accountable to none but God and the King; which words more angred and displeased the people than before: so that after the revolt of the several men before-mentioned, which was followed by this bloudy Tragedy, which cannot be excused from the imputation of arbitrary Tyranny without any ground or foundation for it, a refolution was taken to imprison the Vice-king; though it is most certain that he much lamented this unhappy fate, faying, that the remembrance of the death of Tilen Snarez made him often distracted; and therefore curied his Brother Vela Nunnez, calling him fool and beaft, for that knowing his choler and paffion, he had yet brought him to his prefence at a time when he knew that he was raving and inflamed therewith: for had he been, faid he, a man of discretion, he would have deferred the execution of those commands, and not have suffered Suarez to appear until he had seen his anger pacified. Thus far Diego Fernandez, to which Gomara adds, and fays,

That the Agent going to justifie himself, the Vice-king stabb'd him twice crying out with a loud voice, kill him, kill him; upon which his Servants came in and dispatched him, though some of them threw Clothes upon him to keep off the blows; which are the words of Gomara in Chap. 159. with which he concludes, and fays, that the death of the Agent, who was a principal person and of great effeem, caused great commotions and heart-burnings in those parts, and such fear and apprehensions that the Citizens of Lima were afraid to lie in their Houses at night; and Blasco Nunnez himself confessed to the Judges, that he had commit. ted a great errour in that Fact, and that he believed it would be an occasion of his ruine, &c. And so indeed it proved to be the down-fall of the Vice-king. for his very Friends, and fuch as were really of his Party, did hereby conceive fuch fear and dread of his paffionate and violent humour, that they fled and hid them felves, not daring to appear in his prefence; at which his Enemies took great advantage and courage to maintain their cause against him.

Royal Commentaries.

# CHAP. XIV.

The various resolutions which the Vice-king took upon the news he received of the march of Gonçalo Picarro to wards Los Reyes; and how the Judges openly opposed the Vice-king.

Conçalo Picarro being thus re-inforced by the coming in of Pedro de Puelles and others who were revolted to him from the Vice king, proceeded forward with greater affurances than formerly; though very flowly and with short marches, by reason of the great incumbrance of the Cannon, which being carried on the shoulders of the Indians and over rocky and sharp ways, it was not possible to make greater hafte. The Vice-King in the mean time being alarm'd by the nearer ap proach daily of his Enemy, and confidering how much his own people were diffatisfied, and that those who outwardly seemed most affected to him, proceeded faintly and coldly in his fervice, and that the general diffatisfaction of the people was now plain and evident, and that his condition every day became world than other; he refolved, though too late, to change his Counfels, and to publish at length a suspension of the new Laws untill his Majesty's pleasure should be faither known thereupon, hoping that upon fuch a Declaration the minds of the people would be quieted, and that Gonçalo Pigarro, having no farther subject of complaint, his Army would confequently disband, and every one return peaceably to his own home.

Now let us hear what Gomara fays, Chap. 158.

Blasco Nunnez, says he, was much troubled to understand that Pigurro was so well provided with Arms, Cannon and Souldiers fo well affected to his cause and litterest: wherefore, seeing no other remedy, he declared that he would suspend the execution of the new Laws for two years, untill they should receive other Orders from the Emperour; though at the fame time he made his Protest against it, and noted it in his Table book that he was compelled to that suspension by force, and that so soon as the Countrey was again in quietness, he would reaffume the old pretentions, and put them in practice as before; all which ferved to inflame that hatred which the people conceived against him. He also proclaimed Picarro a Traitour and those also who were with him and of his Party s promifing to those that should kill him or them, to bestow their Houses, Lands, Riches and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of Countries and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of Countries and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of Countries and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of Countries and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of Countries and Estates on them for a reward; at which Declaration those of Countries and Estates on the Countries took great offence, as did also those of Lima: and in the mean time he actually confiscated the Estates of those who had revolted to Pigarro. Thus far Gomard.

Though this suspension of the Laws came late, howsoever it would have had some good effect towards pacifying and quieting the minds of the people, and have opened such overtures towards an accommodation, but that unluckily at ame time that the Suspension was published; the News was, that the Vice-king had made his Protest against it, as an Act to which he was compelled, and that he would again return to the execution of the new Laws fo foon as the Countrev was appealed, and the disturbances allayed; which more incensed the minds of the people than ever; and confirmed them in a belief, that the Vice king was oblinate and a person inexorable, and not to be treated with, whence so much milchief enfued, as by the fequel will appear; and which ferved to confirm the people in their pretentions and refolutions either to dye or obtain their defires. The Vice-king feeing that the means he used to pacifie the people inflamed

them the more, and that his own people became greatly discouraged; and many of the inclined to favour Gonçalo Piçarro for the Gallantry they observed in him. who and to freely facrificed himself for the publick good; he thereby measuring the weakness of his force, thought it not safe to meet Picarro in the field, but to

defend himself within the Walls of the City.

In purluance of this defign he fortified the City, fet up Posts and Chains in every Street, made loop holes on the Walls for small shot, and laid in provisions for a fiege; but News coming daily of the great force with which Picarro marched against them, and the resolved mind of his Souldiers; the Vice-king thought ir not fafe to confine himself within the Walls of Los Reyes; but to retreat to Truxillo, which is about eighty Leagues distant from thence. And contriving how to dispose of the Inhabitants, he defigned to transport the Citizens Wives by Sea, in such Ships as were then in Port, and the Souldiers were to march by Land along the Sea coast: And for the City it felf, he resolved to dismantle it and demolith the Walls, break down the Mills, and carry all things away which might be for substituence of the Enemy, and drive the *Indians* from the Sea-coast into the in-land Countries; supposing that *Pigarro* coming thither with his Army, and finding no tubfiftence, must either disband, or his men perish. The Viceking having communicated these his Intentions to the Judges, they boldly and openly opposed him, telling him plainly, that the Royal Courts of Judicature could not remove out of the City, for that their Commissions from his Majesty obliged them to act in that place; and therefore they defired to be excused, if they refused to accompany his Lordship or to suffer their houses to be demolished. Herewith an open quarrel arose between the Judges and the Vice-king, declaring a different interest to each other, the Inhabitants inclined to the side of the Judges in opposition to the Vice-king, positively resuling to commit their Wives and Daughters into the hands of Seamen and Souldiers. Hereupon the Vice-king arose from the conference he held with the Judges, without any determination. Howfoever, as to his own person, he resolved to embark himself, and to go by Sea, and that his Brother Vela Nunnez should march away by Land; and in order thereunto he commanded Diego Alvarez Cuero, as Curate reports in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Book, to guard the Children of Marquis Don Francisco Pi arwith a Party of Horse to the Sea-side, and there to put them on board a ship; together with Vaca de Castro, after which he was to remain Admiral of the Fleet. and to take charge of them as his Prifoners; for he was jealous that Antonio de Ribera and his Wife, who had the Guardian-ship of Don Gonçalo and his Brothers, would convey them away. But this matter created a new disturbance amongst the people, and the Judges much difliked it, especially Doctour Carate, who made it his particular request to the Vice king in behalf of the Lady Francisca. that he would be pleased to cause her to be again returned ashoar; for that being a young Maid marriageable, beautifull and rich; it was not decent and agreeable to her modefly to commit her into the hands of Seamen and Souldiers: but nothing could avail with the Vice-king to diffuade him from his purpole; for being ever obstinate in all his Resolutions, he declared his Intentions were to retire and begon, contrary to the opinion of all others. Thus far Carate.

And now to abbreviate and fum up all that hath been faid by the aforefaid Authours; it is most certain, that the Judges gave command to Martin de Robles, though one of the Vice-king's Captains, to make the Vice-king a Prisoner: but he, desiring to be excused by reason of the ill consequences which might ensue; they affured him, that it was for the Service of his Majesty and quiet of that whole Empire; and a means to suppress all those Mutinies and Troubles which the ill Government of the Vice-king had caused. Hereupon Martin de Robles proffered to doe it, howfoever he required a Warrant under the hands and feals of

Tttt 2

601

the Judges for his security and discharge, the which they readily granted, and gave order to have it drawn up and kept as a Secret, until the defign was ready to be put in execution. And farther, they forbad the Citizens and Inhabitants to obey the Vice-king in any of his Commands, or to deliver up their Wives and Children to be transported, or to leave and abandon their Houses, requiring all persons of what quality or condition soever, to be aiding and affishing to Marie de Robles in feizing the person of the Vice-king, and deteining him priloner; for fo his Majesty's service required it, and the common good and welfare of the publick. But whilft these Matters were contriving, the people were distracted and in confusion, not knowing which side or what course to take; the duty and obedience which they owed to their Sovereign Lord the King inclined take part with the Vice-king; but when they confidered their Interests and Latates of which they should be deprived in case the Vice-king should prevail, they then resolved to adhere unto the Judges who opposed Blasco Nunnez in execution then retoived to adhere unto the judges who opposed Bidge Evinnee in execution of the new Laws. Thus did the people remain a whole day in fulpence: and the Vice-king, to fecure himself against the attempts which the Judges might make against him, ordered his Captains and Souldiers to put themselves in a posture of defence, in which they remained untill mid-night. The Judges, on the other side understanding that the Vice-king had ordered his Souldiers to stand to their Arms, and says had a been sounded then the vice-king had ordered his Souldiers to stand to their Arms, and says the bed above four hundred man with him, and saying the internal says the say show that the vice-king had ordered his souldiers to stand to their Arms. and that he had above four hundred men with him; and fearing that it was with intention to feize and fecure them, they called many of their particular friends to their affiftence, but so few appeared, that they esteemed their force unable to avail against the Vice-king, and therefore they fortified themselves as well as they could in the House of Judge Cepeda, with intention to defend themselves if they were assaulted.

Amidst this sear and consternation, a certain person whom Gomara calls Francisco de Escobar, a Native of Sahagun, made a Speech to them, and said, What make we here? Let us goe out in a body into the open Streets, where we may dye lighting

like men, and not cooped up like hens, &c.

To this bold Propolal they all agreed, and the Judges in a desperate manner fallyed forth into the Market-place, rather with design to deliver up themselves, than with hopes to prevail: howsoever matters succeeded much contrary to their expectation. For the Vice-king who had for a long time, untill the night came on, remained in the Market-place, was persuaded by his Friends and Captains to retire to his Lodgings: which he had no sooner done, but the Souldiers and Captains finding themselves freed from that awe and respect which his presence obliged them unto; revolted with their Companies to take part with the Judges, the first of which, who led the way were Martin de Robles and Pedro de Pergan who were sollowed by others, and so by others, untill there was not one person remaining to keep guard at the gate of the Vice-king; unless about a hundred Souldiers who remained within the house and of whom he had made choice for the Guard of his person.

#### CHAP. XV.

The Imprisonment of the Vice-king, and the various Successes which happened thereupon both by Sea and Land.

Though the Judges had the good fortune to have the people revolt to their fide, and that every hour more came in to join with them: yet howfoever they were fomewhat wary how they made feizure of the person of the Vice-king; for it was told them, that he was actually in the Market-place, with a good sorce, and that he resolved to assail them. Notwithstanding which they sallied out into the Market-place, there to defend their cause, and the better to summon people to their affishence; they caused the Commission given to Marin de Robies to be proclaimed, though by reason of the noise and tunult of the people little was understood. Carate in the eleventh Chapter of his fifth Bookreports, that

he was prefent when the Vice-king was made a prisoner; and that the Judges being in the Market-place, upon break of day some Musket-shot were made upon in the Market-piace, upon break of day fome Musket-flot were made upon them from a Gallery of the Vice-king's house, at which the Souldiers who were with the Vice-king were so incensed, that they resolved to enter his house by force, and kill all those who opposed them: but the Judges pacified them with good words, and sent Father Gaspar de Carvajal, superiour of the Order of st. Dominick, and Antonio de Robles, Brother of Martin de Robles, to let the Vice king know that they had no other intention than onely to conserve themselves from being transported and shipped away by force, against the express Command of his Maielty. And that if he pleafed without farther contest to come into the great Cherch, they would there attend him; otherwise he would put himself into manifelt danger, with all those who adhered to him. Whilst these Messengers were you to the Vice-king, the hundred Souldiers who were of his Guard for fook him, and revolted alto to the Judges; and then the Souldiers, finding the enrrance open and easie, began to plunder the Servants Chambers which were in the Court-yard. About this time Dr. Carate, coming out of his Chamber to iovn with the Vice-king, met the Judges in the way, and feeing that he could not have entrance, he went into the Church with them. The Vice-king, having received his Meffage, and finding him abandoned by all those in whom he had placed the greatest confidence, he went voluntarily into the Church, and there delivered himself up into the hands of the Judges, who brought him to Licenciado Cepeda's House armed as he was with his Coat of Mail and Gantlet; and seeing Carate in company with the rest; What, said he, Carate, are you also of this Party? are you come also to take me, in whom I reposed so much confidence? To which he replywho are the perfons who took you, and who keep you Prisoner. Then Orders were given, that the Vice-king should speedily be embarked upon one of the Ships, and fent into Spain, lest Gonçalo Picarro, coming thither, and finding him in custody, should kill him, or that the Relations of Agent Suarez should defign the like in revenge for the Murther of their Kinfman; and that what mischief befell him of that kind, the fault of all would be objected unto them: and farther they considered, that in case they should fend him away without some force or refraint upon him, he might return ashore, and fall upon them again: what to doe herein they knew not, or what to refolve, fo that they feemed to repent of what they had already done. Howfoever there was no other remedy now but they must proceed; and so they made Licenciado Cepeda their Captain General, who, with a strong Guard, conducted the King to the Sea-side, with intent to put him aboard a Ship; but herein they found some difficulty: for Diego Alvarez Cuare, who was at that time Admiral of the Fleet, feeing great numbers of people on the shoar, and that they were bringing the Vice-king prisoner, sent Captain Geronimo Curbano in his Long-boat armed with Small-shot, and some Petreto's in the head, to command all the Boats belonging to the Fleet to come aboard the Admiral; and with them he went to require the Judges to fee the Vice-King at liberty: but this action produced little effect, onely fome short were interchanged between the Sea and the Town, and fo the Admiral returned again to his Ship. After which the Judges fent off a Boat to Cuero, to require him to furrender the Fleet to them, with the Children of the Marquis, and that then they would deliver the Vice-king into his hands to be carried away with one of the Ships; and if not, that he must expect the sequel thereof. This Message was carried with consent of the Vice-king by Friar Gaspar de Carvajal, who at the Ship fide openly declared it, in the presence of Vaca de Castro, who was then a Prisoner on board; which when Diego Alvarez Cuero heard; and considered the danger the Vice king was in, he prefently landed the Children of the Marquis in the Boats belonging to the Fleet together with Don Antonio and his Wife; which being done, the Judges farther required a furrender of the whole Fleet, or otherwife they threatned to cut off the Head of the Vice king. During this Treaty, Vela Numez, Brother of the Vice-king went to and fro with Messages between the Admiral and the Judges; and feeing that the Captains of the Ships refolved not to abandon their Charge, they returned with the Vice-king to the City under a very strong Guard. Two days after which, the Captains of the Fleet received intelligence, that the Judges and Souldiers were contriving means how to furprize the Fleet by fending a strong Party of Musquetiers in Boats to attack them:

695

for in regard they found that they could not prevail on Geronimo Curbano, nor corror in regard they found that they could not pievan on the arms, nor corrupt him by the great Offers they made to him; and that the Seamen and Souldiers being *Bifeagners* were faithfull to *Cuero* their Commander; the Judges then resolved to reduce them by force: which when the Captains understood, they refolved to make fail out of the Port, and pass their time upon the Coast, until his Majefty's Orders came to direct fuch course as might tend to a Settlement, of those diffurbances. Farther they confidered, that aswell in the City as over all the King. dom there was a Party well affected to the Vice-king, who had not been concerned in his imprisonment: and that many of the true and loyal Subjects to his Maielly came daily in to their fide, and flocked aboard the Ships. That the Fleet was indifferently well provided, having ten or twelve rounds of Iron Shot and four of Copper, and above fourty quintals of Gun-powder: moreover they had four hundred quintals of Bisket, five hundred bulhels of Mayz, and a good flock of falt Victuals, which Provision would serve for a long time; and then of Water they could not be hindred, that being to be had along the Coast in all parts and places: but then in regard their force was weak, not having above twenty five Souldiers on board, and that the number of their Mariners was not sufficient to manage ten fail of Ships, they fet fire to four of the leffer Veffels, and alforo two Fisher-boats which lay on the shoar, and so with the fix remaining Shios they made fail into the Sea. The four Ships burned down to the Water, because there was no possibility of going out to quench them; but the two Boats were in a manner faved, for being taken in time, the Fire was put out, and they received no damage but what was easie to be repaired. The fix Ships sailed away, and made for Port Guarra, about eighteen leagues to the lee-ward of Lor Reyes, where they provided themselves with Wood and Water, as their necession ties required; and with them they carried Licenciado Vaca de Castro; and being at Guarra they attended to hear the News of what had been the Islue of the Viceking's imprisonment. The Judges having advice hereof; and considering that it was not probable the Ships should fail at a far distance whilst the Vice king was in fuch danger of his Life; they refolved to fend Forces both by Sea and by Land to surprize the Fleet by some way or other; in pursuance of which design they gave it in charge to Diego Garcia de Alfaro, an Inhabitant of that City, and who was well experienced in maritime Affairs, to repair the Boats which were faved on the shoar: which being accordingly fitted and lanched into the Water, they armed them with thirty Musquetiers, and failed with them along the Coast to lee ward : and in the mean time John de Mendoça and Ventura Veltran were fent away by Land with another Detachment, and both these Parties having an eye to each other, they observed that the Fleet was at an Anchor in Gnaura, which when Diego Garcia faw, he privately in the night conveyed himself behind a rock in the Port, not far diffant from the Ships, where they could not be feen; in the mean time those who were ashoar began to fire some Guns; which they on board taking to be some Signal ashoar which those of the Vice-king's Party had made who were fled, and were defirous to embark with them; Vela Numez was ordered in the Boat to go ashoar, to discover what the matter was; and being just at the shoar fide, but not landed, he was pursued in the rere by Diego Garcia and his men; fo that being cut off from the rest of the Fleet, Vela Nunner was forced to yield himself and Boat into the hands of the enemy; after which they fent to fummon Cuero, telling him, that unless he yielded, the Fleet into their hands, they were resolved to kill both the Vice king and Vela Numnez: which Cuero fearing, furrendred up his Ships against the consent and opinion of Geronima Curbano, who, with the fingle Ship he had commanded, fet fail and made towards the firm Land: for that two days before Diego Garcia came thither, Cuero had commanded him to fail down the Coast, and seize all the Ships they met, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Judges: who, from the very time that the Fleet departed from Los Reyes, refolved to transport the Vice-king to a certain Island about two Leagues distant from that Port, there to secure him from the violence of the Agent's kindred who had attempted to kill him; and therefore they fent him away with a Guard of twenty men upon a fort of Boats made of dry Rushes, which the Indians call Henoa. And, having advices of taking the Fleet, they determined to fend the Vice-king to his Majesty, in the condition of a Prifoner, with all the Informations and Depositions made against him which Licenciado Alvarez, one of the Judges, was to carry; and for his reward, and to bear his charges eight thousand Pieces of Eight were paid him; the which Depositions and Process against the Vice-king were figned by all the Judges, Carate onely excepted. The Ships being then at Guaura the Vice-king was carried thither by Boat, but Alvarez went by Land, where the Vice-king being committed to his charge, he sailed away with three of the Ships, and was so much in haste that he would not stay for the dispatches from the Judicature, but made Sail without them; and as to Vaca de Castro he was carried back to Los Rejes upon one of the Ships which were lately seised. Thus far are the words of Carate specified in the eleventh Chapter of the fifth Book, whose authority in this relation we shall more particularly follow, in regard he was present and a party concerned in all these sandschools; so we shall omit the sayings of other Authours in this matter, unless something singular occurs on which Carate doth not touch.

#### CHAP. XVI.

The sad misfortunes of the Vice-king. A Conspiracy in Rimac against the Judges, and what was done thereupon. The Vice-king is set at liberty.

ALL that is before declared is confirmed by Gomara, though in a confused manner; who farther proceeds in this manner in the 160th Chapter of his Book, wherein he sets forth the sad misfortunes of the unhappy Vice-king.

When the Admiral, fays he, refused to furrender up the Ships to fave the life of the Vice-king, they then treated him with opprobrious words, telling him, that a man who brought fuch Laws as those deserved the reward he now received: whereas if he had come without them he had been honoured and adored; but now the Tyrant is taken and our liberty restored: with such reproaches as these they returned him again into the hands of Cepeda, where they kept him difarmed in cultody of Licenciado Ninno: howfoever he did always eat with Cepeda, and lodged in the same Bed with him: but Blasco Nunnez fearing at this time to be poisoned, asked Cepeda upon the word of a Gentleman, when they first did ear together, whether he might freely and without danger eat with him? the which question was put to him in presence of Christopher de Barrientos, Martin de Robles, Ninno and other principal persons; to which Cepeda returned answer, am I, said he. so mean a spirited Rascal, that if I had a mind to kill you, I could not doe it without some secret treachery? Your Lordship, said he, may eat as freely as if you were at the Table of my Lady Donna Brianda de Acumna, meaning his Wife; and to free you from all jealouse I will be your Taster, the which he observed all the time that he remained in his House.

One day Friar Gaspar de Carvajal came to him and told him, that by order of the Judges he was come to confess him: the Vice-king asked whether Gepeda was there, and it being answered that he was not, and that there was no others than the three afore-mentioned, he caused him to be called, and complained to him of his hard sate; but Gepeda comforted him, and assured him that there was none had power to take away his life but himself onely, the which he spake on assurance of what had been agreed amongst them; and then Blasco Numez. embraced and stifted him on the Cheek in presence of the Friar. Thus sar are the words of Gomara, which we have extracted verbasim: and indeed if we consider it, its a sad passage, That one elected to be a Prince and Governour of an Empire so great as Peru, should be reduced to such miseries as he was by his own Creatures and

This Father Gaspar de Carvajal was the Friar of whom we made mention formerly in the story of Francisco Orellana, in what manner he opposed him in his treacherous design against Gonçalo Piçarro, when they were upon the discovery of the Cinamon Countrey; and how he was lest upon the Trinity Island, and retur-

Spain much

back, and

Spaniards learned from

the Moors.

used also by

the Turks.

ned afterwards to Peru, where he declared the many hardships they had suffained in that discovery.

And upon this occasion I take leave to report a strange accident, which befell a certain Gentleman named Don John de Mendoça, of whom me made mention in a former Chapter, and whom I knew an Inhabitant in Cozco; which story, because it is curious, and perhaps not rarely happening in the world before, its fit ti should be known, and the memory thereof conferved. This Gentleman, I say,

Tirar cannos upon a folemn Fefival, throwing the Dart on Horseback in the Market-place of

it a spir in

Adexico, before he passed to Pern 3 for he was one of those Gallants who accom-Spain much wied on Horfe- panied the famous Don Pedro de Alvarado, and running with his Horfe full fixed just as he was rising on his stirrups to throw his Dart with all his force, his Horse on a sudden made a full stop, and he being a tall and a slimm man, and weak in the knees, was cast over the Horses head, with his seet hanging in the stirrups. and his hands on the ground to fave his face; in which condition he had ran great hazard of his life, had not fome Friends who were near him, (amongst which my Lord and Master Garcilasso de la Vega was one) come timely to his attisfance. Pardon this flort digression for the strangeness of the accident; and so we shall

return again to our History.

During the time that the Vice-king remained a Prisoner at the Island, which is distant about two leagues from the Port, Don Alonso de Monte-mayor (as Augustine de Carate reports in the twelfth Chapter of his fifth Book) together with those who were fent in pursuit of Father Loaysa returned, some of which the Judges feifed upon and imprisoned, and others of them they disarmed, and imprisoned them with feveral others who came from Cozco in the Houses of Captain Martin de Robles and of other Citizens; and being thus ill-treated, they laid a Plot to kill the Judges and fet the Vice-king at liberty, restoring him to his power and authority, which they contrived in this manner: It was ordered that in the night fome Musquets should be fired in the House of Martin de Robles, which should be a fignal to Serjeant Francis de Aguirre, who then kept Guard in Licenciado Cepeda's House to kill him, and immediately to possess and keep the avenues and corners of every Street with Souldiers, and fend a Party into the Market-place, which giving an alarm to Doctour Texada and Licenciado Alvarez, 'tis probable they would come forth to relieve Cepeda, when they would be ready to kill them, and then they would immediately raife the City and declare for the King, the which had certainly succeeded accordingly, had not one who was a Native of Madrid, and appointed to act in the Plot, discovered all to Cepeda, about an hour before the defign was to be put in execution. Immediately hereupon Cepeda iffued out Warrants to feife the chief of those who were concerned in the Plot, namely Don Alonso de Monte-mayor, Paul de Meneses a Citizen of Talavera, Captain Carceres, Alonfo de Barrionnevo, with others, who were Servants to the Vice-king; and having examined the matter Barrionnevo was condemned to die, but upon farther confideration, his Sentence was to have his right Hand cut off, having been the first contriver in this Conspiracy; and thus this insurrection was suppresfed. Thus far Carate.

To which we may farther add, That though the Judges found divers others guilty of that mutiny, whom they might justly have punished with death, yet not to appear bloudy and tyrannical, which might be occasion of new Plots and Confpiracies, and also upon the intercession of divers principal Persons of the City of Los Reyes, they altered the Sentence against Barrionnevo, as we have before declared, and banished Alonso de Monte mayor and others his Complices from the City into divers parts Northwards from thence. All which afterward joyned with the Viceking, and accompanied him in all his misfortunes, which proved the ruine of many of them. After which Carate proceeds on with the History in this manner,

The news of these passages as they every day succeeded were carried to Gongalo Pigarro, supposing that upon intelligence of these matters he would presently disband his Army: but he was far from that intention, because he imagined that the rumour of the Vice-king's imprisonment was divulged with design to disperle his People, that being abandoned and deserted by all, they might dispose of his own Person at their pleasure; which caused him to keep his Forces together, and to march more orderly and cautiously than before. But Licenciado Alvarez, who was embarked with the Vice-king, being conscious to himself that he had been a chief promoter and actour in the deligns against him, and in the punishment

of those who had plotted to set him at liberty, and being desirous to reconcile bimelf to him, went the fame day that he made Sail, and was at Sea, unto the Cobbin of the Vice-king, and there, to excuse himself, told him, that the Office he had undertaken was with intent to doe him fervice, and to free him out of the he had undertaken was with intent to doe him fervice, and to free him out of the hands of *Cepeda*, and from the danger of falling into the power of *Gonçalo Picarro*, whole arrival in those parts was shortly expected; and that he might be affured of his reality in this matter, he entirely refigned to him the command of the Ship, together with his liberty, and that he himself was at his disposal, and devoted to his fervice, befeeching him to pardon his past errours and faults which he consessed to have been great in his confederacy with others against him, and that the merit of restoring him to life and liberty might attone and satisfie for his former crimes; and accordingly he gave Orders to the ten men, whom he brought with him for Guards to the Vice-king, that they should henceforward observe and follow the commands of his Lordship. The Vice-king returned him thanks. and told him that he accepted the proffer, and accordingly took the command of the Ship and Arms, and carried himself fair towards him for a while; but this good humour lafted not long before he began to treat him with more rude terms. calling him Villain, Mutinier, and other opprobrious names, fwearing that he would taining inin vinatifier, and other opproprious names, twearing that he would hang him, and though he reprieved him for the prefent, it was onely because he had occasion for his service. And this kind of deportment he used towards him, during the time they were in company together, failing along the Coast to the City of Truxillo, where many things happened which we shall hereafter relate. Thus far Carate, whose words we have repeated verbatim, and who proceeds farther in this relation in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book.

#### CHAP. XVII.

The Summons which the Judges fent to Gonçalo Picarro, and the misfortunes which befell those who deserted his Caule.

Luarez having fet Sail and at Sea, it was reported at Los Reges that he and A the Vice-king were agreed, to which they gave the greater credit, by some arounstances in his behaviour before he departed; and more especially because he did not expect the difpatches which the Judges were preparing, and which Carete had purposely delayed with pretence that they should be forwarded the day following. This matter much troubled the Judges, for that this Alvarez had been the chief promoter and instrument of the Vice-king's imprisonment, and had been more concerned therein than any of the others: but whilft they were doubtfull of the meaning and intention of Alvarez, it was thought fit to fend a message to Gongalo Picarro, giving him information of what had succeeded, and to require him, by virtue of their Commission from the King, whereby they were authorifed and impowered to administer Justice, and to order and command such things as tended to the peace and welfare of that Country, that he should immediately disband his Army and repair to the City, in regard they had already suspended the execution of the new Laws, which was the fum of the Petition for which they came, and had fent the Vice-king into Spain, which was a point of higher fatisfaction than they had demanded or pretended unto before: wherefore in re-Bard all matters were appealed, they required him to come in a peaceable manner without an Army; and in case he should defire to have a Guard for the security of his Person, he might, if he pleased, come attended with fifteen or twenty Horse. This command being dispatched away, the Judges would have seconded it by some Citizens for the better countenance of the matter, but there was none that would accept the Office, apprehending some danger might be in it; saying, that they might be blamed by Gonçalo Picarro and his Party for taking upon them fuch a message to them, who pretended to come for the security of their Estates against Uuuu

fuch as in general were enemies to them. Hereupon the Judges fent Instructions to Augustine Carate, Accountant General of the Kingdom, that he together in company with Don Antonio de Ribera, an inhabitant of that City, should go and fignifie these matters, for which he was authorised by the Credentials which were nightee their linaters, in which was addressed and travelled as far as the Valley of given him: and accordingly they departed, and travelled as far as the Valley of Nauxa, where Gonçalo Piçarro was encamped; who being already informed of the meffage which they brought, which he knew would be unwelcome to his People for they apprehending that this meffage was brought with intention to dishand them, and thereby defeat them of the hopes they had to fack and plunder the Ci. ty of Lima, might probably thereupon fall into a mutiny; to prevent which Le ronino Villeg.us, Captain of Pigarro's own Company, was dispeeded away with thirty Mulquetiers mounted on Horseback to intercept the messengers in their way; and having met them coming, they suffered Antonio de Ribera to proceed to the Camp; but they stopped Augustine de Carate, and took his difpatches from him, and returned him back by the same way that he came. as far as the Province of Pariacaca, where they detained him Prifoner for the fbace of ten days, with terrours and threats, unless he delisted from farther profecution of his Message; and in this condition he remained untill such time as Goncalo Picarro arrived there with his Camp. Thus far are the words of Carate, which are again confirmed by other Authours, who proceed and fay, That those of the Corporation of the City of Los Reyes, made choice of Don Antonio de Ribera and Augustine de Carate Accountant General, because they were both men acceptable to Goncalo Pigarro, and the least suspected by him; for that Don Antonio was as it were his Brother-in-law, having married the Widow of Francisco Martin de Alcantara. Exother to the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro, and Carate was a Person, who being a stranger in the Countrey, had no engagements or obligations in any part of the Countrey; for which cause, as we faid, they suffered Don Amonio to pass. by reafon of his alliance, but the Accountant Carate was stopped by them. Thus much is confirmed by Diego Fernandez, who adds farther in the twenty fourth Chanter of his Book. That at the Council held by Gonçalo Piçarro and his Captains, to confider of the Answer which was to be returned to the Message sent by the Judges, they onely touched upon one point thereof, to which Francisco de Carvajal like a great Officer and Souldier made this reply, That whereas the Judges did require that Gonçalo Pigarro (hould come to them with a Guard onely of fifteen or twenty Horfe, they understood it to be so many in a Rank, to which interpretation all the Captains in the Council agreed, and concluded that it was necessary for the welfare of the Publick to create Gonçalo Pigarro chief Governour, and in all other things they would comply with the Judges, and that in case they should refuse to accept these Proposals, they were resolved to put the City to Fire and Sword, &c. Thus far Diego Fernandez Palentino,

But now to return to Graviel de Rojas, and Garcilasso de la Vega, and other Inhabitants and Gentlemen of Cozeo, who deferted Googalo Pigarro and were fled to Arequepa, whence not finding passage by Sea they travelled along by the Sea coast; and being at length arrived at Los Reyes, they found themselves much at a loss, for that the Vice-king, whose fortune they intended to follow, was already taken, and embarked by force for Spain; and whereas the Judges had a chief hand in this Conspiracy against the Vice-king, and thereby seemed rather to incline to the Faction of Gonçalo Picarro than to Biafeo Nunnez Vela, they were refolved not to engage with them. Though if we impartially confider of these matters, we shall find that the intention of the Judges was not as ill Tongues scandalously reported, but was to prevent worse and more dangerous consequences, proceeding from the Vice-king, who was abhorred and hated by all men of Estates and Interest in that Countrey, against whom he came chiefly to put the new Laws in execution Howsover these Gentlemen, looking with a prejudicial eye upon those thins which the Judges had acted, refused to joyn with them whom they esteemed to be favourers of the cause of Picarro. And whereas no Party appeared to set up the Royal interest, they knew not unto whom they might adhere; for they found themselves in the power of their enemies, not being able to escape from them either by Sea or Land: for after the Vice-king's imprisonment all the Countrey declared for Pigarro; but the greatest number of the contrary party remained in the City of Los Rejes, not having any other place whereunto to repair; other absconded themselves amongst their Friends and Relations; for having been all

rigaged in the conquelt of that Kingdom, their mutual concernment for each other was fuch as to favour one the other to their utmost power; but others who would not trust themselves in the Town removed far from it, and lived amongst the Indians, the which proved the more fecure course, for thereby they faved their lives, whilft many others were put to death by the cruelty of the advers Party. And indeed this was the misfortune of Lewis de Ribera, and of Antonio Alvarez, and of eventy four or twenty five Gentlemen more, who were all Inhabitants of the of twenty four of twenty five Genderich more, who were an unaortants of the City of Plue, which is about thirty Leagues diffant from Los Reyes, who came with defign to ferve the King: and having paffed and endured great hardfhips in their travails and difficulties to avoid falling into the hands of Pigarro and his peoble, they came at length near to Los Rojes, where they received the unwelcome News of the misfortunes of the Vice-king; how, and in what manner, he was imprisoned, embarked and sent to Sea; with this sad intelligence they gave themfelves for lost; for neither durst they adventure into the City, because all the Countrey had declared for Pigarro, nor did they think it Prudence, voluntarily to trult themselves in the power of the enemy: Wherefore every one took his proper course and shifted for himself. The like many other Gentlemen did, who came to serve his Majesty under the Vice-king, so that they were scattered and different over all the Countrey. And some not esteeming themselves safe in the parts of Peru, fled to the Mountains of Ania, where they were familhed or de-youred by Tigers; others were taken by the falvage Indians, not as yet conquered and factificed to their Idols. Thus men out of fear of falling into the hands of their Fnemies precipitated themselves into desperate Courses, esteeming Barbaritheir Enemies precipitated theinierves into desperate Courses, enterming Bapbari-um and wild Beafts to have more Bowels of compaffion than Tyrants. This dire-full effect had the immoderate and ungoverned Paffion of the Vice-king, for had he been a man of any temper, he had furmounted all his difficulties, and had been defended by the powerfull fuccours of the Rich, Noble, and Persons of the greatest Interest, who were the Flower of Cozco, and the Charcas; when on the contrary, both he and his party were loft, being exposed to the Cruelties of War. and to the mercy of their Enemies, who put many of them, to death.

Roval Commentaries.

# C H A P. XVIII.

Gonçalo Picarro comes to the City of Los Reves. Several Citizens of note are put to death, because the Judges delayed to proclaim Picarro Governour.

ND now Pigarra, taking short marches towards the City of Los Reyes, by A ND now Picarra, taking more matters to realth the had with him, came realon of the great Incumbrance of Cannon which he had with him, came at length to the Province called Pariacaca, where Augustia Carate was lately thou ped and deterined; and there called him before him to relate the Melfage which he brought to him; which Curate, in the thirteenth Chapter of his fifth Book declares in these words. 1, faid he, knowing the danger I was in of my life, did in the first place communicate, the business I, had in charge to *Pigaro* in private a who afterwards caused me to be introduced into the Tent, where all his Captains were affembled, and there commanded me to declare that which I had before imparted unto him. And Grape land lauther, that being informed of the mind of figures, he made use of his Letters of Credence from the Judges, to declare in their behalf and in their names many things tending to his Majesty's Service and for the good and benefit of the Countrey: particularly, that fince the Vice-king was embarked, and fent away, whereby their defires were allowed and granted; That they should make good unto his Majesty the Treasure which Blasco Numer Vela had confumed and spent, as they had already made known by their, Letters's that a Pardon should be granted to the Citizens of Cozco, who had revolted from his Camp to serve the Vice-king, which might easily be granted, considering the Julice of their Cause: And that Messengers should be sent to his Majesty, to in-Uuuu 2

form him of the state of Affairs, and of all the passages which had occurred, and to excuse whatsoever had passed, with many other things of this nature. To which Particulars no other Answer was given, than that he should tell the Judges, which Particulars no orner failure was given, than that he include ten the Judges, that for the good of the Countrey, it was requilite to make Pigarro Governour thereof; and when that was done, they would then take such other Measures for the publick good, as should be proposed by them; and on the contrary, in case of resulal, they would give up the City of Los Rejes to be plundred and sacked by the Souldiery. With this Answer Charte returned to the Judges, who were trouthe Souldiery. With this Aniwer contary to their expectations, and so plain and publick a Declaration of the mind of Pijarro, whom they once believed to be better inclined, and to have no other designs and pretentions; than onely the expulsion of the Vice king, and the suspension of the new Laws; wherefore in answer to this demand they returned a meffage to the Captains, giving them to understand that having confidered of their Proposals, they knew not how to grant or treat on them, unless they were delivered in writing according to the usual methods and way of proceedings in those matters. When this matter was known, all the Re-presentatives of the seyeral Cities which were going to the Camp returned back pretentatives of the reverse cities which were going to the Camp returned back again, and joining with those of other Corporations, who were then assembled at Loi Rejes, gave in a Petition to the Judges sitting on the Bench, desting a concession of what was verbally required. The Judges considered hereof, as a major of great concernment and dangerous, for they had no Commission to warrant them in this Declaration, nor had they liberty or power at that time to refuse it: them in this Declaration, nor had titley liberty or power at that time to refule it; for Picerro had trade by this time a very near approach to the City, and had pof fessed himself of all the ways and avenues theretists: fo that in this strait and difficulty they resolved to consult with the persons of greatest power and authority in the City, and to desire their opinion and conquirtence with their, a memorial whereof they sent to Friar Geronimo de Losssa Archbishop of Los Rojes; to Friat John Salamo Archbishop of Cozto, to Gartia Dilate Bishop of Quita, to Friar thems de San Martin Provincial of the Dominion, and to Angustine Carate Accounts to the Comment of Country of the Massach, and to Angustine Carate Accounts. tant, Treasurer and Comptroller of his Majesty's revenue, destring their opinion and fense in this matter of high concernment; not that they were to feek or doubtfull in what could legally be done or required, or that they were at liberty to grant or refuse what Gonçalo Pigarro and his Captains required, but onely that these persons might bear their part in the burthen, and become Witnesses that what they

granted to Pigarro was extorted by force, and not yielded by a voluntary confent.

Whilst these matters were debating Gingalo Pigarro advanced within a quarter of a League of the City, where he pitched his Camp and planted his Batteries of Cannon: and perceiving that they delayed to answer his Demands, he fent the night following thirty Musquetiers under the command of one of his third Officers that the City. Who there feized upon twenty eight persons who came from Coeco, and others, against whom he had a guarrel to taking patr with the Viceking: amongst which were Graviel de Rojas, Garcilasso de la Vega, Melchior Verdugo, Or. Carvajal and Peter del Barco, Martin de Florencia, Alonfo de Carceres, Peir de Mamaires, Lewis de Llon, Anthony Riby de Guerita del troit de la contraction de Communication of the communication of the contraction of th raking the keys and poffession; they turned our the "Made", and took the whole power out of the Italias of the Judges; "who were not able to contrastic of with stand the Power which was against their is for in the whole City there were not fifty men of the Sword; for these Pairies which once declared for the Viceking and the Judges were now revolved to the Camp of Priving, with which, and with the men'he brought with him; he made up twelve fundred rien, all well edulg ped and armed; in confidence of which force which of the Captains came to the City, and plainly rold the Judges, that utiles they flowedly diparched their but ness and proclaimed Pignio Governour, they would but all the City to Fire and Sword, and that they should be the first with whom they would begin.

The Judges excuted themselves assumed they were able, faying. That they had no power to doe any such things whereapon obsorbed, the Officer that was lent, immediately took four persons of those who were committed to Prions

fent, immediately took four persons of those who were committed to Prions three of which, namely, Peter de Barco, Martin de Florencia, and John de Saavedra, and hanged them together on a Tree near to the City, reproaching them with opprobrious and bittler language at the time of their death, not giving to these formuch as half an hour's time to make their confession and prepare their souls so

death; telling Peter del Barco particularly, who was the last of the three which he hanged; That in regard he had been a Captain, and one of the Conquerours of that Countrey, and was a person of quality, and one of the richest in those parts, he would grant him this privilege at his death, to chuse which of the boughs he pleased for his gallows. But to Lenis de Leon his Life was granted at the Interreflion of a brother of his, who was a Souldier in Goncalo Picarro's Army and

who begged it as a focale grace and favour unto him.

The judges being terrified with this piece of Cruelty, and fearing left the like fentence should be executed on all the others who were then in prison, and that the City should be given up for a prey to the Souldiery, in case they deferred longer to perform their demands. They with all earnestness sent to the persons to whose Counsels they had referred themselves in this matter that they should imwhole Countes they have reletted themselves in this matter; that they inould im-mediately give in their opinions: whereupon every one, nemine contradicente, gave their Votes, that the Government should be conferred on Gonçalo Piçarro; which the Judges instantly made known to him, surrendring up to him all the Power of that Province untill such time as his Majesty's pleasure should be known therein: And hereupon they renounced their Commissions of hearing and determining Caules, and resigned all into the Governours hands, giving security to reside in the City, and fit on the Bench, and hear all Caufes and Actions of complaint which

fhould be brought before them. Thus far Angustine de Carate,
And here we will cut short the Thread of this Discourse, left we should seem

over tedious in this Chapter.

BOOK IV.

#### CHAP. XIX.

Goncalo Picarro is proclaimed Governour of Peru, His Entry into the City of Los Reyes. The death of Captain Gumiel. The Citizens of Cozco are set at Liberty.

THE execution of Pedro del Barco, Martin de Florencia, and John de Saavedra made a great noise, and was occasion of much discontent and murmurings both in the City and in the Camp: for (as Diego Fernandez de Carvajal reports in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book) the people apprehended, that as Francisco de Covajal had been so bloudy as to kill those three, he would farther proceed in his Tragedy to the death of all the others who were imprisoned for the like cause: for which reason many of the Oitizens of Rimao and Captains and Souldiers of the Army made their Addresses to Gangalo Pickero, beforeching him not to suffer the effusion of so much Noble-Bloud, and of persons who had been Instruments and engaged in the Conquest of the Empires, for such an Act of Cruelty would render him odious to the whole World. Whereupon Gençalo Pigarro, who was a perfoo of a tender and flexible hature, gave immediately a very rich Medal and a Ring to be carried to Francisco Carvajal (who well knew that both of themibelonged to Pigarlo) to serve for a token and sign to him to desist from farther spiling of Bloud.

But as to the particulars of what is related farther concerning the death of those men whom Carvajal put to death; I have learned from those who were then prelent, that those Citizens were put to death solely by the will and authority of Carwithout the order, privity or knowledge of Gongalo Pigarro, For all the Commission which he had was this, that he should goo, and quiet the people; for understanding that all the City being in great consternation, were ready to abandon the place; he sent him with Orders to pacific them, that they hight rejoice at his Arrival. Carvajal, who well enough understood his meaning replied whim, faying, I promise your Lordship, that I will so order Matters, that they shall be obliged to goe forth and meet you: to perform and make good his word, (according to the Martial way of expression) he hanged the three meri in the way where Pigarra was to pass which he called the meeting of him, and said, that this

was the onely means to affright the Judges and the whole City, and to haften them in their Votes to proclaim Piçarro Governour, as all the Representatives of the Kingdom desired. But the truth is Gonfalo Piçarro was much troubled to understand of the death of these three persons, whom he caused to be taken from the Trees, before he passed that way; declaring that he had no hand in that execution, and that he neither commanded the same, nor knew thereof. And it is sather said by Diego Fernandez in the twenty sisten Chapter of his Book, that he Decree proclaiming Gonfalo Piçarro Governour was generally pleasing both to the City and to the Army; because it was the common opinion of all, that in that continue, nothing could tend more to the settlement and quiet of the Kingdom than that: And moreover, it was believed that his Majesty would consist him therein, in consideration of the great services which his brother, the Marquis had performed to the Crown; as also for other Causes which they alledged in savour and honour of Gonfalo Piçarro himself: For now fortune being of his side, the people began to speak savourably of him; and he, carrying himself with pretences of restoring to them their Liberty, was generally cryed up and beloved of all 3 and especially succeeding the Vice-king; who was hated and detelled by all manning. Thus far are the words of Diego Fernandez. After which Carate, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, proceeds, and says:

The Inftrument for conftituting Pigarro Governour being paffed; he made his Entry into the City in State and triumph. In the first place, Captain Bachicao led the Van-guard with two and twenty Pieces of Cannon made for the field, which were carried on the Shoulders of fix thousand Indians (as we have mentioned before) with all the other train of Artillery and Ammunition thereunto belonging, and as they marched they fired the Cannon in the Streets; and for Guard to the

Artillery thirty Musquetiers and fifty Gunners were appointed.

After which followed the Company under command of Captain Diego Gumiel, which confifted of two hundred Pique-men, after which followed Captain Gnevara with a hundred and fifty Musquetiers; and then came the Company of Pedro Cermenno confifting of two hundred Harquebusiers; immediately after which followed Gonçalo Picarro himself with three Companies of Foot, attending like Foot-men by his fide, and he mounted on a very fine Horse, and cloathed with a Coat of Mail, over which he wore a thin Coat of cloth of gold; after him marched three Captains with their Troops of Horse, in midst of which Don Petro Porto Carrero supported the Royal Standard; on his right hand Antonio Altamirano carried the Enfign of Cozco, and on the left Pedro de Puelles carried the Colours in which the Arms of Pigarro were painted; after which all the Cavalry followed armed in form and point of War. And in this order they marched to the house of Licenciado Carate, where the other Judges were affembled, ( which was a default on Carate's fide, for he ought rather to have received him in the place of publick Judicature) but here Picarro leaving his Forces drawn up in the open Market-place, went up into the Chamber where the Judges attended, and received him with due order and respect, and having taken the Oath, and given the Security which is usual; he went to the Town-house, where the Mayor, Sheriffs and other Officers received him with the accustomary Solemnities; and thence he went to his own Lodgings; and in the mean time the Officers quartered the Souldiers both Horse and Foot in the private houses of the Citizens, giving order that they should entertain them upon Free quarter.

This entry of Pigarro into the City, and his reception there, happened to wards the end of the month of October 1544, being forty days after the imprisonment of the Vice king; and from that time forward Pigarro attended wholly to the management of his martial Affairs, and to matters relating thereunto, leaving all civil Causes and proceedings in Law to the Judges, who held their Courts in the House of the Treasurer Monso Riquetme. And then he sent to Cozco for his Deputy Monso de Toro, to Arequepa for Pedra de Tientes, to the Villa de Plata for Francisco de Almendras, and to other Cities for the principal Governours thereof. Thus far ate the words of Angustine Carate. To which Fernandez Palentino in the sixteenth Chapter of his Book adds and says, That Diego Centeno having accompanied Gougalo Pigarro in quality of Procuratour for the Town of Plate, as far as Los Reyes, he there found that Pigarro had preferred his great Friend Francisco de Almendras to be Capatin and chief Justiciary of that Towns; and therefore he desired him to move Ricarro that he might be dismissed and go along with him to the Villa de la Plata.

because his House and Estate was in those parts; which license being obtained, they travelled together to the Charcas, where some time asterwards, when Diego Centeno declared for the King, he surprised and killed him: and though in excuse hereof it may be alledged that it was done for the King's service, yet he can never wipe off that blot of Ingratitude; for during the time of the Conquest, when Diego Centeno came very young into the Countrey, he was supported and provided for in all his necessaries, and in the time of his sickness, by Francisco de Almendras, who was a rich, and a principal person of quality in those days, and took the same care of him as if he had been his Son; the which benefits and kindnesses. Diego Centeno publickly owned, and when they were in private he called him Father, as Almendras called him Son: and therefore he ought for ever to be branded with Ingratitude, unless the publick concernment for his Prince be able to until and abolish all other private obligations and endearments what-

Gonçalo Piçarro, finding himfelf now invested in his Power and Government. which he held both by virtue of the Royal Grant given to his Brother the Marquis, in whose right he pretended thereunto, and now by the consent and election of the Judges, began to give out his own Commission to Officers both Military and Civil, and to fit and hear Causes, which he dispatched with great readineß, administring Justice with Reputation and Authority, to the contentment and satisfaction of the whole City; but these smooth and chearfull proceedings were mixed with their troubles and misfortunes. For Captain Diego Gumiel, who untill this time had always shewed himself zealous and passionate in the cause of Pigare, began to alter his humour, and fpeak against him, because he had refused to grant him a piece of Land with a Command over Indians, which he asked of him in behalf of a certain Friend of his: and with that occasion he railed against the Judges, saying, that they had unjustly taken away the Government from the Son of Marquis Francisco Picarro to whom it appertained by lawfull inheritance descended from his Father, in virtue of a Grant from his Mayesty, to confer it upon one who had no right nor title thereunto; and for that reason he declared, that he would use his utmost endeavours that the Son of the Marquis might recover his own Inheritance. Gumiel frankly discoursing at this rate, without regard to the place where, or the person to whom he vented his passion, at length the reports thereof coming to the ears of Picarro, he gave his immediate Orders to his Major-General that he should examine this matter, and take such course as might restrain the licentious Tongue of that Captain for the suture. It is certain, that the meaning of Picarro was not to put Gumiel to death, though Carvajal put that interpretation upon it, and having asked fome questions about the matter, and hearing them confirmed, went directly to Gamiel's Lodgings, where without more to doe he strangled him, and drew his Body into the Markey have been supported by the strange of the ket place, faying, give way, Gentlemen, for Captain Diego Gumiel, who hath protested and sworn that he will never fay the like things again. And thus poor Gumiel ended his days, having loft his life by the intemperance of his Tongue, which hath been the ruine of many a man, but good to none.

#### CHAP. XX.

The Festivals and Rejoycings which were made for Gonçalo Piçarro. A general Pardon given to all those who were sled away. The place where Garçilasso de la Vega was retired, and how he obtained his Pardon from Gonçalo Piçarro.

Plearro and his Captains, being swelled with the vanity and oftentation of being Governours and supreme Lords of Pern, appointed days of Festival to celebrate their Triumphs, after the manner of Spain; as namely the sport of bai-

ting

ting Bulls, throwing the Dart, and Lotteries; in which latter many drew ingenious Mottoes, or Sayings, and others fcurrilous Sentences, like Libels, of which though I remember feveral, yet I think it not convenient to repeat any of them

in this place.

Upon the day of this folemn rejoycing, orders were given to fet those Gentlemen at liberty who were the Citizens of Cozco, committed to Prison by Carvajal, as we mentioned before. Moreover he granted a general Pardon to those who were not as yet come in, onely Licenciado Carvajal was excepted, because he having been his intimate Friend, had deserted him, and also Garçilasso de Lorante, but we must take leave to contradict these Authours, who have failed in this particular passage, of which we are able to give a more certain relation. Gonçalo Piçarro gave especial order that no man should go out of the City without his license; which Rodrigo Nunnez and Pedro de Prado demanding they were both put to death, because they gave evil example, and seemed to put jealousses and fears into the minds of the people: and in this manner, we see, that there was no joy without a mixture of sorrow, nor saughters, nor essention of blond without rejoycings; which in Civil Wars take their turns and changes.

But to come to the particulars of what happened at that time in the City of Los Reyes; we are to take notice, how that at that time Francisco de Carvajal seised all the Citizens of Cozco who had deferted his cause, excepting onely Garcilasso de la Vega, who escaped by a mere accident, as the Historians relate: For that yery night when Carvajal knocked at the door to come in and take him, a certain Souldier went forth to open the door, whose name was Hernando Percz Tablero, a Na. tive of the Town of Almendras in the Dukedom of Feria. Foster-brother with Don Alonfo de Vargas my Uncle by the Father's fide. This Hernando Perez, who as well for being of the same Countrey, being all of Estremennos, as also on score of Relation, for both he and his Father and Grandfather had been Servants unto mine and he at that time actually in service of Garcilasso de la Vega, my Lord and Father; knowing Francisco Carvajal by his voice, without making any answer returned immediately to my Father, and told him that Carvajal was at the Gate knocking to come in: whereupon my Father made his escape out of the House as well as he could, and fled to the Convent of St. Domingo, where the Friars received and concealed him in a little private place, where he remained for the foace of four months.

Carvajal having fome intelligence that he was absconded in the Monastery, and the rather suspecting it, because it was near to his House, took some Souldiers with him, and searched every private place and corner, that no place seemed to be undiscovered, unless the whole House had been thrown down; and herein they used all the diligence imaginable, for Gongalo Picarro conceived all the nalice and despight against him that was possible, and therefore endeavoured to take him and put him to death: for he often complained of him, and said, that they had been Comrades together in the conquest of Collao and the Churcas, had eaten at the same Table, and slept in the same Chamber together, and by reason of such obligations he should never have deserted and denied his cause, much less have been the Head of a Faction against him, and a means to persuade others to

forfake his Party.

Moreover Carvajal made four other fearches after Garçilasse, and at one time he lifted up the hanging on the side of the High Altar, where was a nick or conner where they lodged the most Holy Sacrament, and there was a poor Souldier hid, and crouched up in a dark hole; but Carvajal perceiving that it was not the perfon for whom he sought, let down the Hanging again, crying aloud, the person is not here for whom we seek. A while after came another of his Souldiers, called Porras, who being desirous to shew himself more diligent and officious than ordinary, listed up the Hanging of the High Altar, and there discovered the poor Souldier whom Carvajal had purposely over-seen; but Porras, so soon as he espited him, cried out, here is the Traitour, here is the Traitour. Carvajal was troubled that he was found out, but in regard he was a principal Leader of the Faction against Picarro, he could not do less than take notice of him; and so drawing him forth from his retirement, caused him to be conselled by the Friars of the Covent, and then hanged him up: but Porras did not escape the vengeance of Heaven for this Fact, as we shall understand by the sequel.

Ar another time it happened out, That Carvajal fo unexpectedly came into the Monastery to make another search, That Garcilasso de la Vega was altogether fire producted, not knowing where to retire; but halfily ran into an empty Cell. where was no Bed nor other furniture under which he might cover himself; onely some Shelves of Books covered with a Curtain just fronting to the Door, and a little diffant from the Wall, to that a man might creep between the Shelves and that; and there my Father thrust and crouded himself. Two or three of those who came to fearch this House came into this Cell; and observing it be void and empty, and believing that the Shelves were fastned to the Wall, so that nothing could enter between, they went out again, faying, he is not here: Many of these hazardous Adventures my Father ran, whilft Gonçalo Piçarro was at Los Reyes, during which time his Iriends, (of which he had many) interceded for him with Goncalo Picarro to obtain his pardon, and at length prevailed to have him pardoned as to his Life, upon condition that he should not see him nor come into his presence; saying, that he ought not to be admitted thereunto, who had violated all the Laws of Friendship, Society and relation of Countrey-men: but having thus far obtained his Pardon, he came out of the Monastery, and retired privately into a Chamber. where he remained feveral days, untill the importunity of Friends fo far prevailed with *Picarro* in his behalf to grant him a complete Pardon, and admittance to his presence; after which he kept him always in his company, under the notion of a Prisoner, not suffering him to go out of his House or eat from his Table, and when in the Field, not to lie out of his Tent; and in this condition he continued untill the day when the Battel of Sacfahnana was fought. And for this cause, in regard he was always as a Prisoner with Gonçalo Pigarro, none of the three Authours make any mention of him in their Histories; but I who was so nearly concerned. knew all these particulars with the sufferings of my Father, who being dispossesfed of his Estate for the space of three years, both he, and I, and the rest of my Brethren, being eight in number, were forced to live upon the Charity and Alms of well-disposed persons. This nearness which caused Gongalo Pigarro to keep my Father to him, was to secure him that he should not escape from him; and the reason why he entertained him at his Table, because he knew that he had not wherewith to eat at any other place, and he was so generous as not to suffer him to have the obligation to any but himfelf. And fuch was the necessity and want which my Father laboured under at that time, that, after the death of the Viceking, being in the City of Peru, he bought a Horse of a Souldier, who was called Salinas, and therefore they called the Horse Salinillas, which proved to be one of the finest Horses in all Peru, and cost eight hundred pieces of Eight, which makes nine hundred and fixty Ducats; and though he had not one farthing of his own to pay for him, yet, trusting to the kindness of his Friends, that they would either lend or give him so much money, he adventured to buy him; to which end a Friend of his, who had not more in the whole world, lent him three hundred pieces of Eight, but when Gonçalo Piçarro understood that he had bought this Horse, he immediately gave order to pay the same out of his own Estate, knowing that Gargilasso had not wherewith to make satisfaction.

#### CHAP. XXI.

How and in what manner an irreverent impiety against the most Holy Sacrament, and other blasphemous words were punished. Piçarro and his Party nominate Messengers to be sent into Spain.

In temains now for us to relate the Judgment which befell *Porras*, which was this; Three months after the profanation he had made of the Holy Altar, he was fent by *Carvajal* to *Huamanca* upon fome certain occasions, and passing a little Brook of Water not above two foot deep, he guided his Horse, being tired and X x x x

thirsty, to a place where he might drink, and having drank he laid himself down in the Water, having one Leg of his Master under him, and lay on that side where the Water was deepest; Porras endeavoured to clear himself of his Horse but could not, and so lay still a while, untill the Horse struggling to rise, and the stream running swift upon him, he was at length drowned; but the Horse keeping his head above Water, made a shift to keep himself from drowning, until some Travellers passing that way helpt him out; but for Porras they sound him dead, and buried him on the Bank of the stream. The which was esteemed by all the Kingdom to have been a Judgment of Heaven for his irreverence towards the Holy Altar; as we have before mentioned.

We may here take notice of the Divine Judgments against such, who were common Swearers and Blasphemers of the Name of God in their usual Converse. tion; who not contented with little petty Oaths, as Godsbodikins, or the like, but would fav. God Damn me, or, God renounce me: fuch men as these, I say, have been observed to die by wounds in their Mouths; and not onely hath this happe. ned in Battels in *Peru*, but in fingle Duels between Man and Man, in which fuch Blasphemers as these have been killed by shot of a Carbine in their Mouths. or the stroke of a Lance, or a stabb of a Dagger in that part. There is one Inflance of this very remarkable in my time, which happened a year before I came from Cozco, and it was this; A certain Souldier called Againer, an ill-conditioned fellow, had a quarrel with John de Lira, a person of a far different temper, being naturally of a peaceable and quiet disposition; this Aguirre, to fight with de Lira, armed himself with a Coat of Mail, Gantlet and Head-peace, and expected him near the Convent of St. Dominick, as he passed to his Lodging from the great Church, where, on a Friday in Lent, he went to hear a Sermon; de Lira coming was met and affaulted by Aguirre, and they both struggled together for the fpace of an hour by the Clock, none coming in to part them, at length John de Lira, closing in with Agairre, stabb'd him in the Mouth with his Dagger, which came out at the nape of his Neck, and Aguirre, with a flash of his Sword stroke de Lira upon the Cloak which was folded on his left Arm, and cut eleven folds of it, and glancing along cut off his middle Finger; the fame night Aguirre died of his wound in the Prison, but John de Lira recovered and was cured, in the Mona-Rery of St. Dominick where he was lodged; and there I vifited him, and faw how his Finger was cut off, and eleven folds his Cloak cut thorough.

The like Judgment befell other notorious Blasphemers at the Battel of Salinus, where two or three were wounded in the Mouth, and dyed, as many in like manner at Chupus, as also four at Huarina, one of which was called Mezquita, and all of them incurred the same fate; which was so apparent a Judgment upon common Swearers and Blasphemers, that many repented of that sin, and were converted, and so particularly did this Judgment operate on the minds of the Spaniards in Peru, that they generally acknowledge it to have been a mercy of God towards them, and so abstain from that sin, that it is a disparagement to any man to be guilty thereof. And so far hath this custome against Blasphemy prevailed, as to pass from Peru into the Jurisdiction of Mexico, where it is accounted an insamous crime for any man to swear, especially Souldiers; so that when any one unadvifedly swears, the Captains or Officers then present, cause him immediately to recall his Oath, and ask pardon for it, which indeed is a very laudable custome and much to be commended in those Officers who were the occasion that the same was practised amongst the Souldiery.

I cannot tax any of my own Relations by the Mother fide with the fin of this nature; for to the contrary I have heard from one of my own Kindred, who (as I believe) fpake impartially of them, That in the state of their very Gentilissia they knew not what an Oath meant, nor to take the Name of God in vain, but as a thing (as natural to them as their milk) they learned to pronounce the Name of God on no other occasion than of Prayers and Praises to him.

But whilft Gonçalo Piçarro was folenmizing the Festival appointed in honour to his new Title of Governour, he did not forget his dependence on Spain; and therefore proposed first to his Captains and Friends in private, and asterwards publickly to the Citizens of Los Repes, that it was necessary to send Messengers to his Majesty to render an account of all that happened unto that time, befeeching his Majesty in behalf of that whole Empire to confer the Government thereof upon Gonçalo Piçarro, representing it as a matter much conducing to the service of

Book IV. Royal Commentaries.

his Maieffy, and to the common peace and tranquillity both of Indians and Sura giards: And moreover, that Pigarro should dispatch a private Agent, as from himfelf, who should lay before his Majesty the many services and labours which he had fulfained for the enlargement of the dominions of Spain in those parts: this Proposal was approved by the common consent of all, and generally the World was of opinion, that a Proposition of this nature, tending so much to the welfare of the people, to the increase of his Maiesty's revenue and enrichment of his Subjects, would not be refused: onely Francisco de Carvajal (as Diego Fernandez Palentino relates in the twenty eighth Chapter of his Book) was of anothe opinion; and declared, that the belt Agents to perfuade in Affairs of this kind were a good body of Mulquetiers, Horfe and Arms: And though it was the that Subjects ought never to take up Arms against their King; vet when they had once drawn the Sword, they ought never to put it up again; and that for the prefent, if they would fend Messengers, they should be the Judges themselves; who having been the persons that had imprisoned the Vice-king, they were the most able to render an account to his Majesty of the reasons and causes which moved them thereunto.

This opinion was feconded by Hernando Bachicao; but the votes of two men could not over-rule the fenie of the whole Court, who decreed to fend Doctour Texada and Francisco Maldonado (Uffher of the Hall to Gongalo Pigarro) into Spain, with infructions to reprefent unto his Majeffy the prefent fate and condition of their Affairs. It was also ordered, that these persons should embark on a Ship then in Port, besides which there was no other at that time, and whereon Licentido Vaca de Castro was a prisoner, and stood committed by order from the Viceking; and now remained in expectation, how the present Governours would dispose of him; not judging it sit to fail for Spain without the Orders of some over-ruling power.

Twas further agreed, that Hernando Bachicao should have the Charge to provide the Ship with Men and Guns, and thereon to transport their Agents to Panama, of which Vaca de Custro being informed by a Friend and Kinsman of his called Garcia de Mont-alvo, he predently apprehended, that in case they brought him as floar from the Ship, some mischief might ensue to him, or at least some treatment not befeening his quality and condition, he resolved, with the affistence of his Kinsman Mont-alvo, and of the Servants then with him, to weigh Anchor, and set fail for Panama. The matter succeeded as was expected and defired; for there was not one person of Pigarro's saction then aboard; and the Mariners were all for Vaca de Castro, who was very well beloved and esteemed by the people of the Countrey: Pigarro was greatly troubled at this disappointment; for the sending of his Agents into Spain he esteemed to be the onely means to set matters right, and well understood at that Court.

#### CHAP. XXII.

How much Gonçalo Piçarro was troubled for the Escape of Vaca de Castro, and what disturbance it caused. Hernando Bachicao goes to Panama. The Vice-king sends abroad his Warrants to raise Men.

Hereupon (as all the three Writers agree) it was conceived, that this Escape of Vaca de Castro could not be contrived without a Conspiracy of several persons concerned therein: so that immediately an Allarum was given over all the Town; the Souldiers were put in Arms, and all those Gentlemen whom they suspected, as well such as were Natives or Citizens of Los Rojes, as those who had fled from Cozco, and those who were of the Vice-king's party, were all seized and committed to the publick prison: and amongst them Licenciado Carvajal was one

one; to whom Major General Carvajal fent order, that he should at that instant consess and make his last Will and Testament; for that it was decreed he should presently be put to death. Carvajal with all readiness submitted to the sentence; and began to prepare himself for the same; the Executioner stood by him with his Haltest and Gibbet; and urged him to finish his Affairs, howsoever he continued something long in his consession: no question but he expected to dye without any reprieve: howsoever such as considered the quality of his person and condition were of opinion, that he ought not to have been brought under those circumstances; but since it had so sallest not to have been brought under those circumstances; but since it had so sallest not; it would be dangerous to suffer him to live: but then it was considered, that in case Carvajal were put to death, many of those who were now in custody would follow the same sate, which would be a great loss to the Kingdom to be deprived of the most principal persons thereof who had always been saithfull to the Interest of his Majesty.

Whilft Licencindo Carvajal remained under these sad apprehensions, certain sober persons went to Gonçalo Piçarro, and told him that it were well to consider in
this case how great an Interest the Licencindo Carvajal had in his Courtey; and
that the Agent Carvajal, who was his brother, was put to death by the Vice-king,
for no other cause or reason, than because his man followed the party and side of
Piçarro, and therefore, for the very merit of his brother, and for the services of
this person, he should spare his life who was and might be of grear use and benesset to him for the suture. And as to the scape of Vaca de Cassro all the World
was well satisfied, That neither Licenciado Carvajal nor the others who were imprisoned upon suspicion were concerned therein; and that all this jealousse did arise
from the vain censures of some people, for which there was no just cause or ground.

To all which Declaration Gonçalo Picarro answered little, but seemed angry and diffurbed, commanding that none should move him farther in that matter, but upon Carvajal and his Friends resolved to proceed another way; which was by means of the Major General, to whom they secretly presented a Wedge of gold to the value of two thousand pieces of Eight, and promised him much more; the which having accepted, he began to be a little backward and cold in the execution of the fentence; and went and came so often, untill at length, both Carvaial and all the others who were imprisoned were fet at liberty: So this matter being over, they began to contrive the manner, how Hernando Bachicao might be dispatched away, as was agreed: for which there now happened an opportunity by the arrival of a Bregantine from Arequepa, which being freighted for this purpose and armed with some of the Cannon which Gonçalo Pigarro brought from Cozco: Bachicao embarked thereupon, and with him Doctour Texada and Francisco Maldonado, with about fixty Musquetiers who offered themselves voluntarily on that voiage. And thus coafting along the thoar, upon information that the Vice-king was at Tumbez; he arrived early one morning in that Port; where being efpyed by some people belonging to the Vice-king an Allarum was presently given, that Goncalo Picarro with a strong force was coming by Sea; which put them all into that affrightment and consternation, that the Vice-king with all his force, constfling of about a hundred and fifty men fled away to Quitu; but some of them remained behind to receive Bachicao, who took two Ships which he found in the Port, and with them failed to Puerto Viejo, where, and in other parts he railed about a hundred and fifty men whom he embarked aboard his Ships; but the Vice-king without other flop or flay haftened to Quin. Thus far Anguftine Carae, who hath made clear feveral Paffages which were confused and obscure in other Writers.

But now to return to the Ingot of Gold which Francisco Carvajat received; It is certain that he made a Trade of such Bribes as these, where the Accusation was false, and then he would suspend the Execution of the Sentence, untill means were made with Gonçalo Piçarro for a Pardon, and in this manner he got great sums of money: but in case the crime objected were true, than nothing could prevail with him, neither Presents nor Intreaties, to delay the speedy execution of Justice: for he was zealous and faithfull to his Party, both in punishment of Enemies, and in the good treatment and reward of Friends and Abettours of his Cause: but Historians give him the Character of a most covetous and cruel person: 'tis true, he had both one and the other in his nature, but not in so high degree as is reported; for though he was guilty of great effusions of bloud, yet it was for the advancement and security of his own party, which he acted in pur-

fuance of his Office, being a Captain and a chief field Officer: of which hereafter in profecution of this Hiftory we shall give some instances of my own knowledge, and shall make some remarks upon the behaviour of several Captains of picarro's party which I received from the report of those who were familiarly ac-

quainted with their actions and persons.

BOOK IV.

We have mentioned before, how Licenciado Alvarez procured the Liberty of the Vice-king Blasco Numez Vela, and how another Ship joined with them, whereon his brother Vela Nunnez was embarked, and that they failed together to the Port of Tumpiz, where they landed, and erected a Court of Justice, for that as the Historians say, he had a clause in his Commission that he might hold a Court with affiltance of one Judge or Co-affeffour with him: by virtue whereof they diffratched feveral Warrants, Orders and Manifests into divers parts: serving forth in the Preamble thereunto a relation of his imprisonment and of his escape, as likewife of the coming of Gançalo Piçarro to Los Reyes, with all other particulars which had happened untill that time; and in fine concluded, that all his Maiefly's loving and loyal Subjects thould come in and partake in this cause. In purfuance hereof he fent divers Captains to Puerto Viejo to raife men, as also to Saint Michael and Truxillo; and upon the same errand Captain Peronimo de Prererra was fent as far as Pacamuru, which the Spaniards call Bracamoros: And moreover he directed his Warrants over all the Countrey, to bring in Provisions, and all the Gold and Silver which was found in the Exchequer, for that his Majesty's service required to have it employed against so many Enemies who were in rebellion against him: but in regard that in all the Cities and places to which those Commands were fent, there were different parties, and men flood variously affected, fome whereof went to Pigarro; others, to fly from him, and not to join with his faction, betook themselves to the mountains, and by secret and by-ways came atleight to the Vice-king equipped with Arms, Horfes and Providons, according to every man's ability; which much rejoiced and comforted the Vice-king to fee the affection of the people to him in the time of his diffres: but this fatisfaction continued not long, for, as ill fortune would have it, he was forced by Hernando Bachicao to retire into the In-land parts of the Countrey, by which means his Friends left him, and he himfelf sustained great inconveniences and hardships untill the time of his death; as we shall see in its due place.

Gonçalo Piçarro having intelligence that the Vice-king was in Timpiz, he thought it not convenient or fafe to fuffer him to reft there; and therefore fent fome Captains with their forces to diffurb him and cause him to remove his quarters from thence. The Orders and Warrants which the Vice-king issued forth were for the most part betrayed into the hands of Piçarro, being brought to him by those with whom they were intrusted; by means of which Piçarro received intelligence of all the designs of the Vice-king; which to prevent he dispatched his Captains Jeronimo de Villegus, Gonçalo Diaz, and Hernando de Alvarado, to scoure all the Coast along to the Northward, and intercept the people who were going to join themselves with the Vice-king; and thereby he suppressed the forces of the Vice-king before they could get head, and overcame them without a Battel.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Astions performed by Bachicao in Panama. Licenciado Vaca de Castro comes to Spain, where an end is put to all his negotiations. The Vice-king retires to Quitu.

HErnando Buchicao, as we have faid, having furprized two Ships belonging to the Vice-king, and forced him to retire into the In-land parts of the Countrey, he purfued his Voiage to the Port of Panama, and in his way he met with two or three other Ships, but whose they were, and with what they were laden,

for brevity fake we shall omit to mention; and because Fernandez Palenting in the twenty ninth Chapter of his Book, makes a long Difcourfe thereupon, we shall refer our selves to him, and onely say, that he took those Ships with him and failed from Port to Port, of which there are many in those Seas, taking refresh ments at his pleafure without fear or apprehention of any Enemies: when he ar rived at the Islands of Pearles, which are about twenty Leagues distant from P. 110. ma, whereof to foon as the Inhabitants had notice (as Angustine Curate faith, in the fixteenth Chapter of his Book) they fent two of their Citizens to know of him with what intention and delign he came thither, requiring him not to enter with his Souldiers within the precincts of their Jurisdiction. To which Backie cao made answer. That in case he came attended with his Souldiers, it was onely with intent to guard himself from the attempts of the Vice-king, without other design, to the damage or prejudice of their Countrey; for that his Commission was onely to transport Doctour Texada, one of his Majesty's Justices, into Spain, who by Instructions received from the Courts of Judicature was sent to render an account to his Majesty of all Matters which had passed of late in Peru; and that he would onely fer him on thoar, there to refresh himself for a while, and make fuch Provisions as were necessary for his Voyage.

Upon this affurance admission was given him into the City: but so soon as he arrived, two Ships which were then in the Port, made fail into the Sea; but one of them was chafed by the Brigantine, and being taken, was brought back, and both the Mafter and his Mate hanged at the Yard-arm; which much offended the Town, and put them into a great confernation, but it was now too late to defend themselves, or repent of their folly, in trusting their estates and lives to the mercy of *Bachicao*, who was now entered the City, and there being no hopes of timely relief from Captain John Guzman, who was railing men for affiftance of the Vice-king; which men afterwards revolted to Bachicao, who also seized on the Cannon which Vaca de Castro had brought thither, with the Ship on which he made his escape. Thus did Bachicao tyrannize over the people, seizing their estates with an arbitrary power, for none durft to affert a right and title to what he poffeffed, in contradiction to his will and pleafure: and during the time of his aboad here, he publickly put two of his Captains to death, who confpired against him: and moreover he acted other pieces of like feverity by virtue of his own absolute authority, caufing the Cryers to proclaim openly before those whom he put to death: So is the will and command of Captain Hernando Bachicao,

At this time Vaca de Castro was at Panama, where having intelligence that Bachicao was coming, he fled to Nombre de Dios, and embarked for Spain in the North-fea, as did also Diego Alvarez Cueto, and Jeronimo Curbano, who were Ambaffadours from the Vice-king: likewife at the fame Port Doctour Texada, and Francisco Maldonado took thipping for Spain and failed friendly together, though of three feveral Factions. Doctour Texada dyed in the Voyage, in the Chanel of Bahama: but Francisco Maldonado, and Diego Alvarez arrived safe in Spain, and immediately took post for Germany, to render an account to his Majesty respectively of the Affairs committed to their charge. Vaca de Castro touched at the Isles of Tercer, and thence failed to Lisbon, from whence he travailed to the Court; for he thought it not fafe to goe by the way of Seville, where the Brothers and Relations of John Tello de Guzman lived, whom, as we faid before, he had caused to be put to death after the overthrow of Diego Almagro the younger, being arrived at the Court, he was by Order of the Council of the Indies confined to his House, and an Accusation brought against him: after which he was imprisoned in the Fort of Arevalo for the space of five years, during which time his cause was depending. After which they appointed him a House in Simancas, and thence, as the Court removed, they affigned him the Village of Pinto and the bounds thereof for his confinement, untill his bufiness was fully determined. Thus far are the words of the Accountant General Augustina de Carate.

And here he breaks off, without telling us farther, what fentence was given in his cafe, because he had ended his History before that time: And indeed by reafon of the malicious informations and calumnies of his Enemies, which were all falle, the determination of his cause was protracted for a long time; at which he was not much troubled because he knew, that at length he should come off with the honour and reputation of a good Minister and Governour of that Empire which accordingly fucceeded; for he was reflored to his former place in the Royal

Royal Council of Caffile, from which he was fo long kept out, that when he came to be restored, he was then the most ancient Member of all that Council and in this condition I found him when I was at the Court of Madrid in the year 1661. And besides this favour of his restauration, he had other rewards given him in recompence for his hard utages and fervices performed in *Peru* in confervation of the Imperial Authority; and to his Son Don Antonio Vaca de Castro, who alfo was a Knight of the Habit of St. Jago (as his Father was) there was a Rent given him of twenty thouland pieces of Eight, out of such Lots or Divisions as he should chuse and esteem of that value. I remember to have seen this Gentleman at Nombre de Dios, as he passed in the Retinue of the Count de Nieva (who was fent for Vice-king of that Kingdom in the year 1560.) and went then to take rooffession of that Estate, which was the reward of his Father, who, to speak without flattery or partiality, was generally reputed to have been the best Governour than ever had paffed into those parts; as is agreed by all the three Historians in the characters which they give of him, there being not one ill action for which they blame him. And now let us return again to Peru, and relate what the Vice-king

Rlasco Numez was contriving all this time.

BOOK IV.

The Vice-king being retired (as Carate reports in the fixteenth Chapter of his Book) with about an hundred and fifty men, at the time that Bachicao furprifed the Ships in Tumber, he marched with them as far as the City of Quity, where he was chearfully received, and his Souldiers re-inforced to the number of about two hundred men, refolving to remain in that Countrey which yielded plenty of provisions for the sublistence of his men, untill such time as he received farther Orders and Instructions from his Majesty: And taking good information of all things that passed from Diego Alvarez de Cuero, he kept strong Guards, and Spies on all the high Roads to inform himself of all the actions that Gonçalo Pigarro was doing, though it is three hundred leagues diffant from Los Reyes to Quitu; during which time four Souldiers, who were diffatisfied upon some occasion with Picarro, floal a Boat, and coafted all along the shore from Los Reyes, by the help of their Oars, untill they came to a shore which was the nearest Sea to Quitu; where being arrived, they informed the Vice-king of all passages; how the People of Los Reves and other places were discontented with the Government of Picarro, and with the tyranny which he used towards them, ejecting some out of their Houses and Estates, imposing Souldiers on free-quarter upon them, and other burthens which they were not able to support; of which they were so weary that upon the least appearance of any person who carried an authority from his Majesty they would be ready to joyn with him, to cast off the voke of that tyranny with which they were oppressed. By which intelligence, and many other things which the Souldiers faid to him, the Vice-king being encouraged, refolved with the Forces he had with him, to march from Quitto by the way of St. Michael's, and made Diego de Ocampo chief Commander thereof, who had from the very time that the Viceking came to Tumbez adhered to his Party, and affifted him with his Person and Estate, supplying him with all things convenient and necessary for his service, wherein he spent above forty thousand pieces of Eight. In all these Adventures Licenciado Alvarez accompanied the Vice-king, and held Courts with him by virtue of his Majefty's Commission, by which it was provided, that the Vice-king might hold Courts with the affiftence of one Co-affelfour untill fuch time as the other Judges should assemble and joyn with them; and it was thus provided by that clause in cases of mortality or other accidents: and in pursuance hereof he caused a new Seal to be delivered to John Leon, one of the Justices of Los Reyes, whom the Marquis of Camarafa, Lord High Chancellour of Cacorla, or of the Indies, had nominated and elected to be Chancellour of that Court wherein the Vice-king prefided, he being revolted to him from Pigarro; fo that all Commissions, Warrants and Orders iffued out from thence under the Name and Title of Don Carlos the Emperour, with the Royal Seal affixed to them, and counterfigned by Alvame; fo that now there being two Courts in Peru, one at Los Reges and the other with the Vice-king, it frequently happened that two different Orders for the fame business came to be served at the same time. Thus far is related by Carate.

Gonçalo

BOOK IV.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

Two Captains of Pigarro's Army kill three of those belonging to the Vice-king; which is again revenged upon them Gonçalo Picarro embarks for the City of Truxillo.

Ugustine Carate, proceeding forward in the course of his History, saith. Than when the Vice-king was ready to depart from Quin he dispatched away his Son-in-lavy, Diego Alvarez de Cuero into Spain to inform his Majesty of all Affairs that had paffed, defiring him to fend him some Succours whereby he might be enabled to make War upon Gonçalo Pigarro; and accordingly Cuero embarked on the same Fleet with Vaca de Castro and Doctour Texada, as we have before declared In the mean time the Vice-king came to the City of St. Michael, which is about an hundred and fifty leagues from Quitu, where he refolved to remain, untill such time as he received his Majesty's farther directions in these matters; making use of his Majesty's Name and Authority in the style of all Letters and Orders which he iffued: and this place he judged most proper for his residence, being advantageously situated in the common Road, through which all people must go, who come from Spain or other parts into Peru, and is a Pass which cannot be avoided by fuch who travel with Horses or other Beasts of burthen; so that by this constant concurrence or confluence of people his numbers every day increased. The Inhabitants of this Town were all very loyal and well-affected to the Viceking, by which means, and by their kind reception and entertainment, his Soul-diers increased to the number of five hundred Horse and Foot, most of them indifferently well armed, and fuch as wanted defensive Arms made Corslets of Iron. and Coats of Bulls Skins well dried and preffed.

At the same time that Gonçalo Picarro sent Captain Bachicao with his Brigantine to feife the Fleet of the Vice king, he also dispatched two of his Captains by Land called Gongalo Diaz de Pinera and Jeronimo de Villegas to raise Souldiers in the Cities of Truxillo and St. Michael, where they remained with a Body of eight hundred men, untill fuch time as being alarm'd with the approach of the Viceking, they quitted their Posts and retreated within the Countrey, and quartered in a Province called Collique, which is about forty leagues distant from St. Michael, from whence they gave intelligence to Picarro of the Vice-king's march, and the daily increase of his Army, to which a stop ought speedily to be given before it proved too late. And whilst these Captains resided at that place, they had advice that the Vice-king had fent a Captain called John de Prereyra to the Province of Chachapoyas, to raise what men that Countrey afforded; and by reason that sew Spaniards inhabited in those parts, Picarro's Captains did imagine that Preregra and his men would remain fecure, and not dream of any danger; in confidence of which they marched the very fame way after them, and one night feifed on their Sentinels, and falling on them as they were fleeping killed Prereyra and two other principal Captains, whose Heads they cut off; and then all those who were with them, to the number of about fixty Horsemen, revolted for fear, and decla-

ring for Gonçalo Picarro returned with his Captains to their Quarters.

The Vice-king, greatly troubled for this difference and misfortune, resolved speedily to revenge it with the like return, and accordingly fallied privately out from St. Michael's with about an hundred and fifty Horsemen, and fell in upon the Quarters of the Captains Gonçalo Diaz and Villegas at Collique; who having some few days before performed that late exploit, refted fecure from the apprehenfions of any fuch return from their enemies. The affault which was made upon them was fo fudden that they had no time to provide for their defence, or to put themfelves in order to fight, but every one thifted for himself as well as he could; and fo much were they scattered abroad, that Gonçalo Diaz fled with very few into a Province of the Indians, which was not conquered, where they arose up against him and killed him; Hernando de Alvarado incurred the like fate: but feronimo de Villegas, rallying his people, marched into the Countrey as far as Truxillo, whilst the Vice-king refided at St. Michael,

Goncalo Picarro, having received advice of the defeat of his Captains, and that the Vice-king daily increased in numbers of his men, and strengthened in Arms and Ammunition for War, concluded it necessary with all possible speed to deand Allinding to the first his forces, before greater aid came to him from Spain and other parts of the India, which would be landed at Timpiz or at the Ports thereabouts, towards which places the Vice-king was drawing his Forces; and in the mean time he endeavonred to intercept all Packets of Advice from Spain, and from his Majesty, the want of which would greatly discourage the minds of the enemy: with this resolution, he prepared all things for a Battel, on the success of which he intended to hazard his fortune in case the enemy would stand to it; and accordingly Orders were iffied out to the Captains, the Souldiers received their pay, the Horse were commanded to march before to Truxillo, and Pigarro himself with the chief of his

Royal Commentaries.

Commanders remained behind to bring up the Rere.

About this time a Brigantine from Arequepa arrived in the Port of Lima, which brought an hundred thousand pieces of Eight for account of Picarro: at the same time also came in another Ship from the Continent, belonging to Goncalo Martel. and which brought his Wife, Children and Family to be thence conveyed to Cozco where his habitation was. This happy accident so encouraged Pigarro and his Party, that they grew very high and infolent thereupon, and, as if fortune had heen on their fide, they believed the whole world was their own. Thus far Auoustine de Carate, to which Diego Fernandez adds, that they became so proud, and made such vain boastings, that some talked as if Gonçalo Piçarro was to take upon him the Title and Crown of a King; arguing in his favour, that all Kings and Governours took their original and beginning by force; that the Nobility of the world descended from the haughty and unjust Cain, and the poor and meek from Abel: that it plainly appeared in Heraldry which blazes the Escutcheons of great men that their Arms contain nothing but Weapons of War and Tyranny. Francifeo de Carvajal was much of this opinion, and In confirmation hereof, he defired that the Old Testament should be reviewed, and the last Will of Adam there consulted, whether therein he bequeathed the Kingdom of Peru to Charles the Emperour or to the Kings of Castile. All which Gonçalo Picarro hearkned unto with much fatisfaction, being pleased to hear the flatteries of his Abettors. These are the words of Diego Fernandez, which I have extracted verbatim out of the thirty fourth Chapter of his fust Book.

On the Veffels which lately came into Lima Gonçalo Picarro laded great quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thereon shipped an hundred and fifty select Souldiers. And to give the better countenance and authority to his Affairs, he carried Doctour Gepeda, one of the Judges, with him, as also John de Caceres the Accountant General, so that by the departure of Cepeda the Court of Justice was diffolved, there remaining no other Judge at Los Reyes befides Cepeda; and farther to prevent the coming forth of other Orders or Warrants, Picarro carried the Royal Seal with him. And because the City of Los Reges was a place of great importance to him, he thought fit to confide it in the hands of some faithfull person. whom he could truft, and accordingly made choice of one Lorenço de Aldana, to whom he delegated the Government of the City, being a prudent, wife and difcreet Gentleman, and one who was very rich, having a great Estate and interest in Arequepa, with whom he left eight hundred men for guard and fafety of the City; and Pigarro went attended with all the Inhabitants of the City, and Gentlemen who had any command over the Indians, and took shipping in the month of March 1545, and failed to Port Santa, which is about fifteen leagues from Truxillo, where he landed and remained fome days untill his other Forces could come up, because it was a time of the year when the pasturage was green and well grown; but lest he should oppress and burthen the Spaniards by his long abode there, he removed his Camp to the Province of Collique, where he remained for fome time, untill his Forces could come up to him; and then making a general Muster of his Men, it appeared on the Muster-rolls that his numbers amounted unto more than fix hundred men, Horse and Foot: and though the Vice king was equal in number, yet Pigarro had much the advantage both in his Arms and preparations for War, and in his Men, who were for the most part veterane Souldiers, trained up to War, had been in many Battels, and feen much of Action; and belides, they knew the Countrey and the difficult paffages of it, and were accustomed to the dangers and labours of War, and had been practifed therein

Yvvv

ever fince the *Spaniards* entred first upon the conquest of that Empire; and on the contrary, the Souldiers of the Vice-king were all new-raised men, lately come out of *Spain*, not trained to the War, poor, ill-habited and armed, and their powder bad, besides other wants which were amongst them.

#### CHAP. XXV.

The great preparations and provisions made by Gonçalo Piçarro to pass a Desart. He faces the Vice-king's Forces, who retreated to Quitu. The good and prudent Conduct of Lorenço de Aldana.

Oncalo Picarro, being in the Province of Collique and in the parts thereabouts. made all the provisions he could for the substitence of his Army; for he was to travel over a hot, dry, fandy Defart of twenty leagues over, where was neither Water nor any other refreshment. And because Water was the most necessary of any thing in that hot and dry passage, he summoned in all the Indians of those parts round, to bring all their Pails, Buckets and Jarrs for Water, and commanded that the Indians who were appointed for the Carriages of the Army, should leave all the Souldiers Clothes and other Baggage behind, to carry Water and Provisions which were necessary for the support of Man and Beast. In this manner the Indians were laden without any other incumbrance than that of Water; and twenty five Horsemen were sent before by the common Road, who were to give out, in case they met with the Scouts of the Vice-king's Army, that Gonçalo Piçaro was coming in person through the Desart that way, but that the rest of his Army had taken the other Road. In this manner they travelled, every Horseman carrying the provision of his own Horse behind him. The Vice-king, who had his Spies upon both the Roads, received advice of the approach of the Enemy some time before they came; upon which an alarm was given, and it was faid that they would go out and give them Battel: but fo foon as his Forces were brought together, they marched out of the City to the fide of a Hill called Caffa, from whence they hastned away with all the speed they were able; of which Goncalo Picarro te ceiving intelligence about four hours after, he made no flay at St. Michael's, not fo much as to enter the Town or recruit his Provisions, but without stop or delay purfued after the Enemy, and that night travelled eight leagues, where overtaking them he took many Prisoners, seised all the Baggage of the Camp, hanged several whom they thought fit; and paffing over rocky and almost unaccellible ways without refreshments, they took Prisoners every day, who for want of strength lagged behind.

Then Letters were wrote and fent by Indians to feveral perfons of Quality in the Vice-king's Camp, promiting Pardon and great Rewards to any perfon who should kill him; the which served to create jealouses and suspicious amongst hose who were joyned with the Vice-king, every one being assaid of each other; which suspicious proved of stat consequence, and (as we have mentioned before) were the cause of many a man's death; for the Libels which were cast abroad, which none would own or justifie, served howsoever to create jealousies in the mind of the Vice-king, and made him assaid of his own People, not knowing whom to trust of those who were about him. And though it is certain, that neither Gongalo Picarro, as all Authours agree, did ever give order to kill the Vice-king, or that the Vice-king did plot in the like nature against Picarro; yet in all Civil Wars, jealousies and sears are natural to the minds of men. And thus season Picarro having pursued the Vice-king through Mountains, Desarts and uninhabited places without provisions or refreshments (for we may believe, that the Vice-king carried all away with him) he came at length to a Province called Nabanea, where he stay'd to refresh his men, who were much tired and harasted with their hard marches in want of all things necessary, to that here they gave

over the pursuit of the Enemy, who were so far advanced before them, that it was impossible to overtake them. And having refreshed his men in Arabuaca as well as he could, he marched away in good order by the fame way that the Vice. king had paffed; where in the way they picked up some of the Vice-king's king had patied; where in the way they picked up tome of the Vice-king's people, who were tired, and not able, by weakness to follow his Camp, and others, who out of some discontent had deferted his Party: but as to the Vice-king, with such as were with him, he pursued his march towards the City of Quitn, which is situated in a Countrey plentiful of all provisions for refreshment of his men, who were much tired and weakned for want of necessary Food. After some little repose and refreshment taken, Picarro continued his pursuit, though by his long flay he was far cast behind: howsoever as he passed he took several of the Vice-king's men, who lagged in the rere, which he refused to entertain in his fervice, either because he was suspicious of them, or because he had more men than provisions, and needed no additional forces against the weakness of his Enemy: but fuch as he took of them he fent away either to Truxillo, Los Reves or any other part, according to every man's choice; but men of note and quality he hanged up. The people who were thus permitted to return unto their homes. reported all things where they paffed in favour of the Vice-king, and in difparagement of *Pigarro*, whom they reprefented as cruel and tyrannical; which most perfons believed, because they esteemed the cause of the Vice-king to be just and loyal: And whereas the people who refide in that Province are more defirous of news and changes than in other places, because they are Souldiers, which are idle. and give themselves to no business or employment, and therefore entertain discourses of State Affairs with much variety and pleasure in their talk: And on the contrary, Citizens and men of business are averse from the War, because they are haraffed therewith, and fubjected to the infolence of Souldiers, and though they intermeddle not in Affairs, yet they are liable upon every little occasion to be questioned by him who Governs, and be put to death, that their Estates being conficated he may gratifie his Followers and Faction with them; and therefore having these fears, every one talked and discoursed of news. These rumours were so common and loud that they came to the ears of Pigarro and his Rulers in their respective Jurisdictions; to suppress which reports in all places, and more especially at Los Reyes, where the greatest confluence of people was, many were hanged by Warrant from an ordinary Justice, called Pedro Martin de Cicilia, who was very zealous in the cause of Gonçalo Pigarro and for the success of his Affairs. For as to Lorenço de Aldana, who was his chief Deputy there, he was cautious and wary how he intermeddled in matters, for which he might be called into question in case the tide of Affairs should turn; but behaved himself with that moderation as prevented the effusion of bloud, and confiscation of Estates; and for the whole time of his Government he kept things in such order, that, though he acted by Commission under *Pigarro*, yet, he never did any thing partial or against Law in his sayour, but rather protected those who were inclined to the Vice king's Party; who being fenfible of his favour, flocked from other Provinces to take refuge under him; of which the Zealots for Pigarro taking particular notice, especially the High Constable of the City called Christopher de Burgos testified great displeasure thereupon; for which Lorengo de Aldana severely reproved him, and gave him very hard words publickly before the people, and on farther provocation clapt him into Prison. Of all which, though Gonçalo Pigarro received certain intelligence, yet, he diffembled the matter, judging that, being far diffant, it would not be convenient to revoke his Commission, because he was strong in Souldiers, which were with him, and had gained the affections and good will of the people in that City. Thus far are the words of Augustine Carate.

Yyyy 2 CHAP.

Gonçalo Piçarro still continuing to pursue the Vice-king, both Armies sustain great famine and hardship in their march. The violent death of the Vice-king's Major Goneral and Captains.

Oncalo Bicarro still continuing to pursue the Vice-king, resolved totally to defeat his whole Force; and accordingly, for better expedition, detached about fifty felect Horsemen under the command of Francisco de Carvajal, to fall in upon the rere of the Enemy, whilst himself followed the main body of the Army. On the other fide, he fent Orders to Hernando Bachicao, who was then on the Coast, to leave his Ships at Timpiz under a good Guard, and to match with what Forces he had, to join with his at Quiu. And having given these Ordershe continued the pursuit, giving courage and spirit to Carvajal; who knew that he should be well seconded in a very short time. In the mean time the Vice king encouraged his people, and having marched eight Leagues in one day, they difforfed themselves to rest, supposing that they were got far out of the reach of their Enemies; but Francisco de Carvajal who slept not, sell into their quarters about four hours in the night; and gave them the first allarum with his own Trumpet.

The Vice-king immediately arose, and rallying his people together as well as he could, drew them into a posture of defence, and so marched away: Carvajal following close upon their heels, took some of the Foot, who lagged in the rerebut so soon as it was day, that they could take a view of each other, the Vicewing perceiving the small number, drew out his men to give them battel, and divided his Body, consisting of a hundred and fifty men, into two divisions or squadrons: but Carvajal, not being willing to engage on such disadvantages, sounded a Retreat: upon which the Vice-king drew off his men, and proceeded on his march; but, alas! with little comfort, for his men were perishing with travail and famine, and their Horses so faint for want of grass and provender, that they were not fit for a march: wherefore the Vice-king, commiferating the condition of his men, told them, that if any one of them were defirous to remain behind, he freely gave them their discharge, but not a man of them accepted thereof, but faid, that they would rather die with him, than defert him: fo they marched day and night without fleep, or repose, or sustenance, or any refreshment. In the mean time intelligence was given to Gonçalo Pigarro of what had paffed between the Vice-king and Carvajal; of which some who were Enemies to Carvajal made use, to disparage his Conduct, saying, that it was in his power to have deseated the whole force of the Enemy at that time, having surprized them as they were fleeping and at rest: and I find that some Historians object this matter against him as a point of neglect: but I, who knew the person of the man, am of another opinion, and have heard from many well experienced in the War, that fince the time of Julius Cafar, there hath not been a greater Souldier than he, the truth is, and so all Historians report, that the Vice king being a hundred and fifty to fifty, that is, three to one, it was prudence in him not to adventure on fuch a disadvantageous undertaking, but rather to make a Bridge of Silver for desperate men to escape over. Moreover some say he had no Commission to engage, or to hazard his men; but in military matters it is hard to cenfure great Captains, who better understand the secret of their affairs than Strangers can do. Howsoever the matter was, Gonçalo Piçarro reinforced him with two hundred men more, which he fent under the command of *Licencindo Carvajal*, by which auxiliary force they allarum'd and purfued the Vice-king untill he came to the Province, and people called Ayahuaca, feizing every day fome of their Men, Horfes and Baggage for that by the time he came to *Ayabunca*, he had fearce eighty Men remaining of all his number; howfoever he proceeded forward to *Quiu*, where he hoped to find Provision for his Men. In the like straits also was the Army of *Piçarro*,

Воок IV. Royal Commentaries.

who being almost famished with hunger, were forced to kill and eat their Horses for want of fustenance, and indeed were in greater necessities than the Vice-king's Souldiers, because Blasco Numez, wheresoever he came, destroyed every thing which he thought might be of benefit to the Enemy which followed him. In this purfuit, the principal that were taken, were put to death by Carvajal; namely Montora an Inhabitant of Piura, Brizenno of Puerto, Velejo, Raphael Vela, and one Baltacar. And farther to re-inforce Carvajal, fixty Horse were sent under the command of Captain John Acosta, consisting of the most select and choice Souldiers that were in his Army, by which the Vice-king was fraitned to the laft extremity; which Diego Fernandez, in the fourty first Chapter of his Book, expresses

Thus did the Vice-king, fays he, march day and night with the small remainder of his Forces; and finding no other provisions in many places, than onely a few Herbs and Roots, did often, in despair and sury, curse the Countrey and the day in which he entred into it; and the people who were fent to him from Spain, that had so basely deserted and betrayed him: but John de Acosta, who was lately come, and his Men fresh pressed him so hard, that he came close to him a little before his arrival at his quarters of Calva; where coming fomething late, and having marched hard, he thought he had time enough to take fome little repose. But marched hard, he thought he had time enough to take fome little repote. But fold de Acoffa beating up his quarters about break of day, fell upon the Front with fuch a furprize, that he took many of their Men and Baggage, onely the Viceking had time to make his escape with about seventy of his best Horse. After which John de Acoffa made a retreat, and returned to the main Body, supposing that there was little more to be done upon the Enemy. By which means the poor Vice-king tyred and familhed came to the Province and his quarters in Calva. And in regard two of his Captains, namely, Jeronimo de la Serna and Galpar Giladvanced with their Companies and Colours before him, he fanfied that they went with intention to possess a certain pass on the way; which when he was at Pinra, he had fent before, and caused to be made of Timber with great labour. upon a thick rock hanging over a river near Jambo Blanco in the Province of Ambaa; which being broken down would require some time to repair; and having and a fulficion that these Men went before to possess the resolvent to prevent them by such a piece of service to reconcile themselves with Picarro; he resolved to prevent them by taking away their lives, and accordingly he put it in execution, causing their throats to be cut during the little space of leiture which the Enemy had given him: fo that now marching with a little more ease and security than before, he came at length to Tomebamba; where having taken up his quarters, he executed another piece of cruelty on his Major General Rodrigo de Ocampo; for though untill that time he had esteemed him to be his intimate and fast friend; yet the like melancholy fancy of suspicion and jealousie entering into his head, as did of the other two Captains, he incurred the same destiny as they did, though they had followed and attended him in all his misfortunes.

The death of these persons caused various Discourses and Judgements in Peru. fome condemning, and others excufing the Vice-king therein. From Tomebamba Blago Numes, proceeded till he came to Quin, without interruption, and without that want and scarcity under which he formerly laboured. And having in his way to Quitu received informations against Francisco de Olmos, that he and others who came from Puerto Viejo had been the Authours of falle reports, to the differvice of his Majesty; he no sooner came to the City, but he examined the truth of those informations which were brought against those who came from Puerto Viejo; the which being proved, he confulted the matter with Licenciado Alvarez, and then immediately executed Justice upon them, cutting off the heads of some, and hanging others, under the Notion of Traytors to the King; amongst those who suffered were Alvaro de Carvajal, Captain Hojeda and Gomez Estacio: but upon far ther proof of the innocence of Francisco de Olmos, he spared his life. Thus far is related by Diego Fernandez Palemino: but Lopez de Gomarra, in chap. 168. writing of the death of those Captains, gives us this account, which is extracted verbation

out of his Book in these words.

Picarro fent John de Acoffa with fixty light Horsemen in pursuit of Blasco Numez, to engage him, or force him to a halty retreat, accordingly he marched to Tomebamba with fear and trouble, and in want of all things: and having a suspicion, that Jeronimo de Li Serna and Gaspar Gil, who were two Captains of his, kept a

private

private correspondence with Piçarro, he caused them to be run through with a Lance: though it is said for certain, that they were not guilty, at least Piçarro never received Letters from them: and about the same time also, and upon the like sufficion he caused Radrigo de Ocampo to be stabbed with a Dagger; though he was innocent of that Treason of which he was suspected; and in reality deserved highly from him, having adhered saithfully to him in all his Troubles: And being come to Quin, he gave Orders to Licenciado Alvarez to hang up Gomez Estacio and Alvaro de Carvajal, who were Citizens of Gnayaquis, pretending that they had a Conspiracy to take away his life, e.yc. Thus far Gomara.

This great effusion of Bloud and Slaughter gave much cause of offence to the people of *Peru*, who every where spoke against the Vice-king and his Cause; saying, that he was not a man to be dealt with, who thus upon every light occasion, or the least suspicion could put men to death; and therefore many fell off from his party, and denyed him the affistence they otherwise designed him, for

fear of incurring the like fate with others.

But now, leaving the Vice-king in *Quiti*, and *Gonçalo Piçarro* in purfuit of him, we shall relate the successes of those Affairs which passed in the Kingdom of *Quitin*, with what happened in the Province of the *Charcus*, which are Countreysabove seven hundred Léagues distant each from the other, and are the utmost confines of *Peru*: which is wonderfull to consider that these quarrels should extend so far, as to insuedce Affairs at so far a distance.

#### CHAP. XXVII.

The death of Francisco de Almendras. The Insurression of Diego Centeno. The Opposition which Alonso de Toro made against it: and the defeat he gave him.

E have already mentioned, how that many of the Inhabitants of the City of Plate, whom the Vice-king had summoned to come in to his affiltence. were actually on their way to him, but hearing of his Imprisonment, they returned to their own homes. We have also said, That Gonçalo Piçarro had sent Francisco de Almendras with Commission to be his Deputy; knowing him to be a person truely zealous and affectionate to his Cause; and indeed he shewed himfelf really to to be; for having information, that a principal Gentleman of that place called Don Gomez de Luna, should say in his house, that it was impossible, but that one day the Emperour would reign in Peru, he presently took him, and clapt him up in the common prison, with a strong Guard upon him: but the Corporation of the City made feveral Addresses in his behalf which were rejected by Francisco de Almendras; with some kind of ill language, which a certain person taking notice of, boldly replyed, that if he would not release him, they would: at which Almendras though highly offended, concealed his displeasure for a while; and at midnight, went in person to the prison, and there strangled Don Gomez, and drawing his body to the Market-place, cut off his Head, and there left the Corple: The Inhabitants were so greatly offended hereat, as Carate in the 5th Chap. of his 20th Book relates, that the fense thereof was general, and esteemed to be a common concernment; and particularly one called Diego Centeno; who was a Native of the City. Rodrigo took it much to heart, having had a particular friendship for Gomez. And though this Centeno followed the party of Pigarro when he made his first Insurection, and followed him from Cozco to Los Reyes, having great interest in the Army, and a Plenipotentiary for the Province of the Charcas: yet afterwards, discovering the evil defigns and intentions of Picarro, he obtained leave from him to return to his own estate, and his Command over Indians, where he quietly resided untill fuch time as this unhappy death of Gomez fell out, which first moved him to use the best means he was able to free the Lives and Estates of that people from the oppression and tyranny of Francisco de Almendras: in order whereunto he communicated his defign to the principal Inhabitants of that Countrey, namely, Lape

de Mendoga, Alonfo Perez de Efquivel, Alonfo de Camargo, Hernan Nunnez de Sagura. Love de Mendiera, John Ortiz de Carate his Brother, with other persons in whom he reposed a confidence; who being assembled together, they agreed that the oneby way was to kill Francisco de Almendras, which accordingly they put in execution one Sunday morning at his own house, stabbing him in divers places just as he was going forth to hear Mass; and being not quite dead, they drew him out into the Market-place, and there cut off his Head. Nor was there much fear that any great turnult would follow hereupon amongst the people, because Almendras was generally hated and ill spoken of in all parts. In his place Diego Centeno was named Captain General, who also gave Commissions to several other Captains both of Horse and Foot, and with great diligence raised Men, and provided Arms and other things necessary for War; and to hinder all intelligence from coming to the Enemy, he fet Watches and Guards upon the ways. And moreover he fent Lope de Mendoça to Arequepa, to seize, if possible, upon Pedro de Fuentes, who remained there with Character of Lieutenant Governour to Gonçalo Pigarro: but this matter was not carried to covertly, but de Fuentes received timely Advices thereof, by means of the Indians who were in the Charcas, upon which he abandoned the City, and Lope de Mendoça entred therein and possessed himself of the People, Arms, Horses, with what Money he could find; and so he returned to ioun with Diego Centeno, who was then at the Villa de Plata, and there they made up a Body of two hundred and fifty Men well armed and appointed in all respects. And being now affembled together, Diego Centeno made them a long Discourse of all matters which had passed from the beginning of the Troubles untill that time; he condemned the proceedings of Gonçalo Piçarro, putting them in mind of the many Slaughters he was guilty, and of the Bloud he spile of those who pretended to doe fervice to the King: and now by menaces and force of Arms he had caused himself to be styled Governour of that Empire, and that he had possesfed himfelf not onely of his Majesty's revenue, but of the Estates of particular Men, from whom he had taken away their Indian plantations, and appropriated them to himself; and that he had encouraged men to speak things in derogation of his Majesty's Authority; to which he added many other things, which he objected against Picarro: and in the conclusion he put them in mind of the duty which good Subjects ought to bear towards their Prince, and the danger of denying their allegiance: the which reasons Diego Centeno urged to home that the people unanimously agreed thereunto, and frankly offered re follow his Commands in what enterprize soever he should employ them.

And to keep this matter the more fecret, care was taken to intercept all correspondences and intelligence which might pass by the way to Cozco, untill such time as he had made his full recruit of Men, Horse, Powder, and other ammuinition for War; and yet notwithstanding all this care and caution, it was imposfible to hinder or obstruct the intelligence which by means of the Indian Messengers was dispatched to Cozco; and a hundred Leagues farther to the Northward toward Los Reyes; though Alonso de Toro who was an Officer belonging to Gonçalo Pigarro did all that he was able to intercept Advices; and to that end had fent a hundred Men to possess the pass and obstruct all intelligence, and the passage of the Vice-king towards Cozco. And here it was that Alonfo de Toro received the first news of the Insurrection of Diego Centeno and the death of Francisco de Almendru; together with the number of Men, and Herfe, and Ammunition; and all other matters which untill that time had paffed; which the *Indians* in a particular manner related to him. So foon as *Alonfo de Toro* received these informations he immediately repaired to Cozco, where having levied Men, he persuaded the Citizens and Governours of the City to engage themselves in the Cause of Picarro against Diego Centeno; telling them, that with the help and affistence of those Souldiers, Horse and Arms, which were then in the City, he intended to go forth and fight him: And moreover to justifie the righteousness of his Cause, he told them that this Diego Centeno was a mere Impostor, who had no right, nor title, nor authority on his fide; and that being moved onely by his own interest and private advantage with colour and pretence of his Majesty's service, had inveigled many people to follow his Colours; whenas in reality Gonçalo Pigarro was the onely true and lawfull Governour of those Kingdoms; intending to keep them in quietness, and peace, and safety, untill such time onely as that his Majesty should declare his fense and pleasure in these matters: and therefore that the Insurrection

made

BOOK IV.

made by Diego Centeno was not to be justified, but rather opposed by all good men who wished well to the publick peace and security of the people. And moreover, to inflifie the Cause of Pigarro, he admonished them to call to mind the Merits of Gonçalo Piçarro, and the good Services he had done for all the peo-ple and Souldiers of the Empire, by refcuing them from the execution of those new Laws and Regulations which would have proved their ruine; to perform which he had adventured and exposed his person to the greatest dangers, for no other reason, than for the publick benefit and welfare of the people. For it was manifest to all the World, that if the late new Statutes and Regulations had raken place, no Inhabitant could have enjoyed any Efface, and so have been diff abled from quartering Souldiers, and confequently they could never have fisher. fled to that both one and the other had obligations on them to favour the Cause and Interest of Picarro: for as to what concerned himself, he had never opposed his Majesty's Laws and Commands; but in way of a Supplicant went with his Petition to the Vice-king; but before he could come to him, finding him to be imprisoned and banished by processes from the Court of Judicature, he conceived he might justly set up his own title to be Governour during that vacancy. And in case he did at any time act against the Vice-king, it was by order and warrant from the Royal Court of Justice; an evidence whereof they might fee before their eyes, if they were pleased to cast them on Licenciado Cepeda then present with Pigarro, and was the most ancient Judge of that Court. Nor ought there to be any question, whether the Judges, as the case then stood. were able to confer this Power upon him or not; and if the matter be doubtfull, men ought to expect his Majefty's determination therein; and in the mean time acquiefce in the Government of *Piçarro*, who hath given fufficient proofs of his great abilities to support the burthen of to important a Charge, which he may justly challenge upon the score and merit of his brothers and himself, who have gained the Empire with great labours and hazards of their lives; and indeed none feems more fit and proper for that emploiment than himfelf who is acquainted with the Merits of all the Adventurers with him in the Conquest; and accordingly knows in what manner to reward and gratifie every man according to his deferts; which is impossible for others to doe, who are Strangers, and newly come from Spain.

With this and further of reasoning, delivered in his fierce and angry manner of expression, he cause himself to be obeyed; for none daring to oppose or contradict him, they all inclined to join with him against Diego Centeno. Thus did Alonfo de Toro raise Forces and appoint Captains over them, and to mount his Men he took all the Horses in the City which belonged to persons that were aged and infirm; fo that in a short time he had gathered almost three hundred Men indiffer rently well armed; and with them marched about fix Leagues from Cozco towards. the Southward: where he remained for the space of twenty days for want of Intelligence of the Enemy's motion; at length, being impatient, and fearing that he loft his time, he marched forwards, and came within twelve leagues of the place, where Diego Centeno was quartered, who having divided his Forces into two parts, made a retreat; howfoever Messengers with Propositions and Articles of peace paffed between both Parties with intention if possible to bring matters to an accommodation, but it foon appeared how great the difference was, and what little hopes of composition by the peaceable way of Treaty.

Wherefore Alonso de Toro proceeded with intent to give battel to the Enemy: but Diego Centeno and his Officers thought it not prudence to adventure fo confiderable a stake, and a matter of that high moment, wherein his Majesty's service was concerned to be decided by fuch a doubtfull event; for if they were worfted, they should be irrecoverably lost; wherefore making a retreat, and marching away, they laded whole droves of Sheep with provitions of the Countrey, and taking with them the Curacas, or Lords, of the Countrey, they left all parts behind them defolate, and without provisions or inhabitants, for the distance of above fourty leagues round. Howfoever Alonfo de Toro pursued after them, as fat as to the City of Plate, which is distant at least a hundred and eighty leagues from Cozco: but finding the Countries entirely dispeopled, without sustenance or food, by reason that the Curacas had caused all their Subjects to attend them on the part of Centeno, and not being able to fullain themselves longer; they resolved to return back again to Cocco; in which march Allonfo de Toro was to lead the Van with fifty Horse, and Alonso de Mendoça was to bring up the Rere, and to cover the main Body in case they should be attacked by Diego Centeno, and in this order they marched to Cosco, where they all mer.

#### CHAP. XXVIII.

Diego Centeno pursues after Alonso de Toro: great Tealousies and Fears arise in the City of Los Reves. Lorenco de Aldana pacifies and suppresses them. Gonçalo Picarro sends his Major General Francisco de Carvajal into the Charcas: with what happened in his way thither.

THE return of Alonfo de Toro towards Cozco was speedily made known to Die-1 go Centerio by the intelligence which the Indians brought him; at which he much admired; and conceived that this fudden turn from his late pursuit and division of his Forces into three parts must necessarily be caused by some extreme want, defect or inability amongst his people, in considence whereof he detached fifty of his best and lightest Horse under the command of Captain Lope de Mendoga, to purfue the Enemy, and take up the straglers, and such as remained in the Rere. And accordingly Mendoga had the fortune to overtake about fifty Horsemen of them who were in the fecond detachment, all which he difmounted, and took their Horses and Arms from them; though afterwards he restored them atook their entries and Arms from them; though anterwards he reacted them again, upon promife to take their fide and join with them; which good fluces was obtained during the time that Alonfo de Mendoga continued in the City of Plate. Some Historians who favoured the Caule of Alonfo de Tuvo, say that he hanged several of them, though the number is not specified. After which Lope de Mandoga returned again, to fet upon Alonfo de Mendoga, for as yet he had not quicted the City of Plate; but he having received advice of the late success, took another way, and so avoided him: in the mean time Diego Centeno coming to the City of Places it was agreed to continue there for fome time, that the people might have an opportunity to come in to them, and make provision of Arms and nerefferies of which they stood in need. The unexpected return of Alonso de Tora to Caco surprized all the City with great amazement; and the rather, because no just cause or reason appeared for such a disorderly retreat, which had given courage to the Enemy, that was low, and a little before weak and affiselized, to become bold and daring, and to make an attack upon them. All these successes were particularly known and discoursed at Los Ropes, and in regard there were people of both parties in that place, and such as fayouted the tide of the Vice king talked publickly, that they would goe forth and join with Piego Centeno: to all which Lorengo de Aldana seeming to give little regard, or to punish or suppress such who gave out these Discourses, Gonzalo Picarro concluded that he was one of that Plot, and a Ringleader of that Faction.

With these apprehensions several persons went to Gençalo Picarro, and gave him an account how freely people discoursed of his Affairs: but when News came of the deseat of the Vice-king, and his straitned and unhappy condition, the hearts of that Party who declared for him began to sink, and the Faction of Picarro to tile and take courage; so that the principal Inhabitants of, that Sity thought they wish the courage. might not fafely make their Complaints to Lorgo de Aldana against certain ill-affected persons who daily uttered seditious words and reports, to the disturbance of the City; whom they offered particularly to name, and bring their informations against them; to the end that they might be punished by death or banishment, as their Crimes descrived; to which Lorengo de Aldane gave for answer, that he was not informed of those matters before, but that now he would severely pu-

nish them, as the Law did direct.

The Informers, encouraged with this Answer, feifed upon fifteen persons, and brought them before the Chief Justice Peter Martin de Cecilia, otherwise called Day Benito, for he was called by both those names, who would have put them on the wrack, and passed sentence of condemnation on the least word of confession, so wrack, and pailed lentence of condemnation on the leaft word of confession, so passionately zealous he was for the Cause of Pigarro, but Lorenço de Aldana, who was a Man of much more moderation, freed them from his hands, and sent them to his own Lodgings, on pretence of safer custody, where having allowed them all things necessary, he afterwards, under pretence of banishment, conveighed them away upon a Ship which he had provided for them; and under the Seal of fecrecy gave them affurances of his good intentions, to which they formerly had not been strangers. But the Party of Pigarro was not contented with this easie way of punishment, but rather highly offended thereat; and therefore represented Lorenco de Aldana unto Picarro, as a person inclined to the contrary Party: but Picarro feemed not willing to give ear thereunto, either because he would not believe him to be other than his friend; or that being so far distant from him as Quitn, thought it imprudent to manifest his displeasure and resentments against a person so well beloved and generally esteemed by the people. By this time the News of the Infurrection of Diego Centeno, with what had fucceeded in the Charge was come to the knowledge of Gonçalo Picarro, who conceived it a matter of high importance, and of a more dangerous consequence than the troubles at Los Reiss and therefore after confultation held with his Officers, he gave an immediate Commission to Frantisco Carbajal to go and suppress those commotions; in which refo lution the generality of all the Officers concurred, as being the most brave and most experienced Captain of the Army; though in reality, being weary of his un-easie reinper they were definous to be rid of him; that they might have the greater hand in the rule of affairs! Thus Carvajal with a select number onely of then ev) Horse in whom he reposed the greatest confidence departed from the Confines of Quitu, and carrie to St. Michael's, where outwardly he was received with high demonstrations of honour and respect from the People. Howsoever he took fix of the Chief Governours, and having severely reproved them for their perfidy and falleness to Godçalo Pigarro, and for their affection and zeal to the Vice king; he told them that he refolved once to put all their City to fire, and food, and not to leave one Man, Woman or Child alive therein: but confidering that this was not an act of the generality or of the common people, but onely of those who were their Heads and Rulers; he therefore refolved to punish the fault and crime in them, whom he esteemed to be the principal Instruments; and having ordered them to make their Confession to the Priest, he caused one of them, who was a Clerk, and had fealed the Warrants and Orders which the Vice-king had fent abroad to be executed, but the others, by the earnest Addresses and Solicitations of their Wives and other Relations escaped, and by the Prayers of Friars and Priests who eatnestly interceded in their favour, obtained their pardon: howfoever he banished them from the Province, conficated their Indians, and fined them in four thousand pieces of Eight a piece; thence he marched to Truxillo gathering in his way all the Men and Money he was able : he laid Taxes on the people, and gathered them in halte, and then he passed to Los Reyes, where he formed a Body of above two hundred Men, and took the road to Cozco by way of the defart, and being come to Huamanca, as some Authours say, he brought that place under Tribute, and made them pay the Impositions which he laid upon them.

Whilft these Matters were in agitation, there were designs plotting in Los Ross to take away the Life of Lorenço de Aldama: for at that time people were so uncafee and unquiet, that upon every small occasion they were ready to sly into a mutiny, and conspire against their Governours, for which the principal Authous were put to death. And this was the third Plot which was contrived in Los Ross, which ended with the death of three or sour of the chief Conspiratours, and of three or six more than in Huamanca, with Francisco de Carvajal, who being accused by those in Los Ross, were upon their consession put to death. It was in Huamanca also where Carvajal received the News of the retreat of Diego Centeno, and the Attacques which Alonso de Toro had made upon him, and that he was returned victorious to Cocco: upon which intelligence Carvajal thought it not necessary to proceed sarther; considering that Diego Centeno was retired: for which cause, and because he was not willing to meet with Alonso de Toro, he resolved to return to Los

Recei. and the rather, because these two great men were at odds, on occasion that Goncalo Picarro had taken from Alonso de Toro his Office of Major-General, and conferred it on Francisco de Carvajal, on pretence that the other was sickly and infirm which rendred him uncapable of that Charge; but Carvajal was fearce come to Los Rever before the news overtook him that Diego Centeno had passed the Mountains in pursuit of Alonfo de Toro, and that he had taken fifty of his men Prisoners, and that they had revolted and taken up Arms on the Enemy's fide, and that Alonso de Mendoca was retreated another way: upon this intelligence he refolved to turn against Diego Centeno, as he accordingly did, and took his way by Arequepa to avoid meeting with Alonso de Toro: notwithstanding which both Alonso de Toro and the Government of Cocco receiving advices thereof, wrote a joint Letter to Carwind, desiring him to take Corco in his way, for that it would seem a disparagement to that City, (which was the Head of that Empire) to be neglected, and that his Forces designed against Diego Centeno should seem to issue out of Arquepa than from Cozco. Carvajal consented to their desire, rather from hopes of increafing and augmenting his Forces in that City than a defire of compliance with their request; and so hastning to Cozco, he, and Alonso de Toro had a meeting with unkind looks and jealousies each of other, though outwardly and in publick their enmities were not manifested: howsoever the day following Carvajal took four of the Citizens of Cozco, and without any intimation thereof to Alonfo de Toro, hanged them up, which ferved to foment the quarrel and differences which were between them. And now Carvajal having increased his numbers to three hundred men, all well armed and appointed, one hundred of which were Horse, and the rest Foot, he marched with them to Collago, where Diego Centeno was quartered and being come within ten leagues thereof, Centeno grounding an opinion on a report, that the Souldiers of Carvajal were discontented and would not fight but revolt to his fide; took an affirmace one night with a Party of eighty men to beat up the quarters of Carvajal, and accordingly came so near that they could hear one another speak: but he soon found himself deceived, for Carvajal put himself in fo good a posture to receive him, that every person was in order of Battel, nor were the discontents amongst the Souldiery so great as were reported; for otherwife it had been impossible for one single Man to have contained three hundred in due obedience to him.

Howfoever it is most certain, as all Authours agree, that Carvajal was ill beloved by the generality, for he was very ill-natured and severe rowards his Souldiers, paid them ill, and perhaps with nothing but bad words, and worse performances; but howfoever the story goes, it is strange that he should perform such great actions with men so much discontented, and who had evil wills and inclinations towards him. It is certain that he was very cruel in his own nature, but not to those of his own Party; but to such as were Traitours, and revolted from his to the contrary Party, like the Weaver's Shuttle from one side to the other; for which reason they were called Weavers: but we shall speak more at large hereafter of Carvajal, who most certainly was a very brave Souldier, having been bred up under that great Captain Gongalo Fernandez de Cordona, Duke of Sesa, and other renowned Commanders of those times: but as to Diego Centeno, he perceiving that matters did not succeed according to his expectation, made his retreat in good order, and still defended himself with some loss, untill by degrees his Forces be-

ing diminished, he was totally defeated.

Zzzz 2 CHAP.

#### XXIX. CHAP.

Carvaial continues his pursuit after Diego Centeno. A Arange piece of Cruelty committed by him upon a Souldier and a trick which another plaid upon him.

SO foon as it was day Garvajal purfued the Enemy with his Foot drawn up in form of Battel, the Horse advancing before to fall on them in the Rere: but Diego Centeno made his retreat good, and the night following, and for three or four Diego Centerso made inspected good, and the ingirt following, and for three or four nights following he continually alarm'd Carvajal, in expectation that some parties would fall off from the Enemy and revole unto him; but finding his hopes deceived in that point, he got his Forces into fast places, and acted on the defensive part; and at length began to march away with all speed, twelve, thirteen and fometimes fifteen leagues a day: and as fome Authours report, he fent away his Baggage before, and what else was cumbersome, whilst he with a select number of men well armed marched in the Rere. Howfoever the Enemy purfued to close after them, that notwithstanding the long marches which Diego Centeno took, they scarce lost fight of them; for about two dozen of Pikes which marched always in the Front, did continually gall them, untill at length they were utterly destroyed whenfoever Diego Centeno came to any narrow Pass, he then made a stop and faced the Enemy, and maintained it for three or four days, untill the Baggage and what soever was cumbersome had advanced twenty leagues before, and then he would follow with all hafte to overtake them, and when he was come up to his Comma. nions, they would all fay, We wish to God that he would give a stop to the proceedings of this Tyrant, that we might take a little repose for two or three days: that in the mean time we might advance twenty leagues before him: but so hot a pursuit did they make after them (as I have heard from feveral of Diego Centeno's own people,) that they had scarce taken five or fix hours of repose and rest, before they espied a stand of Pikes still following with such diligence as if not men but the Devil had driven them; upon appearance of which they instantly put themselves upon the march, whilst Diego Centeno himself faced the Enemy and covered the Rere. It happened one day that Diego Centeno and his Companions maintained a narrow Fafs, which was fomething rocky, for the space of above half a day together, until such time as night caused both parties to retire; during which time one of that Company, who was mounted on a Mare, whose name I have forgotten, alighted from his Beaft, and with his Gun went to a Rock, on the fide of which taking a ftay for the better affurance of his shot, he fired at the Enemy, and did the execution to kill a Horse by the fide of Carvajal; which being done, the poor man returned to take his Mare, trufting to her Leggs, that with her swiftness he should both escape the Enemy and overtake his own Party; but when he came to feek his Mare where he had tyed her, the had broke her Bridle and was gone, having been affrighted with the report of the Gun and the noise of the Horses which passed by her, so that the poor man falling into the hands of Carvajal's Souldiers, they took him and presented him to their Commander, who being wearied with the pursuit, and angry at the resistence which was made, and more incensed at the particular action of this Souldier, he resolved to put him to a lingring death, and in order thereunto he stripped him naked, and tied his Arms and Feet and threw him into a hollow Pit to die with cold; for the colds in that Countrey are so extreme, that the Indians take care to carry their Pots and Jarrs under covert and within the Walls of their Houses by night, for otherwise they would crack and burst with the intenseness of the Frosts. To this miserable torture was this poor Wretch exposed; crying out all night, lamenting and saying, is there no good Christian who hath so much mercy and compassion for me as so kill me, and rid me out of this miserable world, which will be such a piece of

charity as will be recompensed by bleffings from God.

Having passed the whole night with these sad lamentations, so soon as it was day, he was told, that Carvajal intended him that nights lodging for his punith-

ment, and then, extending his mercy to him, he caused him to be hanged; which I believe was the greatest piece of cruelty that he ever committed: after which he proceeded forward in his march. The Party of Diego Centeno, not being able to foliain tuch perpetual labours and tedious travels, began to faint and fail, as well Horse as Foot, so that several of them sell into the hands of Carvajal; such as were principal men of note he put to death, without pardon or mercy to any one of them, but as to the meaner fort, he spared them at the intercession of his own Souldiers. But here we must not omit the relation of a trick or jest, which, at this time, and in the midft of this pursuit, a certain Souldier put upon Carvaial, as many had already done during this War. It happened that many poor Soul-diers went to Carvajat and complained, that during all the time that they had ferved under him, and had marched fo many leagues on foot without shoes or stockings in service of their Lord the Governour, he had never taken care to provide them with things necessary and convenient for them; upon which Carvaid supblied many of them with Horses, Arms, Clothes, and Money so far as he was able. The which gave encouragement to many of the Souldiers to be faithfull. and serve him to the end of the Wars; but others of looser principles made use of the Horses and Arms which he had given them to revolt to the other Party Amongst the rest there was a certain Souldier whom Carvajal had mounted on a Mare, and having an intention to revolt, he always came up in the Rere with his Mare, fill making his boafts and bravadoes, what he would doe, and how forward he would be, if he were well mounted. Carvajat being troubled to hear these constant vapours and sayings of the Souldier, changed his Mare, and in place thereof gave him an excellent Mule, and told him, look to it now, Gentleman Suddier, for I have mounted you the best of any man in this Troop; here, Sir, faid he, take her and complain no more of me, for I swear by the Life of our Govemour, that unless you advance to morrow by break of day twelve leagues beforeus. I will pay you off according to your deferts. The Souldier received the Mule, and heard the threats, but to avoid the effects of them, he took another way, and travelled that night before Sun-rifing eleven leagues. About which time meeting with a Souldier of his acquaintance, who went to feek for Cavajal, he faid to him, pray recommend me to my Colonel, and tell him, that though I have not been able this night to travel twelve leagues, yet I have travelled eleven of them, and hope before noon to reach the full twelve, and four more, The Souldier not knowing that the other was fled, but supposing he was fent by him upon some Message with haste and diligence, told Carnajal what the Souldier had faid to him; but Carvajal was more athamed of this fecond cheat that was put upon him than angry at the unfaithfulness and treachery of the fellow; and in a passion said. These Weavers (for so he called all those who revolted from his to the King's Party ) had need to live in a state of Consession, and always prepared to ait, and to pardon me in case I make bold to hang as many of them as I can meet with; for I have no need of fuch Customers, who come and cheat me of my Horses and Arms, and when they are well provided and equipped, then to run from me and revolt to the Enemy. And as to the Priest's and Friars, they are but so many Spies, and such as come with a like design, It is fit for Friars and religious men to remain in their Churches and Cells, and like good men to pray for the peace of Christians, rather than under the sanctity of their Habits to that treacherous deligns: Let them look to it, for if they understand not the duty of their Prefession, let them not think it much, if I strip them of their Habits, and make hold to hing them: of which I have observed several examples in the Wars where I have been a

Royal Commentaries.

This did Carvajal utter with much passion and vehemence, and was as good as his word, as well to Friars as others, according to the report of all Historians: for fuch as he took who had revolted from him, he punished with the utmost cruelty and torment; but those who were onely Prisoners of War, and had kept their fide, he used well and with some kindness, endeavouring to bring them over to his own Party. And now we shall leave Carvajal in his pursuit of Diego Centeno, and return to Gonçalo Picarro who was also in the pursuit of the Vice-king at the same time, and almost in the same days.

726

#### CHAP. XXX.

Goncalo Picarro pursues the Vice-king so close that at length he drove him out of Peru. Pedro de Hinoiofa fails to Panama, with a Fleet of Ships belonging to Pi-

WE have before mentioned how that the Vice-king marched into Quitu, and that Picarro purfued him at the heels, though his Souldiers were not less weary, nor wanting of provisions than the others, but rather more, because the Vice-king marching before, carried away all the provisions of the Countrey wherefoever they came: howfoever to eager was Pigarro, and to much concerned to put an end to these labours, that he continued his pursuit day and night. BE Case rate reports in the twenty ninth Chapter of his fifth Book in these words:

Gonçalo Pigarro purfued the Vice-king from the City of St. Michael's (which was the place from whence he made his retreat,) as far as the City of Quita, which are an hundred and fifty leagues diffant from each other; and so hotly did he carry on this work, that there was fcarce a day but they fay each other, and the Scouts often discoursed together; and to be in greater readiness, their Horses remained always fadled: but if either Party was more vigilant than the other, it was the Viceking's, for his men flept always in their Clothes, holding their Horses by the Halter, without Tents or Horse-clothes to cover them; but necessity made them ingenious, and raught them a remedy, in that fandy Countrey where were no Trees to sheker them, which was this; So foon as they came to the place where they intended to quarter that night, they filled certain Baggs or Sacks, which they carried with them, with Sand, and having made a great hole they threw them in, and covered them with Sand, which they troad and trampled on and made it very firm, to that the Horses could lie thereupon with much ease. But besides all this, both Armies suffered much for want of provisions, and especially Picarro's men who came in the pursuit, for the Vice-king wheresoever he passed raited all the Indiana of the Countrey, and the Caciques or Governours, and took them with him, that fo the Enemy coming after, might find all places dispeopled and unprovided: and such was the great haste which the Vice king made that he took with him eight or ten of the best Horse which could be procured in that Countrey, which were led by Indians, and in case any of his Horses happened to be tired on the way he maimed or disabled him in such manner that the Enemy could make no use of him. And now in the way Captain Backicao returned from the Voyage which we formerly mentioned, and joyned with Gonçalo Picarro, bringing a recruit of three hundred and fifty Men, twenty Ships and good store of Cannon, and failing along the coast which is nearest to Quitu, he landed his Men in a place not far from the Forces of Picarro; with which additional auxiliaries Picarro's Army amounted to eight hundred men, of which many were principal persons of quality and note, as well Inhabitants as Souldiers, who came in with fuch frankness as no story can parallel under the Government of a Tyrant and an Usurper. In that Province all Provisions were very plentifull, and therein not long before they had discovered feveral rich Veins of Gold, out of which the Spaniards whose lots fell there, raifed vast suns, which they refused to yield to Pigarro, and also denied the fifths to his Majesty, or to be accountable for the Treasures of dead persons. And here it was that Pigarro received intelligence that the Vice-king was advanced forty leagues from Quita, and was entred into a certain Town called Pasto, within the Government of Benalcaçar: And here he resolved to pursue him to that place, which he accordingly did without delay or interruption; for Gonçalo Piçarro staid but very little in Quiu, and having overtaken the Enemy, several skirmishes happened between parties on each side in that place, which is called the Hot River. And the Vice-king having advice that Pigarro was near at hand, he quitted Paffo in great hafte, and marched up into the Countrey until he came to the City of Popayan, and Picarro having still pursued him for twenty eight leagues farther, where

finding a defart and defolate Country, and want of all provisions, he resolved to renirn again to Quitu; which he accordingly did, after he had purfued the Viceking for fo long a time, and through fuch a vast tract of Land, as is before men rioned: and we may confidently averr that from the City of Plate (from which he fift began his March) to the City of Pafto are seven hundred leagues, so long as may be computed to make a thousand of our ordinary leagues of Castile, &c.
Thus far are the words of Carate, to which other Historians add, That the Viceking having passed the River of Hot Waters, did imagine that his Enemies would have remained fatisfied therewith, and defifted from all farther pursuit, confidering that they had driven him out of Pern, and from the confines of their Jurisdiction. and that now he should remain in peace and quier, until some good opportunity should offer for his better advantage; but he had not long pleased himself with these thoughts, and scarce ended his discourse with his Captains concerning them. before some Parties of Picarro's Army appeared to them, descending a Hill towards the River, with the same haste and sury that they had formerly practifed: at which furprife, the Vice-king lifted up his hands to Heaven and cried aloud. and faid, Is it possible, or will it ever be believed in Ages to come, That men pretending to b Spaniards should pursue the Royal Standard of their King (as they have done) for the face of four hundred leagues, as it is from the City of Los Reyes to this place? and then raifing his Camp with speed, he proceeded forward that his Enemies might have no time to repose: but Picarro proceeded no farther, but, as we have said, returned to Quitu, where, as Carate reports, he became so elated with pride by reason of his many prosperous successes, that his insolence became insupportable, and then out of the fulness of his heart, he would vent many bold fayings derogatory to the honour and Majesty of his King: The King, said he, will be obliged whether he will or not to grant me the Government of Peru, for he is sensible of the obligations he hath to me for this Conquest: and though oftentimes he would pretend to great obedience and relignation to his Majefty's pleasure, yet at other times, he would let fall words seditions and rebellions; and at the instigation of his Captains, he publifled his reasons, setting forth his right and title to that Government. And being now fettled in the City of Quiru, he paffed his time in Festivals. Sports and Banquets, without minding the actions or proceedings of the Vice-king; onely the discourses amongst themselves were that he would go to Spain by way of Cartagena, others that he would pass up farther towards the Continent to raise Men and Arms, and there expect his Majesty's further Instructions; others were of opinion, that he would remain in the Countrey of Popaya untill he received new Orders; but it was generally believed that he would not flav long there, or artempt any thing in those parts: but be his design what it would, it was concluded necessary to obstruct his passage to the Continent; to which end Hernando Bathicao was remanded back again with his Fleet, of which Pedro de Hinojofa, Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, was made Admiral, with two hundred and fifty men under his command, who departed with all expedition. Moreover Rodrigo de Caroujal was dispatched with his Ship to Panama, with a Pacquet of Letters from Gongalo Picarro, desiring the Inhabitants of that City to savour his cause and defigns, affuring them, that whatever Spoils and Infolencies Bachicao had committed on them were contrary to his will and pleasure, and against his express command. Rodrigo de Carvajal arrived accordingly within three leagues of Panama, where he received intelligence that two Captains fent from the Vice-king were there, the one called John de Guzman, and the other John de Yllanez, who were raising Forces to carry to the Province of Belalcagar to recruit the Vice-king's Army therewith, and that they had already lifted about an hundred men, and had prepared good quantities of Arms, with five or fix pieces of Cannon. And though these men had been for some time in a readiness, they were not sent away; by reason that apprehending some attempts from Gonçalo Picarro, they thought fit to keep their people in referve till they saw the danger over. Howsoever Rodrigo de Carvajal adventured to fend a Souldier privately into the City with Letters to certain Citizens; who upon receipt thereof communicated them to the Officers of the Town, who feifed on the Souldier, and by him understanding the design of Hinowless, put the City into Arms, and fent two Brigantines to feife the Ship of Carvajal; but he suspecting some ill intention against him by reason of the long ablence of his Messenger, set sail from thence, and so the two Brigantines missing him returned back without fuccess. CHAP.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XXXI.

Pedro de Hinojosa takes Vela Nunnez in his voyage. The great Preparations which were made in Panama. And how those I roubles were appealed.

HE Governour of Panama, called Pedro de Cafaos, born at Seville, went in hafte to Nombre de Dios, where he raised all the Men he was able; with what Arms he could find both offensive and defensive, which he carried with him to Panama to oppose Pedro de Hinojosa: the like diligence was used by the two Cap. tains of Picarro, between whom and Pedro de Cafaos, though there had formerly rifen some Disputes and Contests about place or preserence, yet all agreed to chuse Casas for Commander in chief. Pedro de Hinoiosa having dispatched Radrigo de Carvajal, proceeded on his Voyage to Panama, enquiring along the Coast concerning the Vice-king: and in the River and Port of St. John he put some Men alhoar, to receive what Intelligence and News was there stirring, who took ten Spaniards, and brought them on board; by one of whom they were given to understand, that the Vice-king by reason of the long stay of two of his Caprains. John de Guzman and John de Yllanez in Panama, had fent also his Brother Vela New. nes thither to haften the Recruits, and to increase the numbers, he sent great sums of Money out of the King's Treasury, and delivered to him also the bastard Son of Gongale Pigarro, and that Vela Numer had fent a Souldier before to dif-cover what danger there was on the Coaft, whilft he remained a day's journey behind, upon which Intelligence, Himojofa fent two Captains with different Paries by feveral ways; both which had good fuccess; the first had the fortune to take Vela Nunnez; and the other Rodrigo Mexia, who was born in the City of Castin, and with whom was Gonçalo Picarro's Son; and both of them got great booty and riches; all which came very acceptable to Hinojof4, who was much pleafed with the taking of Vela Numes, who might oppose and prevent his delign in Panama: and with the rescue of the Son of Gongalo Picarro, whose freedom would be joyfull to his Father. And encouraged with this happy fuccels they failed toward Panama, and being near the Place, Rodrigo de Carvajal came forth to meet them, and gave them Intelligence of all Matters at Panama, and how the City was prepared to oppose them. Himpofa was rather pleased than discouraged with this News; and putting himself into a posture of War, sailed soward untill on a day in the month of October, which was in the year 1545, he came within such to the City of Panama with a Fleet of eleven sail of Ships and a hundred and fifty Men ahoard: upon this appearance the City was in great confer-nation; all Souldiers repaired to their Colours, and Pedro de Cafaos who was chief Officer, had above five hundred Men under his command; but the most of them were Merchants, and the Officers fuch unexperienced Men in the War, that few of them knew how to fire a Mulquet, and all of them unwilling to engage in fight, especially against Men coming from Peru, with whom having formerly been accostomed to deal in Trassick and Merchandize, it seemed strange to contend with them at any other Weapon. And moreover they confidered, that a great part of their Estates, and effects were in Peru, which would all be confiscated by Gongale Pigarre, in case they should appear in Arms, against his Forces. Howsover they formed and joined in several Bodies commanded by their respective Officers, the chief of which were first Pedro de Casaos, General; then Arisa de Aerbedo, who came afterwards over, and lived at Cordous, where at this time some of his Grandchildren inhabit: Other Captains and Officers were fobn Fernandez de Reboldo, Andrew de Arayza, with the Vice King's two Captains, John de Guzman and Jow de Tilanez, with several other Noble Persons then present, who resolved to de fend the City for the service of his Majesty; and others being affrighted with the late Outrages and Infults of Bachicae were inclined to preferve themselves from the like Tyrannies, which they leared from Himpola: but he, considering what fort of people he had to deal with, landed two hundred Men, all old and vete

rane Souldiers well appointed and armed, and fifty were left aboard, for defence of their Ships. And to he marched along the Coast, being flanked with his Cannon, carrying aboard the Boats belonging to the Ships, much to the approvance of the Enemy, in case they should make an affault upon them. He gave farther order aboard Ship, that fo foon as they thould come to an Engagement, that they should presently hang up Vela Numez and the other Prisoners which they had taken. Pedro de Casaos seeing the resolution of Pedro de Hinojosa, came out to meet him, with intention either to overcome or dye; and both Parties being come within Mulquet that each of other; all the Clergy-men and Friars came out of the City carrying a Wood of Croffes before them, which ferved for Banners and Colours, and being all clad in mourning with fadness in their countenances, cryed out with loud voices to Heaven and to the People for Peace and Concord amonest them; faying, Is it not a great shame and pity, that you who are Chriflians, and are come to preach the Gospel to Infidels, should imbrue your hands in the bloud of each other, to the common ruine and calamity of all. These words being uttered with great out-cries and exclamations, but both fides to a fland, and to look each on the other; untill the religious Troops interposed between both Parties, and began to treat of a Truce, and to create a right underflanding. Accordingly Hinoiofa fent in his behalf Don Balthafar de Caltilia. Son of Count de Gomera, and the People of Panama employed Don Pedro de Cabrera for their Agent, both Natives of Seville. It was pleaded in behalf of Hinojofa, that no reason could be given, why they should oppose his landing, or free admittance into the City: for that his meffage and business thither was to give satisfaction to the Inhabitants for the Tyrannies and Outrages which Bachicao had committed on them, and to buy Cloths and Provisions of them for their Money, and supply themselves with other necessaries for their Voyage. That they had received frict Commands and Orders from Gongalo Picarro, not to give them the leaft cause of offence, nor to fight, unless they were compelled thereunto: And that so soon as they had made their provisions, and re-fitted their Ships, they would speedily depart in quest of the Vice-king, and cause him to embark for Spain, according to the Sentence which the Judges had given concerning him: and thereby free the Countries from those fears and molestations which he had caused by rowling up and down in all quarters. And in regard he was not in Panama, they had no business which could detein them long there, and therefore they entreated them not to force them to an engagement with them; which according to the Command of Picarro they would avoid by all means possible; but in case they were forced to fight, they would then doe their best not to be overcome.

On the other fide it was alledged in behalf of the Governour Pedro de Casaos; that his entry into their Countrey in that hostile manner could not be justified, though it were given for granted that Gonçalo Piçarro had a right to the Governour. That Bachicao had given the same promites, and made as fair pretences as he did, and yet so soon as he had gotten possession, he then committed all those spoils and murthers for which they pretend now to give satisfaction. The Commissioners on both sides hearing these Allegations, and being desirous to make an accommodation, did agree that Hinojosa should be received alhoar, and have free admittance and entertainment in the City for the space of thirty days, with a guard of fifty Men for security of his person; that his Fleet, with the rest of his Souldiers should in the mean time sail to the Isles of Pearls, and take with them Ship carpenters, and cut such Timber as should be usefull for repair of their Vessies, and that at the end of thirty days they should return to Pern. These Articles being agreed unto by both Parties, they were confirmed by Oath, and Hosta-

ges given.

Pedro de Hinojosa accordingly came to the City with his fifty Men; where he took a house, and gave publick entertainment to all comers and goers; and his People sported and treated friendly and samiliarly with all the Inhabitants. Augustine de Carate, in the thirty second Chapter of his fifth Book, saith; for what we have farther to add in this matter is upon his Authority; That three days had scarce passed before all those Souldiers who had been raised by the Captains, so whose example the idle and vagrant persons of the City, who were not Merchants, and such as had no employment, listed themselves Souldiers with Hinosofa, intending for Peru: so that the Captains of the Vice-king sinding themselves sor-

Aaaaa

takei

taken by their men, privately embarked with fourteen or fifteen men, and fail led away. In the mean time Hinojofa passed very peaceably, without intermedling in the Government or matters of Justice, or fusfering his People to commit the least offence, or give occasion of complaint to the People: with these men he sent Don Pedro de Cabrera, and Hernaudo Mexia de Guzman his Son-in-law to Nombre de Dios, with Orders to keep that Port, and intercept all Advices which should come as well from Spain as from other parts.

#### CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Actions of Melchior Verdugo in Truxillo, Nicaragua and in Nombre de Dios, and how he was forced to leave that City.

Bout the same time there happened an odd Accident in the City of Truxillo. A which gave great offence, and raifed the enmity and hatred of the People against the person who occasioned the same, whose name was Melchior Verdugo, to whom the Province of Callamarca was appointed by lot, a place famous for the imprisonment of the King Atahnalpa and other remarkable Successes which have

been mentioned before.

This person having been born in the City of Avila, and Countrey-man to the Vice-king, was delirous to fignalize himfelf in doing fomething remarkable for his service; the Vice-king, before his imprisonment knowing of his Intensions. gave him a large Commission to doe many things of high importance, and partigave mm a large Committon to doe many things of high importance, and pati-cularly to defitroy or dispeople the City of Los Reyes, for which reason Milhim Verdugo, and his adherents fell under the hatted and displeasure of Gosçalo Piçarro, and of such as were of his Party. Verdugo, being informed hereof, resolved to escape out of the Kingdom, searing to fall into the hands of Piçarro. Howsoever, being desirous to perform some Act extraordinary, he engaged some Soukliers to him, bought Arms secretly, and made Musquet-shot, Mannacles and Chains in his own house, and so hold the uses in his matters, that his Neighbourness. his own house, and so bold he was in his matters, that his Neighbours and Companions were greatly offended thereat: but fortune favoured his defign, for at that time, a Ship arriving in the Port of Truvillo from Los Reyes, he fent for the Master and the Mate of the Vessel, pretending that he had a parcel of Myz and other Goods to thip upon him for Panama, which he defired them to come and fee; so soon as the Master and the Mate were within his house, he put them into a low cellar or dungeon, which he had made: then he pretended to be lame of the Gout; and fitting in that manner at his Window, he espeed one of the Governours with his Clerk paffing by; and calling to them, he defired them to come, to draw fome authentick Writings, which he had occasion for; and defi red their excuse for not coming to them by reason of the Indisposition which was upon him: when they were come in, he fairly led them to the place where the Master and Pilot were lodged, and there he took away their white Staves, and clapt them in Chains, fetting a guard of fix Musquetiers upon them. And returning again to his Window, he espied another Citizen passing by, to whom he called in the same manner as before, pretending some business with him; and him also he put into his prison, and in this manner he decoyed in at least twenty persons of the principal Citizens, which were all that remained at home, the others being gone in Service of Pigarro. Then he sallied out into the Market-place with twenty Souldiers whom he judged to be faithfull to him; he summoned all people in the King's-name to come in, and feized on those who did not readily obey, and then in hearing of all his prisoners, he told them plainly, that his business was to carry men and arms to the Vice-king; for which service he had an occasion for money, which they must speedily pay him, in case they expected their liberty; and that every one should pay his proportion according to his ability; and if not, he was refolved to carry them away with him to the Vice-king.

The prisoners paid down their ready money, as was agreed; and taking what was to the King's Treasury with his own Estate; for he was a very rich-man, he amasfed great quantities of Gold and Silver, all which he carried with him and fo embarked for Panama; and that his paffage might not be interrupted, he brought all his prisoners in their chains to the Sea-lide, and freed them as he was going off. In his voyage he met with a Ship laden with goods, and spoils, which Bachicao had robbed at Panama, the which he took, and divided to himself and amongst his Souldiers, and hearing that Gonçalo Pigarro had a Fleet of Ships at that place. he feared to go thither, and to failed to Nicaragua. Pedro de Hinojofa having intelligence of his going, fent two Ships in chafe of him, under the command of Caprain John Alonso Palomino with a hundred and twenty Musquetiers: at his arrival there he found that Verdugo was landed; howfoever he took his Ship, but durft not adventure athoar; because the Inhabitants of Granada and Leon denved him admittance; whereupon Palomino returned to Panama with the Ships which he had taken on the coast of Nicaragua, of which he reserved such as were serviceable. and burnt the rest, and being arrived at Panama, he gave to Hinojosa an account of all that had passed. Thus was Melchior Verdigo put out of all possibility of doing any farther feats against Picarro in the Sea of Zur, for he had lost his Ship. and could not buy another, for Bachicao, and his men, had taken them all. Whereway of the North Sea to *Nombre de Dios*, he might be able to compass some exploit in that City; for he conceived that Pedro de Hinojosa had few people in that City, and those all secure, and in no apprehension of surprize by an enemy: with this fancy he built four Frigates, and shipped a hundred stout Souldiers upon them in the Lake of Nicaragua, and passed through that chanel which runnes into the North Sea. In the River which is called Chagre, it was his fortune to take a Boat with certain Negroes who spake good Spanish, and by them he was informed of all matters that had passed in Nombre de Dios, both as to the Souldiers and Officers which were quartered there. And taking those Negroes for their Guides they came about midnight to the City, where being landed, they immediately set upon the House where Don Pedro de Cabre and Hernan Mexia, with some Souldiers were lodged, who being allarum'd with the noise of the people, put them-selves into a posture to desend themselves. Whereupon Verdugo's men set fire to the House, fo that the Defendants perceiving the slame about their Ears, were forced to goe forth and combat with their Enemies by the light thereof: but they being Robbers, and more defirous of plunder and booty than of bloud, took their heels and fled, and by help of a dark night fecured themselves within the high Mountains which are near to the City: of all which particulars Advices being carried to Pedro de Hinojofi then refiding at Panama, he shewed high references, and complained thereof to Doctour Ribera, who was Governour of Nombre de Dior, at that time reliding at Panama, before whom he accused Verdugo for having entred into his Government and Jurisdiction without Title or Commission from his Superiour; but had by authority onely from himself prefumed to imprifon several Justices of the Peace, and forced them and others to pay for their ransomes; that he had committed many Piracies in the South and North Seas. and at length in a hostile manner had entred into Nombre de Dios : all which being highly aggravated before Doctour Ribera, Pedro de Hinojosa offered him affiftence both in person and with his forces; the which Doctour Ribera accepting, adminifired an Oath of fidelity to Pedro Hinojofa and his Captains to obey him as their Captain General during the time of this action, and not to doe any thing contrary to his Command; which being agreed, they forthwith marched from Panama to Nombre de Dios. Melchior Verdugo having notice hereof, drew out his men into the field, with fuch others of the City as had joined with him. Hinojofa immediately attacked them, and at the first charge several fell both on one side and the other. But when the Inhabitants of Nombre de Dios faw their own Governour at the head of the contrary party, they all retired to the Mountain near the City. Verdugo's men would have given a stop to the slight of the Inhabitants; but their diforder being such that they could not withstand the shock of their Enemies, they betook themselves to their Frigates, with which they surprized a Ship in Port; and arming her with their Cannon, they made many thot to the Town, but with little or no damage, by reason that the Vessel road at a distance for want of Water near the shoar. Feedings finding himself thus disappointed, and in no con-Aaaaa 2

Royal Commentaries.

dition to deal with the Enemy, feveral of his men being killed and left ashoar, he failed to Cartagena with his Ship and Frigats, attending an opportunity to incommode the Enemy: but Doctour Ribera and Pedro de Hinojosa appeased the people the best they could; and leaving some force and Captains for security and defence of the City, they returned to Panama.

#### CHAP. XXXIII.

Blasco Nunnez Vela recruits himself in Popayan. Gonçalo Piçarro pretends to goe for Quitu, hoping by that means to cause his removal from thence. The Vice-king goes in quest of Pedro Puelles.

E before mentioned that the Vice-king was in Popayan, where, to keen him. felf in action, he engroffed all the Iron of that Province a to work which he compelled the Smiths to come in and fet up Forges, and in a short time made above two hundred Fire-arms, with Croflets and Armour proportionable to them. and then he wrote a Letter to Sebastian, Governour of Belalcaçar, and to a certain Captain of his called John Cabreras, who was then by order of the faid Governour emploied in a new Conquest of the Indians, wherein he gave them a particular intelligence of all matters which had happened to him fince the time of his first entrance into Pera, in which was comprised the History of the Infurrection of Goncalo Pigarro, who had forced him to abandon the Countrey; and that now he resolved to return again upon him; to which end, that he might have a competent Army, he defired them to come and join with him, in which they would doe most fignal service to his Majesty: and that having overcome and killed that Tyrant, they might largely share in the possessions of Peru, which would be much better than all the Conquests they were now emploied in. Besides which promiles, the better to encourage them, he told them that Diego Centeno was actually on the Confines of Peru in his Majesty's service; that every day his forces encreafed; fo that now, in case the Tyrant were but attacked on the other side, it would be impossible for him to hold out. He also sent them Warrants to take out of his Majesty's Exchequer in several Towns and Villages near them the sum of thirty thousand Pesos of Gold, for payment of the Souldiers. The Captains having received these Orders, obeyed them with all readiness; and with a hundred Souldiers well armed, came, and kiffed the Vice-king's hand; the which encouraged him to fend the like Orders to the new Kingdom of Granada, Cartagena and other parts, demanding fuccour and affiftence from them; fo that in a flort time he had got a Body of four hundred men, all reasonable well armed; but this success was again tempered with the ill News of the loss of his Brother and of his two Captains, John de Guzman and John de Yllanez; at which he was much troubled, because he had great expectations from them. On the other side, Gonçalo Pigarro had nothing to trouble him, but onely the thoughts of the Vice-king, for he could not think himself secure, whilst he lived, and was at the head of an Army: And because he could not come at the Vice-king, or march into the Countrey where he was for want of Provisions, which were very scarce in those parts; he gave out, that he would march into the Charcas to suppress the Insurrection of Diego Centeno; and to leave Captain Pedro de Puelles with three hundred men to guard that frontier against the Vice-King, in case he should make an attempt thereupon. And to put a better colour on this feigned defign, and make it more publick, he named his Captains and Souldiers who were to goe with him, and those who were to remain behind; and made provisions for maintenance of one and the other. Accordingly he marched out of Quitu, and took care that information hereof should be dispatched to the Vice-king; to perform which, an ill-man, whom the Vice-king had sent for his Spy into those parts, was very instrumental: for this Rogue had, in hopes of some great reward from Piçarro, disco-

vered the defign he was upon, and betrayed to him the Cypher which the Vices king had given him, by the help of which Gongalo Pigarro caused him to write all that had passed, and caused the Letter to be delivered to an Indian wholly ignorant of this treachery. On the other fide, he caused Pedro de Puelles to write to feveral of his Friends then in Popayan, that he was quartered in Quite with three hundred men; fo that if they thought fit to come thither and divertise themsolves with him for some time, they should find safety and a hearty welcome, in regard that the Countrey was quiet by the ablence and retirement of Goncalo, Picarro from thence: and he delivered these Letters to certain Indians who were then present at the departure of Gonçalo Pigarro, that they might thereby confirm the contents of the intelligence which was fent; and farther, he ordered Pedro de Puelles to feem as if he fent thefe Indians in a fecret manner, but yet fo as a difference might be made, and that the Out-guards of the Vice-king might intercent the Letters and carry them to him: the Plot being thus laid, Goncalo Picarro (as hath been faid) departed from Quin, and having marched three or four days, he feigned himself sick in excuse of his delay. The Vice-king having received the Letters from his treacherous Spy, and likewise seen the counterfeited intelligence from Pedro de Puelles, to both which he gave undoubted belief; he imagined that with four hundred men, he might eafily deal with Pedro de Puelles, and after fuch a Victory he might purfue Gonçalo Piçarro and overthrow him: And on this confidence and belief building his defign (for he could receive no other intelligence. the Roads being obstructed) he resolved to march to Quitu: but on the contraty, Gonçalo Piçarro was better informed, by way of the Indians of Camaris, of all the proceedings of the Vice-king, and of every days march which he made; and when he understood that he was come within twelve days march of Quitu, he then returned with all speed to the City to joyn with Pedro de Puelles, from whence both the Camps proceeded with great joy, thinking that now they had entrapped the Vice king and should be able to engage him in a Battel; and though they heard that he was eight hundred men ftrong, yet *Piçarro* confided in the valour and experience of his *Veterane* Souldiers, and contemned the rawness and unskilfulness of the adverse party: For when he came to muster and survey his men. he found that he had two hundred Fire-locks, three hundred and fifty Pike-men. and an hundred and fifty Horsemen, all dexterous and able Souldiers, well provided and armed, with quantity of powder of the best and finest fort. The Captins of the Fire-locks were John de Acofta and John Velez de Guevara, the Captain of the Pike-men was Hernando de Bachicao, and the Captains of Horse were Pedro de Puelles and Gomez de Alvarado, and the Standard was carried by Francis de Amoum, and supported by seventy Horse. Benito Suarez de Carvajal, Brother of the Agitant Illen Suarez, took the fide of Picarro, and was there prefent with thirty men under his command, all of his own Kindred and Relations. In this posture was the Army of Picarro when news came that the Enemy was come within two leagues of the Camp; whereupon they marched and took possession of a Pass on the River where the Vice-king was to go over, for there was no other way; and being there Pigarro posted and fortified himself very advantageously; which happened, as Augustine Carate reports, on Saturday the fifteenth day of January,

The Vice-king charged *Pedro de Puelles* with great courage, in hopes speedily to rout him, and afterwards to deal in like manner with *Piparro*, for he always entertained an opinion of the loyalty of the people, that they onely expected an optiminity to revolt and return to obedience and service of his Majesty. In contidence whereof he approached so near to the Forces of *Pedro de Puelles*, that the Vanguards could speak and call each other Traitours and Rebels, for both Parties pretended loyalty and duty to his Majesty, and yet all this time, the Viceking was not informed that *Gongalo Picarro* was so near, but believed all the time that he had to deal with none but *Pedro de Puelles*.

The night following, about the glimpfe of the Evening, Carate reports in the thirty fifth Chapter of his fifth Book, That the Vice-king holding a Council of War with his Commanders, it was there agreed, as most advantageous and of less danger to get possession of the Town than to adventure a Battel in the open Field; and accordingly before mid-night quietly and without noise they marched away, leaving their Camp and Tents with the Indians who carried them; and taking the way on the left hand, they marched over a great Desart: and Fernando

Palemino fays, that it rained all night, that they passed many rocky places and great Rivers, so that many times their Horses were forced to take a rounding way by the side of steep Mountains, and coming to the bottom they plunged into Rivers, in which manner having marched all the night, they lost several Men and Horses, who were so disabled and left behind that they could not come time enough to the Battel, and so soon as it was day they found themselves within a league of Quitu. Thus sar are the words of Palemino.

The reason which moved the Vice-king to take this troublesome march, was in design to charge the Enemy in the Rere; but, as Carate saith, he did not believe that either the way was so bad nor so long; for when he moved his Camp, he was not then above three leagues from Quim, and yet with the compast, took it proved at least eight leagues: this errour was satal to the Vice-king; for whereas he should rather have kept his Men and Horse fresh and fit for engagement, they were instead thereof so harassed and tired with their long march of eight leagues over Desarts and unpassable places, that they had need of long rest and repose to recover them; but where a missortune and destiny is intended, the Counsels which are designed for good are converted to ruine and destruction.

#### CHAP. XXXIV.

The Battel of Quitu, wherein the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez was defeated and slain.

THE Vice-king entring into the City of Quitu found no refistance, and there it was told him by a certain Woman that Pigarro was marching against him, at which he wondred much, but was foon made to understand the fraud and strategeme by which he was decoyed into that fnare. On the other fide Gonçalo Piçarro knew nothing of the march of the Vice-king to Quitu, but believed all the time that he had remained in his Camp; but when in the morning the Scouts came near the Tents, and hearing little or no noise, they adventured in, and understood from the *Indians* of all matters which had passed, and accordingly gave information thereof to Gongalo Pigarro, who was not wanting to fend the news to his Captains, who immediately railed their Camp, and marched in an orderly posture to Quitu, with intention to give Battel to the Vice-king, in what place foever they should meet him. The Vice-king was not ignorant of all these ters, and considering the great advantage which his Enemies had over him, and that there was no fecurity but in his Arms, he refolved to hazard all upon the fortune of a Battel, hoping that fuch as were true Servants and faithfull Subjects to his Majesty would revolt over to his side; and so animating his people with these expectations, he marched with his Forces out of the City, and both fides were fo full of courage as if they had been secure of Victory; and though Gonçalo Picarro had the greater advantage in his numbers, yet the Vice-king was equal to him in the Valour and Conduct of his Captains, all men of great fpirit and renown: those who commanded the Infantry were Sancho Sanchez d'Avila, his Cousin some Cabrera, and Francis Sanchez; his Captains of Horse were Admiral Schassian de Belalcaçar Cepeda, and Pedro de Bassan, and so both Armies marched to meet each other: At the first a skirmish was begun by two parties of Musketiers detached from each Army; in which the people of Piçarro had the advantage by the strength and goodness of their Powder, and by the use of their Fire-arms, being the better Marks-men: by this time both Armies were come so near to each other, that the detached Parties were forced to retreat to their respective Colours; to make which good on Picarro's fide, John de Acosta with another able Souldier called Pare de Sottomayor came in to bring their Party off. Then Gonçalo Piçarro commanded Licenciado Carvajal to charge the right Wing of the Enemy, and he himself defigned to lead and bring up the Horse in the Front; but his Captains disfuaded him from it, and rather defired him to place himself within a Squadron of Foot,

where, with feven or eight other Commanders, he might better overfee and gowhere, while battel. The Vice-king's Troops of Horse consisting of about a hundred and fourty men, observing that the Troops of Carvajal were coming up to charge them, they put themselves on a Trot to meet them, but so without rank or order, that they feemed (as Carate says of them) to be half routed before they order, that they reened vas carate tays of them in the flank, that though Carvajal's party was less in number, yet the Vice-king's Horse were so haraffed and tyred, and the Enemy on the contrary fresh and in courage, that Carmid had great advantage over them. How soever engaging first with their Lances, many fell on both fides, and at length, fighting nearer with their Swords and Daggers, Pole-axes and Hooks, the battel grew hot and bloudy: but then Picarws Standard supported with about a hundred men coming in quite turned the feale of the battel, and the Enemy routed and totally defeated. On the other fide, the fight between the Foot, was very fore and bloudy, with fuch noise, and outgives, that the numbers feemed much greater than they were: In the first charge Captain John Cabrera was flain, and foon after Captain Sancho Sanchez & Avila: but before he fell, he did great execution with his Sword, having cut down whole files and ranks of the Enemy; but being overwhelmed with numbers and advantages of Arms, they were forced to yield to the greater power of the Enemy, which ranging victoriously on all sides, the chief Commanders were killed, with most of the Souldiery. The Vice-king fought very stoutly with his Horse, and in the first Charge had the fortune to dismount Alonso de Montalto, besides other exploits which he performed with great resolution and courage: he was disguised in his habit, for over his Arms he wore an Indian Coat, which was the cause of his death: for when he faw his Forces totally defeated, he would then have fled. but his escape was prevented by an Inhabitant of Areguepa called Hernando de Torru, who engaged with him; and not knowing who he was, gave him fuch a blow with a Battle-ax on the head, with both his hands, that he knocked him to the ground. And here Carate, in the thirty fifth Chapter of his fifth Book, gives relation of this passage in these words; The Vice-king and his Horse was so tired with the last night's march, having neither rested, nor slept, nor eaten, that to overthrow him and his horse was not very difficult: howsoever the battel was obstinately disputed between the Foot; but seeing the Vice-king fall, their courages failed, and submitted to the Conquerour, most of them being slain upon the place. Thus far Carate.

If Hernando de Torres had known the person of the Vice-king, which he might have done, had he discovered who he was by the mark of his Order of St. 7a-20, he would certainly have spared his life, and taken him prisoner: but suppofing him to be a common man, clothed in an Indian habit, he killed him without distinction. The Vice-king might rather have been blamed for wearing a difguise, but his intention was not to be spared, but to fall amongst the rest, in cale he were overcome, and not to outlive his honour and power. So foon as care newere overcome, and not to outlive his hollour and power. So foon as caronjal faw that the field was their own, and that they were fecure of victory, he with great diligence fought out for the Vice-king, that he might wreak his revenge upon him for the death of his Brother; and found that *Pedro de Puelles* was giving him another mortal wound, though with his fall, and a floot through his body, he was then expiring his laft breath: a common Souldier was the first who discovered the body of the Vice-king to Pedro de Puelles, otherwise it had remain ned unknown under the difguife. Licenciado Carvajal had a mind to have alighted from his Horse, to have given him the last fatal stroak; but Pedro de Pueller told him, that it was too mean an action for him to lay his hands on a dying man: howfoever he commanded his Negro to cut off his head, as he did, and carried it with him to Quitn, where it was fixed on the head of a Lance, untill it was made known to Gongalo Pigarro, who in anger caused it to be taken away and buried together with the body. A certain Authour gives a relation hereof in this manner; The head of the Vice-king was carried to *Quitu*, and there for fome time exposed on the common gallows; but this giving offence to some people, it was taken down and joined with the body, and enterred together with it.

And here it is remarkable with what niceness this Authour touches this point; for not to say that *Piçarro* gave order to have the Head removed from the gallows, he says, that some taking offence thereat, caused the Head to be removed, so that he seems tacitly to accuse *Gonçalo Piçarro*, as if by his order the

Head

Head was exposed, or at least that he consented thereunto: but the truth is, he was troubled at the action, and that so soon as he was informed there. of he gave immediate order to have it removed; the which is confirmed by the restimony of Gomara: but flattery and partiality to a side is always prevathe territion of Goman. Out Interface and the Land of the Vice-king faith; That when Hernando de Torres had with a blow flunned Blafe Numers, and That when Hernando de Torres had with a blow ittuned Biafco Namee, and knocked him from his Horfe, and (as many believe) unknown to him, by reason that he was under the difguile of an Indian habit, Herrera the Confession to Pigarro, came to confess him; and first asked, who he was, to which Biaso Namee, replied, that that question was not material; for he was to doe his Office, which he defired him without farther queries to perform; for he was afraid of fome torments and cruelties would be committed on his person. Thus far Gomara Then came the Executioners and cuff off his head and exposed it on the gallows. and some rude and insolent Souldiers drew out some hairs from his beard; and in diffain and triumph faid, Your cruel and paffionate temper hath brought you to this: a certain Captain of my acquaintance carried some hairs of his beard about him for feveral days, untill they were taken from him by order. Thus did this unfortunate Gentleman end his days, for infifting too earnefly on those methods, which were neither agreeable to the constitution of the Kingdom, nor yet to the fervice of the King, whence that effusion of bloud ensued and those many commotions as have been related in the preceding Hilfory: and which proved fatal as well to *Indians* as to *Spaniards*, as will also farther appear in the sequel of that Relation which still remains. And though his obstinacy in this point is much blamed by many, yet certainly he is in part to be excused on account of those precife and fevere commands he brought from Court, and which he was by the fupreme power enjoined to execute; as will be proved by the testimony of those Authours whom we thall hereafter have occasion to name; and as he himselfdid often fay, as before mentioned.

#### CHAP. XXXV.

The Funeral of the Vice-king. The Actions of Gonçalo Piçarro after the Battel. The Pardon he gave to Vcla Nunnez, and of the good Laws he enacted for the better Government of that Kingdom.

Conçalo Piçarro feeing that he had gained a clear Victory, caused the Trumpets to found a retreat: for he perceived that his people were greatly dispersed in the pursuit, whereby much bloud was unnecessarily spile; on the side of the Vice-king two hundred men were slain, and not above seven of the Souldiers of Piçarro, as Carate reports: because the people of the Vice-king were so tired and weary with their long march the night before, that they seemed rather to suffer themselves to be killed than to sight; and herein they shewed their great zeal to his Majesty, and their readiness to die in his service. The bodies of the slain were buried promiscuously together in the field where they died, six or seven Corpse being laid together in the Grave: but the bodies of the Vice-king, of Sancho Sanchos Anisa, of Licenciado Gallego, and of Captain Cepeda, a Native of Plasencia, were brought to the City, and there solemnly interred; and Gonzah Piçarro, and the other chief Commanders attended the Corpse, cloathed in mourning, and carrying stadness in their countenances. The persons wounded were Don Alonso de Monte Mayor, Schussium Governour of Belalcaçur, Hernandez Giron: but of Cacetes, Carate makes no mention, though Diego Fernandez speaks of him in these words;

Goncalo Picarro had an intention to have put Captain Hernandez Giron to death. and accordingly gave order for his execution (which would have foared him much and accordingly gave order to his execution. The work of the caused afterwards in rouble, and prevented the many Commotions which he caused afterwards in Park ) but by the intercession of friends, and because he fought with much bravery, and was the Kinfinan of Lorenço Aldana, Picarro was perfuaded to grant him his life, &c. Thus far Pernandez, &c. Alvarez the Judge, whom the Vice-king did always carry along with him; received many wounds, of which he died in a few days afterwards. Some malitiously report, that by default of the Chirurgeons, whom Pigarro had directed fo to doe, he was suffered to perish: but this report hath gained no credit; being, as believed, malitioufly charged by the contra-ry faction, who in fuch occasions do always cast aspersions on their Adversaries. Picarro did not onely pardon Sebastian de Belalcaçar, but sent him away to his Government with the Souldiers he brought to fight against him, first taking Oath of fidelity to concern himself for ever afterwards in his service. But as to Don Alonso de Monte mayor, Rodrigo Nunnez de Bonilla Treasurer of Quitu, with other Perfons of quality, he banished them into Chili; though meeting with a Ship in their way, they took her, and failed into new Spain. All the prisoners that were taken he affembled together, and having confidered their several circumstances, the hanged Pedvo Belis and Pedvo Anton, by reason that they had in a Boat made their elegate from the City of Los Reyes. Then, as to the others, he laid their Crimes before them, that without any reason or cause they had taken up Arms against him, or rather against their own interest ; for that he was no otherwise concerned than for their good, and for the maintenance of their liberties and privileges; howfoever he frankly pardoned them all, in confideration that many of them were deceived by falle allurements, and others forced to take Arms; howfoever he promifed fuch as would return to their duty, not onely pardon, but to receive them into his Camp, and into fuch places and offices as they exercised under the contrary party, and that he would efteem and treat them with the same terms and conditions as he did his own Souldiers; giving express orders, that no man should revile them, or provoke them either by words or actions. He also dispatched Messengers with News of the Victory into all parts and places of the Kingdom, whereby his Friends might be encouraged and his Enemies dismayed, Pedro de Alarcon was dispatched with his Ship to Panama, to carry the News of this Victory to Pedro de Hinojofa; and ordered at his return to bring Vela Nunnez and the other prisoners. As to other matters great confideration was had touching the methods, how things were to be carried on for the future: and it was agreed, that the Fleet should be sent along the Coast of New Spain and Nicaragua, to take and burn all the Ships they should meet in those Seas, whereby all defigns might be prevented, which might probably produce farther mischiefs: after which the Fleet was to repair to Los Reyes; that in case his Majesty should send any Dispatches by that way; there being no conveyance for them nor means to dispeed them to Peru; it might occasion great delays and disappointments, which gave great advantage to-wards the fettlement of affairs, as will hereafter appear. Gonçado Piçarro confiding much in the faithfulness of Pedro de Hinojosa, and in those who were with him; for that being persons truly noble both by birth and virtue, and raised by him from poverty and a mean degree to riches and honour, he conceived an opinion that by all the obligations of gratitude they would adhere with all fincerity to his interest; and therefore rejected the Council given him by his Friends; esteeming such cautions too mean for his great soul and spirit, who was used to furmount all difficulties with open force and a high hand. Captain Alarcon made his voyage according to his Instructions, and returned with Pigarro's Son, and Ve-La Numez, and three other prisoners; two of which he hanged for having uttered fome opprobrious words against him, he designed also to have hanged the third, but that his Son interceded for him, alledging that he had many obligations to him on the score of the civilities and good offices he had done him during the time of his imprisonment. Vela Nunnez was sent to Quitt, where Piçarro granted him his pardon, on condition that he should live quietly, and without causing any Commotions or Plots against him, for that in case any contrivances of that nature were discovered, he was to expect no pardon, of which he fairly admonished him: and, for better security, he took him with him to the City of Los Reps., and respect him to the City of Los Reps. and treated him with much frankness all the way, and perhaps with more freedom than in prudence he ought to have shown to a declared Enemy: but Piçarro belie-Bbbbb

ved of him, as he did of others, that he was a person noble and sincere. Lieucia-do Cepeda the Judge, of whom we have been too silent, accompanied Pigarro in all this expedition, and was present at the Battel, and sought more like a Souldier than a Lawyer. Whilst these matters were in agitation, Pigarro held his Court at Quitu, stom whence he dispatched all Orders and Decrees which he had made for the quiet and peaceable Government of the Empire; for having desolved the Court of Judicature, he acted singly, and by his own authority: Judge Cepeda was with him, Lieuniado Alvarez was dead, Doctour Texada was gone into Spain, in quality of Ambassadour, Carate was the onely Judge remaining at Los Reses, but he was infirm, and sickly, and unable to act any thing in the matters of Justice: wherefore Gongalo Pigarro, being the sole Administratour of the Laws, took upon him to acquit himself in the dispensation of Justice, for the quiet and peace of the Land, to the benefit of Indians and Spaniards, and propagation of the Christian Faith. As Francisco Lopez de Gomara affirms in the 133th Chapter of his History, the Title of which is this:

Of the good Government of Gonçalo Piçatro during the absence of Francisco de Carvajal; and how asterwards, at the Instigation of several persons, he would take upon him the Title of King.

All the time that Carvajal was absent from him Picarro put no Spaniard to death without the confent and concurrence of his Council, nor then neither without due Process of Law and Confession of the Party. He enacted, that no man should oppress an Indian; which was one of the new Ordinances, nor take his goods from him without money, upon pein of death. He ordered and appointed that Priest and Scholars should be entertained in all inhabited places for to preach and instruct the Indians, at the charge of men who had Estates in the respective Diflricts, and ordered the payment thereof upon penalty of forfeiture of their Estates. He was very carefull and industrious to gather in the King's fifths, according (as he faid) to the example of his Brother Francisco Pigarro. He ordained, that Tithes should be or one out of Ten: and that now, fince Blasco Numer was subdued and slain in the War, he commanded, that every one should industrioully apply himself to the service of the King, that so his Majesty might gratioully be pleased to repeal the late Statutes, confirm to them their Estates, and grant them pardon for what was past. Thus all people praised his prudence, and remained contented and fatisfied under his Government; fo that Gafca himfelf, after he had made experience, and feen the good and wholfome Laws which he established, gave this character of him, that, for a Tyrant, he governed very well. The which happy, Government, (as we have faid before) continued untill fuch time as that the Fleet was religned to the command of Galca. Thus far Gomara.

And as to what he farther adds in that Chapter, we shall leave untill a more proper place; and in the mean time treat of several remarkable passages and famous exploits which passed; and leaving Gonçalo Piçarro in Quitn, we shall make a transition of about seven hundred Leagues, to find out Francisco de Carvajal and Diego Conteno, whom we lest disputing their Matters, and doing all the hunt and damage they could to each other, as will farther appear in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXXVI.

Of a brave Strategeme of War which Diego Centeno performed against Francisco Carvajal. Several other Successes and Passages are related, until the end of that pursute.

E have formerly mentioned in what manner Francisco de Carvajal pursued Diago Contens, without lofing one moment of time; and keeping him in continual Allarums, he ever marched with a Squadron of Foot, in a pofture to fight; and following them just at the heels, he daily fell in with their Baggage, or some other part of Centeno's Forces. In this hot pursute, it happened one day, that they were to pass a deep hole or valley between two hills (as is usual in that Countrey) the descent whereunto was about a League to the bottom, where was a small stream of Water, and the rising again about the same distance; and ver from the top of one Hill to the other, it was not farther than a Museuer-shot; Francisco de Carvajal being well acquainted with this place, was confident that he should here take his Enemy in a Trap; believing that whilst Centeno was descending to the bottom, he should be able to gain the Top of the Hill, and possess himself of that advantageous place; from whence he might much annoy him and his men; for they afcending the Hill, and he remaining on the top with fleddy footing and refts for their Arms, they could feare mifs doing fome execution with every thor. And as Carvajul and his Souldiers contrived this defign, and were confident of the fuccess of it; fo Centeno was no less carefull to prevent the mifthief and fecure his men in the paffage, being well advertised of the danger they were to pass: in order whereunto, about a League before he came to the bottom, where the stream of Water ran, he affembled his chief Commanders, and told them that they were now to pass a most dangerous place; for whilst we are mounting the Hill on the other fide, the Enemy will possess themselves of the eminency on this part, from whence they may with much advantage fire upon us, fo as scarce a shot can miss of doing execution. To prevent which, I would propose, as the onely means of security to us, that fix of you, who are the best mounted, should secretly retire behind this Mountain, on the right-hand; and that when Carvajal and his Van-guard are past, that then you fally forth and fall upon the Rere; killing all the Negroes, Indians, Spaniards, Horses, Mules, and what elle is in your way, making what noise and out-cry that is possible, so that Carvayal, being allarum'd therewith, a Diversion may be made, and Carvajul may be forced to return back to fuccour his own People, and in the mean time we may make our elcape over this dangerous paffage. To perform this exploit he nominated fix persons, to avoid all contention amongst them, for every one out of gallantry, was forward and ready to offer himfelf; there being fifteen or fixteen whom he had called to this conference. Accordingly Diego Conteno marthed forward, charging his people to make all the hafte they were able, whilft he brought up the Rere. The fix Cavaliers also turned off to the fide of the Mountain, where they remained concealed, untill Carvajal with the Van, (which confifted of his best and select Souldiers) was past, and then they fallied forth, and with great fury fell in upon the Rere; killing with their Lances all the Indians, Negro's, Spiniards, Horfes, Mules, and whatfoever flood in their way; to that an out-cry was made for help and fuccour. Carajal though he head the noife, yet he flill kept on his narch, judging that the allarum was falle; and that if it flouid prove to, upon his return he should lofe the opportunity of a Victory, which he believed to be now secure and in his own power; in the mean time the fig Cavaliers carried all before them; and amongst the rest overthrew a Mule which carried tome quintals of powder, to which they gave fire, and blew it up, which made tuch a terrible noise that the Woods and Mountains refounded with the Echo; and that was sufficient to convince Carvaid, that the allarum was not falfe 3 and thereupon he gave order to his Souldiers to face
B b b b b 2 about

about and fuccour the Rere: and then the fix Cavaliers gave over the Charge and fled, taking their way by guidance of fome *Indians* over crofs and by-paths and taking a large compals came at laft after fix or feven days travel to join with their other Companions. Francisco de Carvajal having in this manner relieved his Rere, was forced to continue all that day and the night following in the fame place, and give over the purfuit of the Enemy; for the fix Horfemen upon their first Charge having found no opposition, killed and lanced all that stood in their way: by which means a ftop being put to the proceedings of Carvajal; Centeno found an opportunity to escape that dangerous Pass, which he greatly feared would be destructive to him. Carvajal was so angry and disturbed at this affront, and so athamed to fee himself disappointed of his expectation by the Strategeme of Officers much inferiour to him in the Art of War, that he uttered not one word all that day, unless it were to repair the losses and damage he had sustained nor would he eat any thing at supper that night, saying, that the affront he had received would ferve him for many meals to come: but after fome hours in the night that his choler began to abate, he opened his mind to his Officers in this manner, Sirs, faid he, In all the course of my military emploiment in Italy, which continued for the space of fourty years, I have seen many Retreats made by the King of France and another great Captain, by Antonio de Leyna, by Count Pedro Navarro, by Mark An. tonio Colona, by Fabricio Colona, and by many other famous Captains of my time, as well Spaniards as Italians; but in all my life I never faw fuch a Retreat made by this young Cap. tain. Which were the very words of Carvajal, without adding thereunto or diminishing therefrom; and were repeated to me by one who heard them. The day following he purfued the Enemy with more vigour and courage than before, fo that in a short time overtaking him, he every day fell in with him, and seized fome part of his Men, Horse or Baggage, so that after a pursuit of two hundred Leagues, formetimes out of the common road, and formetimes in, he reduced Gorteno to that low condition, that he had not above eighty men remaining of all his numbers, and those also harassed and tyred with long Marches, and discouraged by reason that they knew not when, nor where to find a place of refuge or repose: wherefore it was agreed to march along the Coast to Arequepa, and there if possible to embark and find a security on the Seas for those who had no sheker on the Land: in order hereunto a Captain was fent before, called Ribadenerra, to hire a Vessel for money or by surprize, and bring her to Arequepa, that thereon they might embark their Men and Baggage, and so escape the danger which purfued them: by good fortune Ribadeneyra met a Vessel bound for Chili, which he and his companions with help of a Float filently furprized in the night without much difficulty; and being well provided with Sea-men and all other necessaries, brought her about to Arequepa, there to take in Diego Centeno and his Souldiers, as it was before agreed: but it happened that Carvajal preffed to hard upon Centeno, that he came to the Port fooner than the Veffel arrived there; and now finding an Enemy just at his heels, and no farther place of Retreat; he resolved to disband all his people, telling them that in regard Ribadeneyra did not appear, nor that any Veffel did prefent in that Port, whereon to make their escape, he advised every man to shift for himself, and to escape away by three or four or five or fix in a company; and being to dispersed, it would be impossible to to pursue them, but that most would escape their hands. As to Centeno himself, he abandoned all his companions, and with one fingle person, called Lewis de Ribera, and one servant, he betook himself to the Rocks and high Mountains, and remained in a Cave for the space of almost eight months, untill the President Gasca arrived in Peru; during all which time he was maintained by a Curaca who lived in the Plantation of Michael Cornejo, into whose Countrey it was his fortune to come; where we shall leave him untill that time comes to pass. Onely we must not omit to declare, That from the time that Centeno did first set up a Standard for his Majesty, Gonçalo Silvestre, a Native of Ferrera de Alcantara, of whom we have made mention in our History of Florida, was always present with him, and was an Actor in his exploits, and a Sufferer in his perils. Carvajal, coming to Arequepa in pursuit of Centeno, had there loft the track of his Enemies, and fo gave over the chafe, upon intelligence given, that they were all dispersed, and that every man shifted for himself; the next morning, by break of day Ribadeneyra appeared with his Vestel in the Port, of which Carvajal being informed by one of those persons whom he had taken, endeavoured to feize both him and his Ship: but Ribadoneyra was fo cautious

that desiring to speak with some one or other whom he knew, and seeing none come out or answer him, he set Sail and lest the Port. Carvajal was surther advised, that Lope de Mendoça with seven or eight others were sled up into the Councey, after whom he sent a Captain with twenty Musketiers, who pursued them almost an hundred leagues, untill they drove them within the Government and Countrey which was conquered by Captain Rojas; from whence they returned again to render an account to Carvajal of all that had happened. And after this deseat of Diego Centena, and that none of his men appeared, he then marched to the City of Plate, to collect such Moneys as belonged to Gonçalo Piçarro, and to those who had denied a contribution. But to return to Lope de Mendoça, he escaped into the Government of Diego de Rojas, who was one of those Captains to whom Vaca de Castro, late Governour of Pern, had given a Commission to make new Conquests, after he had composed and pacified the many disturbances and commotions in Pern by the death of Don Diego de Almagro, Junior. And now in the following Chapter we shall shew what ensued hereupon.

#### CHAP. XXXVII.

The fuccesses of Lope de Mendoga. Of the manner how the Indians insuse poison into their Arrows; and how Lope de Mendoga returned to Peru.

THE defign of Lope de Mendoga and his Companions was onely to conceal themselves within those high and rugged Mountains (which are situated towards the Eastern part of Peru) untill such time as the loud voice of the King should call them from thence; and little imagining to meet Spaniards in that Countey, they unexpectedly sell into the company of Graviel Bermudex, who was one of those who followed Diego de Rojas, who with his sellow Souldiers had performed great exploits against the Indians in that Conquest, and having sustained hunger, tedious marches and many other hardships, had proceeded in their discovery as sat as to the River of Plate, and to the Fortress which Sebassian Gaboto had built in that Countrey: but Diego de Rojas, who was their chief Commander, being dead, diffensions arising amongst them who should be the person to govern that little but victorious Army, the discord was so highly carried on by the ambition of Pretenders, that they killed each other, and divided themselves into divers Parties, as if they had no Enemy, and could not better employ their Arms than against themselves.

The death of Diego de Rojus was caused by a poisoned Arrow, which the Indiempoison with a fort of Herb which begins to operate within three days after the wound is given, and performs its effect in feven days afterwards; in which time the Patient raves, eats and gnaws his own flesh, and beats his brains against the Wall and so dies. The Spaniards were desirous to know a Remedy or Antidote against this Poison, and persuaded the Indians both by promises and threats to give them the Receipt of it, but could not prevail, untill fuch time as they wounded one of those whom they had taken in the Thigh with this fort of poisoned Arrow, and then giving him liberty to go abroad and feek his remedy, they obferved that he gathered two forts of Herbs, the which he stamped and pounded feverally, and then drank the juice of one of them, and the other he injected into his Wound; but first he opened the Wound with a Knife, and drew out the Barbs of the Arrow, which are very fine and thin, and are left within the flesh after the Shaft is taken out; for unless the wound be first cleared thereof, the Herb can have no effect; and in this manner the Indian cured himself. The Spaniards having made this discovery cured themselves by application of the same Antidote, though some of them died, who had not the art to clear the Wound of the Barb which remained therein. In the Islands of Barlovento, and in all the Countrey of Brafil, in Santa Marta, and in the New Kingdom, and in other Coun-

BOOK IV.

tries. where a cruel fort of Indians inhabited, they used another fort of poison, and of a different nature to what we have before mentioned; for they would take the Leg of an Indian, whom they had killed, and hang it up in the Air against the Sun, and fill it with many Barbs of poitoned Arrows, which were taken our of the flesh of an Indian, which after some days they took out, and without clean fing of them they dried them in the Air where the Sun did not come, and then they headed their Arrows with them; and that became the most malevolent noi. fon, and the most hard to be cured in the world; I have seen the experiment thereof, and as an eye-witness will relate the effect in its due place. After the Spaniards came into that Countrey, and waged War upon the Indians, they then changed the nature of their poison: for whereas before they compounded their poison with the fleth of Indians, they then made it with the fleth of Spaniard whom they killed or took; but more particularly they defired the flesh of some red-headed Spaniard, whose hairs were of a deep Saffron colour; for they were of opinion that there was more heat in that fleth, and confequently more virulence in the poison which it produced: but perhaps they may have heard it often faid amongst the Spaniards themselves, that red-headed men are fit to make a compofition of poison.

But to return to those who had made their entrance into this Countrey, they observed such animostities and quarrels which they maintained one against another, that it was impossible to reconcile them; so that many of them resolved to leave that Countrey and go into Peru; for that whilst they were so divided there was no hopes to subdue those Indians, who were a rugged and a martial fort of people. But of the nature of this poison, and of what elle happened in this adventure, and the great discords and differences amongst the Spaniards, Diego Fernandez Palentino recounts a long story, with many strange and various accidents, which for brevity sake we omit, and refer the Reader to his relation. But besides these differences amongst themselves, the Spaniards were inclined to trayel into Peru upon the news which an Indian brought of commotions there; without any other particulars, than onely that the Spaniards waged Civil Wars amongst themselves.

Upon this news Graviel Bermudez was dispatched to the confines of Peru to inform himself of the state of matters, and to certifie to them the truth of things; after which they would refolve to take that fide to which they were most inclined Graviel travelling on the way with this defign happily met with Lope de Mendoça, who gave him a relation at large of all that had passed in *Porn*, fince the time that Diego de Rojas departed thence; and joyning his men with the party of Gravid Beymudez, they by mutual confent dispatched Messengers to Nicholas de Eredia, who was chief of another Band of Men; and he immediately came to them with his Affociates. Love de Mendoca reconciled them and made them Friends, and all by common confert made him their Captain-General, promiting to obey and follow him. They were in all about an hundred and fifty men in number, almost all Horfe; men of great bravery and inured to Sufferings, having for the space of three years together undergone incredible hardthips both by Famine and long Travels; during which time they made a discovery of fix hundred leagues of Land, fearce enjoying one day of repote; the relation of which is not to be expressed by the Pen of Writers. With this flout and brave Cavalry Lope de Mendoça descended from the Mountains, either with intent to give a flop to the proceedings of Francisca de Carenajal, or to join with some other Party which owned and declared for obedience and loyalty to the King. Accordingly he marched as far as the Province and People called *Pucuna*, where he refted one day for the refreshment of his Men and Florfes, being much haraffed with long marches and want of Provi fions. Francisco de Carwajal who emitted no point that concerned a good Commander, received intelligence how that Lope de Mendoça, with his Souldiers of the Invation, (for they gave the name of Invaders to that Party) were descended from the Mountains, and that they were not well at unity and in friendship one with the other, and therefore not to lofe that advantage he refolved to engage them before they were better reconciled. Lope de Mendoça, having news of his coming, fortified himself within Trenches, but when he heard that Carvajul ap proached nearer he then changed his mind, fearing a Siege; for which having made no provision, he concluded that he could not long hold out before he should be forced to a furrender: befides he confidered, that his force confifting for the most part of Florse, they would fight with more advantage in the open Field than

within Trenches; As to the opinion that Carvajal conceived of his People, that they were discontented and would leave their Colours with the first occasion that presented; it was believed that he would be as much mistaken in his imagination concerning Lope de Mendoça as he had oft-times been of Diego Centeno: for on the contrary Mendaça boldly fallied forth to meet Carvajal, who also marched against him with his Squadrons drawn forth in form of Battet; and so soon as he perceiand that Love de Mendoça had abandoned the Fortification, he then made, as if he intended directly to give him Battel, but his defign was onely to entice them out of the Fort, which when he had done, and faw them in open Field, he made light of all the reft; and feeing their confidence and boldness, he drew near to them, of all the feet, and teening their confidence and boldness, he grew hear to them, as they also did to him; but when they were within Musket shot, Carvajal drew off in good order and entred into the Village, which Mendoga was not able to hinder; for the Enemy was double their number, and their Musketiers expert, and der; for the Enemy was outdie their number, and their musketiers expert, and well exercised: so that now their quarters were changed, for Carvajal was entred into the Fortification, and Lope de Mendoça remained in the open Field. Carvajal's Souldiers had now time to plunder the Village where the Enemy had lest their Riches; and where, besides their Clothes and Garments, they took sifty thousand pieces of Eight in Bars of Silver, which Lope de Mendopa, when first he descended from the Mountains, had caused to be brought from several parts, where he and from the violentials, had caused to brought from leveral patts, where he and belief Centeno had hid them, when they fled from Francisco de Carvajal: with this money he intended to have paid the Souldiers, but they were so generous that very sew or none would accept thereof; that so for the future, when they should come to receive the reward of their fervices and fufferings for their loyalty to the King, they might then have to alledge, that they had received no pay nor fubfistence from his Majesty, but had served him at their own charge, cost and harard; as they accordingly made known afterwards in their petitions. And this became a common custome among the Souldiers, not onely of those (who were called of the Invasion) but of other noble and brave Souldiers of Peru, who scorned to receive any pay, and were angry when it was offered, ftanding much upon the honour of ferving without prefent interest, but onely in hopes and expectation of a future reward: but if the necessities of any particular person were so
great as to ensorce him to receive subsistence money, he would not accept it by
way of pay, but as money lent, giving his obligation to repay it again to his Maiefty's Exchequer, when they were enabled to to doe; which engagement they performed with much punctuality, standing greatly on the honour of a Souldier's promife.

#### CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Adventures of Francisco de Carvajal, he overcomes and kills Lope de Mendoça, and enters into the Charcas.

WHilst the Souldiers of Carvajal were dispersed and plundering the Village, it seems as if Lope de Mendoça had lost an opportunity and the right time of falling upon his Enemies; but Mendoça apprehended that Carvajal was so vigilant as to leave him no such advantage; which indeed so appeared accordingly, for no sooner did Carvajal observe his men to be dispersed, but he immediately founded an alarm, with which his men immediately repaired to their Colours, and remained all night drawn up in posture of Battel. And now to deceive the Enemy, he seigned a Letter from one of his Souldiers, which he delivered to be carried by an Indian, who spake very good Spanish, instructing him what to say to gain a belief: in that Letter he was advised to fall in upon Carvajal that night, and to charge him in two several places, and that he would then find many that would revolt over to his side, for most were discontented; the which divers would have done the day before, but that they seared the shot in their passage over unto him.

Thus did Carvajal avail himfelf of the opinion which Mendoza falfly conceived of the discontent of his men, and of their ulage which inclined them to revolt when an opportunity should offer. So soon as Mendoza had read the Letter, he gave full credence to it, though it had no hand or firm thereunto, because it ugreed with the opinion he conceived of the inclinations of Carvajal's men; and with these expectations having drawn out his men, he attached the Enemy in two places according to the advices which were given him; but he was beaten off in both, because they were provided to receive him; and finding that no man joyned or came over to his side, with much discouragement he drew off, having lost seven or eight of his men killed, and as many wounded. And having understood from the Indians that about six or seven leagues from that place Francisco de Carvajast had lodged all the Riches belonging to himself and to his Souldiers, he resolved to play him the same game, and to pay him in the same coin; according ly matters succeeded, for marching thither he selfed on all the Spoils which Carvajast had made, with which he rewarded his men to their great satisfaction; for besides clothing of all sorts, they selfed quantities of Gold, Arms and Powder.

The thire Historians report that Carvajal was wounded that night by a Musker. that in his Thigh; howfoever he would not own it, for, being privately dreffed. he went abroad and gave luch Orders as were necessary; but if that were, it was but a flight wound, confidering that he went the Rounds, and was on the Guard and Watch all that night, and the next day purfuing them to their Quarters, beat them up, and fell upon them in the night; and they being weary, and tired, and afleep, were totally routed and defeated; many of them were taken, but such of them as escaped by the darkness of the night, (amongst which Lope de Mendoca was one) were dispersed into divers parts. So soon as it was day, Carvajal perceived that Mendoça was gone, but howfoever he followed him upon the track; and then it was that he first tunderstood in what manner he and his Companions and then it was that he first uncertifold in what manner he and in Companions had been plundred of their Riches and Spoils by Mendoga. Upon which news, turning to his Souldiers, Lope de Mendoga, said he, hath been ill-advised to cary with him the instrument of his death; whereby he would give them to understand that he would pursue them to the last extremity, and untill such times they had ferrieved their eftates. And according to this faying, he hotly purfled Bope de Nétadoga, who having travelled about eight or nine leagues, imagined that Carvajul had to much to doe that it was impossible for him to make pursuit after him either that day, or the day following; and in confidence hereof, he passed a River, and laid himself down to repose, and refresh himself after the watchingsof feveral nights: but whilft fome were fleeping, and others eating, Carvajal unexpectedly appeared descending from the top of a Mountain directly to the River; upon which an alarm being given, every one shifted for himself, and though Carvajal had no more than fixty Horse with him, of the choicest of his Troops, which he supposed sufficient to pursue a slying Enemy, yet they believed him to come with all his Force. In this place Carvajal took many Prisoners, and amongst them two or three Files of Souldiers who were playing for the pieces of Gold which they had robbed: upon which occasion Carvajal uttered some very remarkable Sayings, which Diego Hernandez mentions. And at this place taking one days rest for his necessary refreshment, Lope de Mendoça, with five or six of his Comrades, had the opportunity of flight, and to disperse themselves into divers places, not knowing where to go, or where to take refuge and onely to fly from the face of the Enemy.

Carvajal having recovered the greatest part of what he had lost, though not all, followed the pursuit of his game, and it was his fortune to take the track which was made by Mendoça, not that he had any certainty thereof, but onely seeing the way to be larger and wider than the others, he followed that track so closely that though the Enemy was gone five or fix hours before them, yet after the second night, by break of day, he arrived at the very place where Mendoça was lodged, in a little Indian Village, having in less than thirty hours, from the time when he was last disturbed in his Quarters, marched twenty two leagues; and indeed had he not been forced thereunto for want of sleep and repose, he had yet proceeded firther; but he and his people were so overcome with long journies, and faint for want of food and sustenance that they laid themselves to sleep like so many logs of wood, and without sense like inanimate Creatures. In the mean time came Carvasal to the Village with eight men onely, leaving the rest behind, that mainty many leaving the rest behind, that mainty mainty mainty mainty many leaving the rest behind, that mainty maint

might give an alarm that night to Lope Mendoga in what place foever he found him, being resolved so to hunt and pursue him, that having no time given him either for fleep or refreshment, he should perish in the chase. The Indians gave notice of the House where Mendoga and his Comrades were lodged, to which he went with greater affurance and feifed on both the doors of the room, which was a great Hall belonging to the Cacique or Lord of that Village; and then to make them believe that all his Captains and Forces were with him, he would call out to them by their names, faying, You, fuch a one, go thither, and fuch a one keep this door, and you this; and then he called to another by his name to fer fire to the Hall: with this noise Carvajal, calling out in this manner, had charmed all within the House to a kind of astonishment, so that he entred into it with three persons onely, and disarmed, and bound them all, excepting Lope de Mendo. 64, to whom, in confideration of his Office and Title of Captain-General, they liewed a greater respect; and then they brought them out of the House, that they might fee the finall number to which they were become Prisoners. In this manner Lope de Mendoça was taken 5 the which Historians relate in general withour the circumstances of the several strategems used by Carvajal. Lope de Mendoça was immediately strangled and his Head cut off, as also Nicholas de Eredia and three others; but the rest were all pardoned, as were all others (of the Invalida as they called them) to whom he restored their Horses and Arms and whatsoever was taken from them; and gave Money and Horses to such as wanted them, endeavouring by all fair means to gain them to his Party. In like manner he pardoned Lewis: Pardomo and Alongo Camargo, who had joyned with Mendoga after they lest Diego Centeno: the which Pardon was granted in consideration of a discovery they made of fifty thousand pieces of Eight in Silver, which were buried by him in a certain place. After this Victory, no other action remaining to be performed, he marched into the Charcas with intention to recide fome days in the City of Place, and to amass what Silver he could from the Mines of Potosi, which were discovered that year. And then he confiscated all the Indians, and Plantations of those who were dead, and of those who stood out and were fled, unto the use of Gonçalo, Piçarro, in recompense for the great charge and expense he had been at for maintenance of the War. When he was come near to the City of *Plate*, all the Inhabitants thereof came forth to meet him, in hopes with that complement to appeale and loften his angry and fierce humour: amongst the rest came Alonso Ramires with his white Rod in his hand, having been made chief Governour of that Town by Diego Centeno. Carvajal at fight hereof grew angry, and faid to him, Mr. Ramirez, Take off the Cross from the top of that white Staff, and then sharpen it at the point, and dart it at a Dog, and I protest that if you do not hit him. in the right eye I will hang you for it; meaning thereby to declare his folly and indifcretion in coming to meet him with that fignal of Authority in his hand, which he had received from a Party which stood in defiance of him, and whose Power he would not own. Hereupon Ramirez threw away his Staff, not reflecting in due time on the indifcretion and imprudence of this Act.

#### CHAP. XXXIX.

Carvajal fends the Head of Lope de Mendoça to Arequepa, and what was the faying of a Woman thereupon. Of a Mutiny which was made against Carvajal, and how the Authours thereof were punished.

THE next day after Carvajal entred into the City of Plate, he fent the Head of Lope de Mendoça to the City of Arequepa by Dionysio de Bobadilla, who was afterwards made Serjeant-Major to Gonçalo Piçarro, and with whom I was acquainted; and his instructions were to set it up upon the common Gallows of that City, that the Inhabitants might take notice and example thereby; for in that Town

Воок IV.

Diego Centeno had first set up his Standard. Bobadilla was the Messenger hereof and upon this occasion it may be pertinent to our purpose not to omit a particular paffage which happened hereupon, that a matter fo remarkable may not be forgotten. There lived in Arequepa a vertuous and charitable Woman, called Pagnan of Lexion, who had been a Servant to the Lady Catalina Lexion, a Woman of as noble a Family as any is of that name in the Kingdom of Portugal, and was the Wife of Francisco de Carvajal, though some, to render her odious, will have her to have been his Whore; but certainly the was his Wife, and greatly esteemed by her Husband, and all the Nobility of Peru, and indeed her Person, and Vermes

and noble Birth did deserve no less.

746

This Lady bred up and maintained this Joanna Leyton for so long a time, that ar length the took that name, and called her felf Legion; and then afterwards married her to a person of honour called Francisco Voso, and she was a Person of so great honour that Francisco Carvajal loved her as his own Daughter. During these troubles and revolutions cauted by Googalo Pigarro the always favoured the King's fide, and often interceded for some of them with her Master Carvajal; others the affifted with her Money, and fome the concealed in her House, and particular larly the hid three at that time when Gonçalo Pigarro first entred into Rimac with that flaughter and imprisonment of people which we have before related. Francifco de Carvajal, whose knowledge nothing escaped, took her aside, and asked her where those three men were which she had hidden; she denied to know of any but he confidently charging her with it, and naming one of them, whom he finspected, the was so confounded, that the could not longer persist in the denial's and therefore, taking a manly courage, it is true, faid the, they are in fuch a Chamber, and I will bring them to you with a Knife, that you may cut their Throats and drink their Bloud, and eat their Flesh, that so you may be glutted and fatiated with humane Bloud after which you are fo thirfty: and fo being inft going away, Carvajal called her, and faid, let them alone, let them alone, and let me alone also, and the Devil take thee: and thus foanna Leyton gained her point and victory over him. This relation I received from one of the greatest enemies that Carvajal had, but a person of great probity, called Goncalo Silvestre. of whom we have formerly made mention.

Some short time after this Joanna de Leyton went to live at Arequepa, where Dionysio de Bobadilla brought the Heads of Lope de Mendoça, Nicholas de Eredia, and of three or four others; and before he went to pay his respects to Pedro de Fuentes, who was Governour of that City under Gonçalo Piçarro, he made a visit to this foanna Legion, believing that she would gladly hear of the health of her Master Francisco de Carvajal. The Lady received him with a good welcome, and having first passed the usual complements at meeting, and made enquiry after the welfare of her Lord, the earnestly entreated Bobadilla to deliver the Head of Lope de Mendoça into her hands, that the might have the fatisfaction to bury it in fuch manner as became a person of his merit and loyalty to his King; but Bobadilla excused himself, saying, that he durst not doe it, for that she well knew the severe humour of Carvajal his Lord, who would for fuch an offence hang him and quarter him; but she still continued her importunity, and defired him for God's sake to let her have it, and that the would give him two hundred pieces of Eight, wherewith he might oblige and help one of his indigent Souldiers, for what good, faid the, can it doe you, fince the Head is diffnembred from the Body, to drag it through the Streets, and fix it on the Gallows? But Bobadilla still defired her excuse three or sour times with the same words, and she continued to press him with the greatest earnestness in the world; but at length, feeing that the could not prevail with all her intreaties and promises, she grew angry, and then said, Well, set it up then in the name of God, but know that you had better have let it alone; and that the two hundred pieces of Eight which I offered for it, I will employ in Masses to be said for his Souls, and I tell thee farther, that he, whosoever he is, that is not contented to have that Head honourably buried, will not live long, and I hope shortly to see thy Head in the place of it.

This discourse passing thus, Bobadilla (as the Historians say) was ready to die with laughter, admiring much at the Dialogue he had with Joanna Leyton, and from her went directly to present the Heads to Pedro de Fuentes. And commanding the Indians to unfold the Clothes wherein they were enwrapped, they did it so awkerdly, and were fo puzzled at it, that'he was forced to come himself and lay them open: fome of the Spaniards standing by, said that the Heads stank, but Bobadilla

made answer, No. Gentlemen, faid he; the Heads of our Enemies cut off with our own hands do never flink, but rather fmell fweet, by which he shewed himself a true Scholar and Servant to Carvajal, for all his Disciples were of the

Francisco de Carvajal having thus defeated Captain Diego Centeno, and killed Love de Mendoça, Nicholas de Eredia, and others; and having refreshed his Souldiers and gratified those who revolted to him at the River of Plate, with Horses. Arms and Money; the better to oblige them to him, he kept his head-quarters at the

City of Plate, making what Money he was able to fend to Picarra.

About this time the Souldiers (of the Invalion) who were many of them noble by birth, being ashamed to have been so easily overcome, and angry at the death of Nicholas de Eredia their chief Commander, and other their Companions. entered into a Conspiracy to revenge the same with the bloud of Carvaial: and that mly in pure revenge, and not out of covetousness, as some report; but that is not probable, because not long before they were so generous as to resuse money which was offered them for their Pay. The principal Conspiratours were Lewis Parlamo, Alonfo Camargo, and others who had formerly been pardoned by Carvajal, as we have mentioned before; and with these thirty others were engaged in the Plot whose names are not known, and agreed to kill him on such a day, and all of them took an Oath of Secrecy, laying their hands on a Crucifix. But Carvajal, who was a suspicious man, and carefull of his own person, and had many friends who were very true to him came to a discovery of the whole Conspiracy, to prevent which, he feized upon the principal Actours therein, and with great fury and madness uttered in a raving manner these words, as Diego Fernandez reports; Senior Ralmaleda, and other Cavaliers of the Invasion have conspired to kill me, notwithflanding my kind treatment of them, and the respect I shewed them above the true and loyal Servants of my Governour and Lord Picarro, &c.

And thus having put fix or feven of the principal Plotters to death, he pardoned all the rest; but to secure himself from them, knowing them to be desperate men; be fent them in the nature of banishment to Gongalo Picarro by different ways, to whom he had lately wrote a relation of all passages, and how his Enemies were totally routed and defeated; and about the same time Francisco de Carvajul received in exchange of his relation an account of the Battel at Quite. wherein the Vice-king was flain, with what elfe he had done after this fuccess: and how he intended to goe to the City of Los Reges, where he defired to meet Carvajal, that they might there confult, and agree upon fuch measures and methods

as were to be taken for the future.

#### CHAP. XL.

The substance of Francisco de Carvajal's Letter to Gonçalo Picarro, and of his Discourse by word of mouth, perfuading bim to proclaim bimself King of Peru. And how others encouraged him thereunto.

PHIS fortunate News put Carvajal into a thousand thoughts concerning the flate of *Picarro's* affairs, contriving how it might be possible for him to perpetrate his power and rule; not meaning under the Emperour, but by virtue of his own absolute and independent authority, having with affiftence of his own Brother and his own Arms, won and gained that Empire. Diego Fernandez in the fourty ninth Chapter of his Book recites the whole Letter, wherein he advises him to take on himself the Title of King: And when afterwards he and Pigarro met at Rimae, he then made this Discourse to him, which we think fit to anticipate and repeat out of its due place.

Sir, faid he, A Vice-king bath been killed in battel, and his Head cut off by us, and publickly placed on the common Gibbet. After we have waged War against the Royal Standard of his Majesty, and have been the cause of the effusion of so much bloud, and com mitted so many spoils, and robberies, and outrages upon the people; what place can we eve TheEt for mercy and pardon from the King? Nay, if we should come off upon Articles of agreement, and that you could justifie your self, and shew as clear an innocence as the child which sucks at the breast; yet, what security can there be to rely on the most solemn name and promifes that can be made you? Wherefore, I conclude, that you have no fafety how by taking upon you the authority of a King, by which you will better fecure your government than by expectations to receive it from another hand. Plant the Crown upon your own bead and divide the Lands amongst your own friends and creatures: that which the King hath granted for two lives onely, do you give them the fee-simple and inheritance of with Titles of Dukes, Marquelles, and Earls, as is usual in all the Kingdoms of the World who will be thereby engaged to defend you, whilf they fight in defence of their own Estates and Fortunes. You may also create new Orders of Knighthood, calling them with the same names as are used in Spain, or by the denomination of other Saints to whom you are more particularly devoted, and you may frame other Badges as are most agreeable to your fancy: and such as you shall make Knights of the Habit, you may assign them Rents and Pensione to live upon and enjoy for a term of life, as is common every where to the Military Orders. In this manner you will engage all the Gentry and Nobility of the Spaniards, who relide in this Empire, to your Party, and draw those in who are averse, And to bring the India ans in likewise to your service and devotion, and to dye for you, as they do for their own natural Prince. I would perfuade you to marry that Princefs which is nearest of bloud to the Royal Family: in order whereunto, I would have you fend Ambassadours to the Mounthing, where the Inca, who is Heir to this Empire, doth now reside; desiring him to quit his folitary habitation, that so you may restore him to the Majesty and Grandure of his Empire: and that he would with his own hand give his Sifter or Daughter in marriage to you. It is not to be doubted but that he will be infinitely proud and overjoyed with this Alliance; and fuch will be the universal satisfaction and contentment of his Subjects in restoring their Inca to his power and dominion, that they will chearfully obey what servil Offices seever their Inca shall command them for your service; as the carriage of your provisions, depopulating Towns where your Enemies are to pals, making ways and roads where you shall direst. And, in fine, you will hereby engage all the Indians to be of your lide : for it would be a great inconvenience to an Enemy to want people to carry their baggage, without which they can scarce pass in the Countrey. And as to the Inca, he will content himself with the bare name and title of a King; and you many suffer his Subjets to obey him in the times of peace, as they did his Ancestours in former ages. And as to your felf, You and your Ministers and Captains may rule and govern the Spaniards, and require the Inca, when eccafion ferves, to command his Indians to perform such and such services as you shall appoint; and by these means you will secure them to be fuithfull to you, and engage them to be true, and not falle, and Spres, as they have been to both fides,

Moreover, you will by this friendlhip of the Inca amass all the Gold and Silver that the Indians dig throughout the Empire, and seeing they esteem not of it as riches or treasure, they will, in reward of the restauration of their Prince and on the score of your alliance with them, be easily induced to discover to you all the treasure which hath been hidden by their Anceffours: which will amount to that vast riches, that (as the faying it ) you may therewith purchase the whole World, in case you are ambitious to be the sole Monarch of it. And let not that be any scruple to you, that you hereby usurp on the dominion of the King of Spain; for when you are a King ( as the Juying is ) you can doe no wrong. This Countrey did once belong to the Inca's, who were the natural Princes thereof, so that it properly belongs to them; and if any right may be claimed on the fcore of Conquest, it belongs not to the King of Castile, but to you and your Brothers, who gained it at your own expence,

and with hardships and hazards of your Lives.

And now therefore to restore again the Government to the Inca, the natural Lord thereof, it is a piece of generofity founded on the Law of Nature; and thereby also you will doe right to your felf, for it is not reason that you who are the Conquerour of an Empire should be a Slave and Subject in it; or that he, who by the valour of his Arme hath made himfelf a King, should out of a meanness and pusillanimity of spirit render himself a Vassal or a Subject in it. The success of all these Actions consists in making good the first steps and gradations to it; And therefore I befeech you feriously to consider of what I have proposed, which, if well purfued, will certainly tend to your establishment in this Empire, and make all veople in this and in the ages to come acknowledge you and yours for their lawfull

Royal Commentaries.

And to conclude all, be the event what it will, let me advise you to take the Crown and Tale of King; it is but what you have gained by your Arms and Valour; and no less Tale than that can become you: and therefore I cannot but repeat it again and again to un, Die a King, and not a Subject; He that is contented in an ill condition, described worfe.

I have in this Discourse of Carvajal's omitted several particulars which will found ill in the ears of Loyal persons, and gratifie the honour of ill-affected perforce These Discourses were not unpleasing to Gongalo Pigarro, who heard them willingly, and took it so kindly from him, that he would so far concern himoff for his establishment in grandure, that he afterwards called him Father; the ame Advices were in like manner confirmed by Pedro de Puelles, Licenciado Cepeda. and Hernando Bachicao, with the concurrence of his intimate Friends, who as Gamora faith in Chap. 173. were very many; and gives an account of that paffage in these words.

Francisco de Carvajal and Pedro de Puelles wrote a Letter to Picarro to give himfelf the Title of King; and by that means to excuse the sending of Ambassadours to the Emperour; and in lieu thereof to provide good Horses, Armour, Shor, and Arms, which were the best Advocates for justification of his Cause; and that he should apply those fifths, and rents and duties which Cobos, without deferving any part thereof had carried away, unto his own use: some were of opinion not to yield the Countrey unto the King, but upon terms that he should grant likewise unto them the inheritance of their Lands; others said that they would make a King, as they thought fit, as had been practifed in Spain, when Policy and Garci Ximenez were fet up. Others faid, that unless the Government of Pan were given to Picarro, and his Brother Hernando Picarro fet at liberty, they would call in the very Turks to their affiftence: And all of them concurred in that general opinion, that the Countrey was their own, and that they might make a Division thereof amongst themselves, in regard they had won it by conquest and at the expence of their own bloud. Thus far Gomara, which Fernandez Palentino confirms in the thirteenth Chapter of his fecond Book, in these words which I have extracted from thence.

These Actions being ended, they marched to the City of Los Reyes, discoursing on the way of the methods which were now to be purfued. Some were of opinion that the King would overlook all things that were past, and confirm Gonçalo Picarn in the Government: others, more impudently faid, that it was no matter when ther the King did approve of things or not, for that his Commands would find little effect or compliance in those parts. Licenciado Cepeda, who was desirous to Amer and please Picarro in all things, approved of the saying of Hernando Bachicao and others, that all the Kingdom and Dominion of Peru did by right and by just dimbelong unto him: to prove which he produced many examples, whereby it appeared that many Kingdoms, Provinces and Countreys which at first were gained by force of Arms, were afterward conferved, and after a long tract of time were effeemed the hereditary Possessions, and devolved to posterity by an undeniable Title: witness the Kingdom of Navarre; and the reason, form and manner how these Kings were anointed, which he compared with the circumstances of Pi-(4070); and then he concluded, that never was any King upon the face of the Earth, who at the beginning had ever a more fair and clear Title to a Kingdom, than Gosgalo Picarro had unto his: all which Picarro heard with great attention and deight; for befides that humane nature is naturally ambitious of power and government; his affections were also for want of due confideration let loose to the immoderate defires thereof; for he was a man naturally of a dull capacity, and knew not how to write or read; and therefore made not those reflexions on the consequences of things as thinking-men usually do. And in regard that Copeda was a learned and a well read man, and efteemed for his judgment and knowldge, every one approved his fayings, and none did contradict or question any thing that was faid by him, for this matter was the whole subject of their difcourse at all times when they were in conversation together. Thus far Palentino.

We have formerly mentioned what is reported by Gomara concerning the duties which Cobos took without deferving or doing any thing for them: the truth of

750

which matter stands thus: His Imperial Majesty was pleased to grant unto his Secretary Francisco de Cobos one and a half per Centum upon all the Gold and Silver which was brought to the Mint and Treasury of his Majesty, where the Fifths were deducted for the use and benefit of the King: but then Cobos was to be at the whole charge to find Coals for melting, and to provide Say-masters to refine and assilver to Gold and Silver, to pay the Minters; and in fine, to desiral all charges and expences thereof whatsoever; which were so great, that the Secretary would rather have been a Loser than a Gainer thereby: but in regard that every one who went to pay his Fisths might the better make up his accounts, and know how much he was to pay and how much remained to him; the manner was to bring the Gold and Silver ready melted, refined and assilved by the King's Assilvants ter, at the proper cost and expence of the person to whom it belonged: by which means Cobos did not person his obligation which he had given; and for that reason Gomara saith that he took duties which he had not deserved.

#### CHAP. XLI.

Gonçalo Piçarro declares his duty and allegiance to the King, he departs from Quitu, and goes to Truxillo and Los Reyes; and the great joy was made at his coming.

**B** UT notwithstanding all this discourse and persuasion, *Gonçalo Piçarro* from a principle of Loyalty to his Sovereign, could not resolve to take upon himfelf the Title of King; and more especially because he could not but believe that his Majesty would confirm him in the Government of Peru, in consideration that he and his Brothers had done great Services, having by the Conquest of that Kingdom annexed it to the Imperial Crown, and by virtue of the Commission given to his Brother the Marquis he was to hold that Government during his life; with liberty to name a Succeffour after his death; and that his Brother had accordingly nominated him. Then as to his proceedings and fucceffes against the Vice-king; he supposed that his vigorous and unreasonable proceedings in execution of the new Laws might eafily justifie his Actions. For that the Vice-king refused to hear the Addresses and Petitions which were made to him by the whole Kingdom, and for that reason he was chosen and elected by the unanimous confent of all the People to represent their complaints and aggrievances, which he had rejected and absolutely refused to receive. Then, as to the imprisonment of the Vice-king, and designing to embark and send him away for Spain; it was not done by him, but by the Judges upon these considerations which he meditated within himself; Picarro flattered himself with high expectations that he should not onely obtain pardon from the King, but a new confirmation and fettlement of the Kingdom of Peru upon him: thus men of Arms and great Souldiers take falle measures of their merits and the rewards which they expect for them. But in regard Gonçalo Pigarro did not accept of the offer, which his friends made him; his refufal was interpreted as the effect of a weak understanding, and not proceeding from a principle of loyalty towards his Prince; and perhaps upon this ground it was, That all Historians in the character they give of him, represent him as a person of a weak understanding; though in reality those who have been familiarly acquainted with him have reported him to have been endued with a sufficient Talent of knowledge, to have been of a good nature, fincere and open, firm to his promifes, without fraud and tricks; but of a true, honest and noble spirit, reposing too much confidence in his friends, who afterwards betrayed and destroyed him, as all Historians relate. Nor can we much blame the Writers for giving a character of Pigarro to different to truth; because they compiled their Histories out of those notes and particulars which were given them by persons who were directed to temporize and comply with the humour of those times; as Palentino complains in his dedicatory Epiftle in these words: Being resolved to proceed. for he, my pen started with fear, and a stop was given to the course of my Hi-Horv, upon confideration of some inconveniences which might happen unto me thereby. And remaining in this suspense, I came to the Court of your Maiestv where I presented before your Royal Council of the Indies the first part of the Hifor which I had finished. And in regard they conceived a good opinion of the with of what I had delivered therein; they were pleased to judge it not onebeneficial and utefull, but likewise necessary for me to compleat the Histowhich I had begun: and being so commanded to doe with promises of a reward for my labour; I took new spirit and courage again, and banished all that fear and apprehentions which formerly gave a ftop to the course of my Pen. e.c. And in this manner I little regarded the testimony of Enemies, or what men said. who reported matters with a prejudice, knowing it to be the custom of mankind to fav things by halves where they have no kindness for the Party. And now Gontile Picarro refolved to leave Quitu, and goe to the City of Los Reyes, and to make his relidence there, because it was in the middle of the Empire, and the most advantageous fituation to feat himfelf for suppression of disturbances and stirrs which might arife in any parts of *Peru*, as also to administer justice in the times of peace. In Quity he constituted Pedro de Puelles to be his Captain General and Deputy with three hundred Souldiers; for he reposed great trust in him upon the experience he had of his faithfulness to him, and succour which he gave him at a time when he looked on himself as ruined and finking: and being come to the City of St. Michael, he received intelligence that a great number of Indian Souldiers were gathered in a Body upon the frontiers of that Countrey; to differ fe which. he fent Captain Mercadillo with about a hundred and thirty men who therewith afterwards peopled that City which is now called Laxa. Then he fent Captain Porcel with a Party of fixty men to the ancient Conquest which had been made in the Province of Pacamura; likewise Licenciado Carvajal was ordered to goe by See and embark with those Souldiers which John Alonso Palamino had brought from Negratua; and that he should order matters in every Port according to the Instructions which were given him. Licenciado Carvajal performed every thing as he was commanded, failing along the Coast as far as Truxillo, whilst Gonçalo Piçarro marded all the way by Land; and at length they met all together at that Place, where orders were given to goe to Los Reyes; Picarro was accompanied thither with two hundred choice Souldiers, amongst which were Licenciado Carvajal, John de Acosta, John de la Torro, Licenciado Cepeda, Fernando Bachicao, Diego Gaillen. with other Porfons of Quality.

Upon his entry into the City men were of different opinions concerning the manner of it. Those who would have him take the Title of King, and to be feedily crowned, proposed that he should enter under a Canopy of State. Others, who were of a more moderate temper, would have the Gate and the new Street enlarged and made more wide by laying open one of the Barriers of the City, to make his Entrance the more fignal, according to the example of the Romm Emperours, when they entred Rome in triumph: both fides earneftly contended about this matter, but Picarro would yield to neither of them, but onely referted himself to what Licenciado Carvajal should judge convenient and fit to be done. And he accordingly directed, that he should make his Entry on Horse-back, and his Captains all on Foot before him, with their Horses led on the right-hand of them, after which the Foot were to march in rank and file. The Horsemen dismounted and marched on foot, being intermixed with the Infantry; it not feeming decent that they should ride whilst their Captains were on foot. Gonçalo Pigarro was mounted on a very fine Horse, and came up in the Rere, supported on each fide with four Bilhops; on the right-hand by the Arch-bilhop of Los Reyand the Bishop of Quitu; and on the left by the Bishop of Cocco and the Bishop of Bogosa, the latter of which came to Peru to be consecrated by the hands of those other three Prelates. Then came another band of Souldiers for a Rereguard, all marching without Guns, or Pikes, or other Arms, than onely their Swords and Daggers in token of peace. After all came Lorenço de Aldana who was conflicted chief Governour of that City by Pigarro, together with the Aldermen of the Corporation and other Inhabitants, who came out to welcome Pigar-79; and all the people, as he paffed, faluted him with loud acclamations and a thousand bleffings, for having concerned himself for their welfare, and restored

BOOK IV

753

their Estates to them with infinite labours and hardships, and the hazard of his life; in confideration of which they offered their lives and fortunes to remain an his devotion. And being now entred within the City, he went directly to the Cathedral Church there to adore the most Holy Sacrament; the Streets all along as the draft Church there to adore the more roop sactations; the Sites an along as the paffed refounded with vocal Mufick, Singing, Minftrels and Trumpets, which were excellently good in that City; and the Bells of the Churches and Monafteries spake his welcome, and added to the Solemnity of that day. *Picarro* having performed his devotions to our Lord, went to his House, which formerly below ged to his Brother the Marquis, where, as the Historians say, he lived in greater folendour and flate than ever he had done before. Some fay that he entertained eighty Halberdiers for his Guard, and that no man was permitted to fit down in his prefence; fome fay he gave his hand to be kiffed; but many stories of this nature are framed out of envy and malice of enemies, who, as we have faid, raise these reports: though to my certain knowledge, and I speak the same on the truth of a Christian, that there was not one Halberdier in all his Guard, nor have I ever heard that he entertained any. And, as I have formerly mentioned, when his Brother the Marquis returned into this Countrey, with a Commission from his Majesty, and with the privilege to entertain twenty four Halberdiers for the guard of his Person, he could by no means persuade any to accept of the Office. it being efteemed too low and inferiour to the quality of a Spaniard; onely I knew two men who youchfafed to humble themfelves to that mean degree. And therefore I know not how afterwards it could come to pas in times of greater pride and height, that eighty Spaniards should be found to stoop or condescend so low as to bear Halberds on their shoulders, especially since it hath been observed. that they were too proud to own the taking money on the notion of pay; and therefore I am of opinion, that the Authours who wrote of this matter did miftake the name of Halberdiers for Harquebusiers. Besides, I note it for a mistake of the like nature in those who report, that Pigarro made use of poison to remove those out of the world who stood in his way, for never any such thing was acted, nor yet imagined to be done, for if it had been I should certainly have heard thereof, fooner or later, as well as they; and indeed, had he been guilty of fuch vanities and crimes as these, he would have been detested and abhorred by all the world, whereas on the contrary (as all Authours agree)' he was well beloved and generally effeemed. And so much I declare upon my faith and truth, as an evewitness of most of these passages; and I speak in sincerity without sayour or affection to any, having no engagements to either Party.

#### CHAP. XLII.

The Authour declares in what manner Gonçalo Picarro behaved himself towards his own People. The death of Vela Nunnez. The arrival of Francisco de Carvajal at Los Reves, and the manner how he was received.

WHEN Gonçalo Pigarro was at the City of Cozco, I had some knowledge of him by sight, for soon after the Paralla City. of him by fight; for foon after the Battel of Huarina he came and refided there untill the Battel of Sacfahuana, which was about fix months, during which time I was frequently in his House, and observed his behaviour both within doors and abroad. All people paid him the honour and respect which was due to their Superiour, attending and following him wherefoever he went, either on foot or on Horseback; and he demeaned himself with that courtesie and affability towards all, and so like a fellow-fouldier, that no man could find cause of complaint: I never faw him give his hand to any man to be kiffed, though defired in way of complement. He freely took off his Hat to every man, and to perfons of Quality he gave them the Titles which were due to them: he constantly, as we have faid, called Francisco de Carvajal by the name of Father, as I once overheard him fay; for when I was a Boy, or a young Lad, he would always have me with him, and upon a certain time Carvajal came to speak to him, and though there was none in the Room present with them besides my self, yet Carvajal not being willing that I should hear any thing which was between them whispered bim in the ear; what it was I could not hear, but Picarro answered in a few words. which were. Look you Father.

Thave feen him fometimes at Dinner, for he always ate in publick; his Tible was very long, and held at least an hundred people: at the upper end of which he fate himself, and on each hand there was a void space left which might ontain two persons; at which distance all Souldiers sate down as they pleased: onely the Captains and Citizens did not dine with him, unless it were in their own Houses, I dined with him twice at his own Table, by his command and invitation; one of which was on Candlemas-day, and then his Son Don Fernando. and Don Francisco his Nephew, who was Son to his Brother the Marquis, and I the flanding at the void place of his Table, and he carved for us all, and gave from his own Plate; all which I faw, being then about the age of nine years, which I compleated on the twelfth day of April following, and do certifie the muth thereof, having been an eye-witness of what I have before mentioned; so that Historians may yield more credit to me herein than to those who speak our of prejudice, and with rancour and malice to his person. In like manner they acone him, and fay that he took away all the Fifths and Revenue belonging to the King, with the Tributes which were paid by the Indians, and the Estates of those who took up Arms against him, which together amounted to above two third parts of all the Income of Peru; and yet for all this they fay that his Souldiers were unpaid, at which they remained much unfatisfied; but we may eafily refute this errour and this mistake of Writers, when it is considered, that for certain he left no hidden Treasures at the time of his death. They also accuse him of Adultay and Incontinence, with many aggravating circumftances, which are most no-acious in the lives of Governours and men in eminent places.

But to return to our Hiftory: We must know, that during the time that Gonab Picaro refided at Los Reces; it happened that Vela Numez, Brother to the late Viceking, came to an unfortunate end by means of Captain John de la Torre, who some years before had married an Indian Woman, who was Daughter to the Cuma of the Province of Puerto Viejo: The Indians, pleasing themselves with the honourable alliance of a Spaniard, whom they esteeming and preferring before their Riches, discovered unto him a Treasure of an hundred and fifty thousand Ducats in Gold and Emeralds, which were hidden within the Tombs of their Ancestours, John de la Torre, having thus made his fortune, had a mind to leave Gonthe Picarre, and return into Spain, and there to enjoy his Riches: but then confidening with himself that his Rebellion and Actions against the King were too well known (for he was one of those who tore out the Hairs of the Vice-king's Beard and put them into a Medall) he feared he should be called in question, and not live fecurely and in peace at home: wherefore to take off this blemith from him, and doe some remarkable service, he persuaded Vela Numez to make his escape with him, on one of the Ships then in Port, promising to affift him therein, in case he would engage his Relations to favour and protect him, for the good lervices he had done in delivering him out of the hands of that Tyrant. Vels Numer hearkned to the proposals he had made him, but then stories and rumours Numee preferrly changed his mind, and began to contrive in what manner he might fix himself in the good opinion of Gonçalo Piçarro. John de la Torre observing this alteration, and fearing less the or some others of his Considents should make a discovery to Piçarro of the Compact or Plot that was between them, and the last of the Compact or Plot that was between them. thought it to be his best course to be before-hand with them in the discovery 5 and so went to Picarro and informed him of the design of Vela Nunnez to make his escape, for which they cut off his Head, and hanged and quartered another conterned in the fame Plot: howfoever, it was the common talk that this piece of quelty was acted at the perfuafion onely of Licençiado Carvajal; for Piçarro had a kindness for Vela Nunnez, whom he loved for his good nature and sweet disposition, and never inclined to put him to death. And this was the fate of this poor Gentleman, by the false accusation of a treacherous fellow, who was a Villain of the highest nature. Francisco de Carvajal, having some days before received intelligence

telligence of Piçarro's march to Los Rejes, and his orders to meet him there, he came to the Charcas with intention to joyn his Forces with him at the City it felf: Piçarro upon the news of his approach went a great way to meet him, and caused a triumphal reception to be made for him, as due to a Captain of his merit, who had defeated to many Enemies and gained so many Victories. Carvaja less the Mondoga for Governour of the City of Plate under Gonçalo Piçarro, and brought with him about a million of pieces of Eight, which he had digged from the Mines of Potocs, and from the Indians who are free and not under subjection of any Lord, so that Piçarro was now surnished with plenty of money; and then Carvajal took his opportunity to press him farther upon the Subject of making himself King, repeating the same arguments, which he had used in his Letter. And here let us leave them, their Officers, and their Friends, and particularly the inhabitants of the several Cities of that Empire, employed in keeping all things peaceable, and in quiet condition to the security and protection as well of Indians as Spaniards, and to the increase and propagation of the Holy Catholick Faith by catechising and preaching to the Natives; and to the advantage of Trade and of every private man's concernment, which was so diminished and impoverished by the late Wars and Revolutions, that no man durst pretend to an Estate, for fear that it should be taken away, either by the violent force of Tyrants, who bare-faced plundred and pillaged all they could seise and lay their hands on; or else by those who pretended to borrow it for the service of his Majesty. And now (as the Proverb is) That it is good slipping upon turn of the Tide, let us pass over into Spain, and let us see what his imperial Majesty is there designing for reducing to obedience the Rebels in Peru, and to set at liberty the Vice-king Blasco Numnez.

The End of the Fourth Book.

Royal

# Royal Commentaries.

### BOOK V.

#### CHAP. I.

Licensiado Pedro de la Gasca is chosen by the Emperour Charles the Fifth to reduce Peru.

7 Hillt matters were transacted in Peru in the manner before related. Diego Albarez Cueto and Francisco Maldonado arrived in Spain in Quality of Ambassadours, the first of which was sent from the Vice king, in the latter from Gongalo Picarro, and both went to Valladolid, where the Court the lefided, under the Government of the Prince Don Philip, who ruled that kigsom in the absence of the Emperour his Father; who, like a Catholick Fig. was at that time actually employed in the Wars in Germany against the Lawrence, labouring to reduce them to the obedience of the Holy Mother the Church of Rome. These Ambassadours did severally inform the Prince's Highnef and the Royal Council of the *Indies*, in the best manner they were able, of all the transactions and successes which had happened in *Peru*, until the time of their departure from thence; for then the Vice-king was still living. The ill news of thele great revolutions and troubles of that Kingdom caused many thoughts in the mind of the Prince; for remedy of which his Highness summoned a Coundof the most wife and grave persons, and of most experience, then residing at the Court, which were the Cardinal Don John Tavera Archbishop of Toledo, Cardual Dos Fray Garcia de Loayja Archbilhop of Seville, Dos Francisco de Baldes Prefi-dent of the Royal Council and Bishop of Cignença, the Duke of Alva, the Count of O'orno, Francisco de Los Cobos Lord Lieutenant of Leon, Don John Cunniga Lord Lieurenant of Caftile, Ramirez Bishop of Cuenca and President of the King's Bench in Valladolid; all the Judges of the Royal Council of the Indies, befides several other persons of great Quality; all which, as well as the Court in general, did admire that those Laws and Ordinances which were made and designed for the univerfal go vd, as well of the *Indians* as of the *Spaniards* of *Pern*, should have 10th a different effect, and prove the cause of the destruction both of one and of the other, and to to endanger the Kingdom as even to put it in hazard of being alienated from the Crown of the Emperour. To prevent which, many confultions were held, and great debates did arife thereupon; some were of opinion, that it was to be done onely by force of Arms, and that immediately Souldiers were to be fent thither under the command of feveral experienced Captains; but this opinion was opposed by the difficulty of fuch an enterprise; for that the charge of thipping Souldiers, Arms, Ammunition, Horfes and Provision would be very great, the Voyage was long, the Navigation difficult and subject to a thouland hazards, being to pas two Seas. Other Counfels there were of the more moderate and grave fort of men, who were of opinion, that, fince all those di-Ddddd 2 fturban-

756

furbances were caused by the rigour of the new Laws, and the severe and indiscreet manner of putting them in execution by the Vice-king, the remedy thereof ought to be by contrary applications; which was, that the new Laws should be absolutely absogated and declared invalid, and that to declare and publish them for fuch, a person should be sent of a mild, gentle and affally temper, and one of exactive to the world, be puttered, and capable of Government in the simes of Peace, and yet a Souldier knowing how to manage a War if occasion should require. The Person elected for this employment was Licenciado Pedro de la Gasca, a Presbyter of the Church, and a Member of the General Council of the Inquirie on, and one in whom all the fore-mentioned qualities did concurr; and being thus elected, he was offered to his Majesty for his approbation: upon receipt of these Letters of recommendation, Orders were given in such manner as Gomara writes in the 175th Chapter of his Book, which I have thought fit to repeat word for word, because he seems to be more plain and clear herein than any other Authour whatsoever.

When the Emperour, faith he, had received the news of the great disturbances in Peru, and of the imprisonment of Blasco Numez, he highly resented the infolence of the Judges, who durst attempt so daring a piece of injustice against their allegiance, and also condemned the proceedings of Gonçalo Piçarro, as not tending to his fervice. Howfoever, when it was confidered that Appeal was made to him in reference to the new Laws, that the Letters of Instruction which were given herein and fent by Francisco Maldonado were miscatried, and that Texada died at Sea; the fault was cast upon the Vice-king, who with too much rigour executed the new Laws, without admitting of any Petitions, of hearkening to the Reafons which were offered to the contrary: but then he feemed again to be excused by the positive commands in his Instructions not to admit of any appeal or delay. for that those methods were looked upon as certainly conducing to the service of God, to the welfare and confervation of the Indians, to the discharge of a good Conscience, and to the increase of the King's Revenue: when these thinks, as we faid were confidered, the anger of the Emperour much abated, but his trouble increased by this unfeasonable news, which came to him at a time when he was engaged in a War in Germany, and in those disturbances which were caused by the Latheren. Howfoever, confidering how much it concerned him to relieve his Subjects in Pern, and provide remedies wherewith to pacifie the commotions raise fed in those Kingdoms, which yielded him a vast Income and Revenue; he concurrett in the opinion of his Council, which was to fend a person of a gentle and peaceable disposition, and of experience and practice in affairs, and different to the homour of Blasco Numez, who was violent, open in his Counsels, and neither understanding Men nor Business: and lastly, considering that since a Lion could not prevail, the gentle spirit of a Lamb might be much more mollifying and winning of the people: such a person as this was Licenciado Pedro Gasca esteemed to be, a man of a much better understanding than the other, and one who had gained a reputation in management of the Commotions and Treaties with the Moors in Valentia: And accordingly a Commission was given him, with Letters and Orders in Blank, to infert what Names he should think fit; and all the late Ordinances and new Laws were cancelled and repealed; and Letters were wrote to Goncalo Picarro all dated at Vienna in Germany in the year 1546.

Thus Gasea was dispatched away, and though he departed with a small number of Persons, and a mean Retinue, and with the Title onely of President, yet he was high in esteem, and great hopes were conceived of the success of his negotiations. The shipping which attended him was meanly provided with Mariners, and onely what was necessary, that he might put the Emperour to as little charge as was possible, and shew plainness to the people of Pern without affectation of state in all his proceedings; the Judges he carried with him were Andreo de Gions and Renteria, being persons in whom he greatly consided. When he arrived an Nombre de Dios, he communicated his business to no man, but treated with every man in such manner as agreed with the Character which was given of him, saying, that he was to go to Picarro, and that in case he would not receive him he would return again to the Emperour; for that his prosession was not to be a Souldier, nor was he acquainted with the Art of War, his business being onely to recall the late Ordinances, and to preside in the Council. And whereas Melikoio Vedngo sent to let him know, that he was coming to serve him with some other Compa-

nions, he defired him to forbear a while, and to attend his farther Orders. And leaving his directions here he went to Panama, where he conflittuted Garçia de Pareds Governour, and appointed him a Garrifon of those Souldiers which Hermando Mexia, and Don Pedro de Cabrera, who were Captains belonging to Picarro had brought to him, to defend that Town from the French, who committed Piractics along that Coast; and their coming thither was expected also, but their voyage was shortned by the Governour of Santa Maura who killed them all at a Ranguet to which he had given them an invitation. Thus far Gomara.

#### CHAP. II.

Of the substance of the Commission which Licenciado Gasca brought. His arrival at Santa Marta and Nombre de Dios, the manner of his reception there, and of the various Successes and Treaties which passed there.

NOW that we may add to what was omitted by this Authour relating to the Commission which Licenciado Gasca carried with him, and in which he comes hort, for though in general he favs, that the Emperour granted him a power as large as he could defire, yet not mentioning the particulars thereof, we are to add. that he gave him an unlimited and an absolute power in all things in such full and ample manner as his Majefty could grant; commanding all people upon his Summons to come in to his affiltance with Men, and Horfe, and Arms; and Moby; with Shipping, Provision, and whatever else he should require for his Maistly's Service. He also carried with him a general Act of Pardon for all Crimes whatsoever, and that no action should be brought against any person by reason thereof; and that every man's Estate and Free-hold should be conserved to him. And that he should cause the Vice-king to be embarked and transported into Soin, in case he believed it conducing to the service of his Majesty and the quietwhof the Kingdom. He had also a Licence and Authority to make use of the Royal Revenue. To far as he judged it necessary for reducing the Rebels, for quiting the minds of the People, and for due administration of Justice by the Goremment. He had also Power and Authority to dispose of such Lands and Estates which belonged to *Indians*, which were not already granted or given away; and allo of all Offices and Governments through the whole Empire, as well those which were already gained and conquered as those which should be acquired and discovered hereafter. And to himself there was no fixed or settled Sum appointed for his Salary or Entertainment; but a liberty and privilege to spend 60 much as he judged convenient for his Majesty's Service, of which the Auditor-General was to take an account, and fend the fame to the Officers of his Majesty's Treasury. All which particulars were set down, and required by Licenciado Gasca, who, like a wise man, provided as well for the future as for the present, and also that malitious men might not say, that Interest and a great Salary was the motive to incite him to laborious and difficult undertakings, which at every flep offered themselves, but a true zeal onely to his Majesty's Service was his highest inducement; to which he sacrificed all his peace and quietnels, and preferred it even before his own life. And Gomara farther describing this Licenciado Gasca, saith, that as he was of much more solid understanding and better temper than the Vice-king, so also he was of little stature, and of a strange hape, for from the girdle downwards he was as long as any tall man whatfoever, and then from the girdle upwards to his Shoulders he was not one third so high, and without any proportion to his other parts: when he was on Horse-back he kemed much less than he was, for he was all Thighs and Leggs; and his Countenance was very ill-favoured and unpleasant: but what nature had denied to him in his Body, was largely recompended to him in the endowments of his Mind; for he had not onely, all those which this Authour declares of him, but many

BOOK V.

more, confidering that he regained his Empire again to his Majesty, which was almost totally ruined, and revolted from its allegiance. I my felf knew him, and particularly one evening I was with him when he stood in the Court-yard of my Father's house, leading to the open place from whence he saw the Feasts of Bulls and Sports on Horse back with their Darts; but he lodged then in the houses of Thomas Valouez, now in the possession of his Son Pedro Valquez; where also Gonçalo Picarra lodged when he was in that Town; and fituate on the outlide of the Street which is in the middle between our house and the Convent of our Lady of the Merceder. and though those Houses have at one corner Windows which look out into the Market-place, from whence Licenciado Gafca might have feen all those Snorre howfoever he chose rather to see them from my Father's Court-yard, which more

immediately fronts with the Market place. And now we shall proceed to declare his Actions which were not performed by the Sword or Lance, but by the force of his reason and council, which carried him on with fuch fuccels as obtained all the points he defired both in Peace and War, and at length conducted him out of the Countrey without any Complainte or Accufations against him of violence or oppression. His weapons were. Parience to bear and undergo all the labours and difficulties which prefented, and mildly to suffer the insolences and affronts of the Souldiery; he also had a great flock of subtlety, and crast; and good management to penetrate into the Plots and Designs of his Enemies, and to circumvent and disappoint them; from all which we have arguments fufficient to prove the difficulty of his undertaking, especially if we consider the condition of this Empire, when this worthy person undertook to fettle and reduce it to obedience. And here we shall omit to give an account of the particulars of the Voyage which the President made to Nombre de Dios (to whom hereafter we shall give that Title ) referring the Reader to Diego Fernandez for that relation, and so shall proceed to what succeeded after his arrival there. The President received the first News of the death of the Vice-king in Santa Marta, from Licenciado Almandarezi, who was then Governour of that Province and of that new Kingdom; from whence both Gasca and those with him apprehended great difficulties in their defign; judging it almost impossible to reduce a People without Arms who had proceeded so far in their Rebellion, as to kill the Vice-king in a pitched Battel. But the President, not to discourage his People. concealed the opinion and apprehension he conceived thereof; and to prevent farther disturbances which might arise, he publickly declared, that he had sufficient power and authority to pardon all the Crimes of what nature foever which were already committed, fo that no man ought to doubt of pardon or of a general Act of Oblivion. Moreover he confidered, that by the death of the Viceking, that general hatred was removed from the People, which they conceived against his perverse and untractable humour, and that thereby they might more eafily be reduced to the service of his Majesty: Besides which another difficulty was obviated in case it should be thought necessary for quieting the People, to fend the Vice-king out of that Countrey; who might object the injuffice of such proceedings against a person, who for no other reason than the Service of his Majefty against Rebels and Tyrants, was banished the Countrey, and deprived of his Authority. The Prefident Gasca comforting himself with such Considerations as these failed to Nombre de Dios, where he was received by the Souldiers of Hernan Mexia and by the Inhabitants all well armed; but they shewed him very little respect and less affection, speaking contemptibly of his person with affronting words; of all which (as Diego Fernandez faith) he took no notice, but spake kindly and chearfully to all forts of People. But the Clergy of the City, like true Servants of God, went in proceffion with the Crofs to meet and receive the President, whom they conducted to the Church to sing the Te Deum Landamus, with which kindness the President was much pleased, and thanked God, that fome People were remaining, who were acquainted with their duty and good manners, and in some kind made amends for the disrespects of others: but that which added most to his satisfaction was, that the night following, Hernan Mexia who was one of the Captains of Gonçalo Picarro, and much obliged to him for feveral favours, came privately to fpeak with him, offering himself to the service of his Majesty, and to use his utmost endeavours to engage other Captains and Souldiers to return unto their Loyalty and duty towards their Prince: Moreover he gave him a large Narrative of the State of the Countrey and of the Fleet which

was at Panama, and of the Condition of the Captains and Souldiers which were ombarked thereupon, and how that Pedro de Hinojosa was Admiral thereof: for all which Advices and Promites the Prefident returned him thanks, and promifed him in the name of his Majesty a suitable reward, desiring his secrecy in the whole matter: And thus Peace and Friendthip being agreed between them, they primatter. And discourfed every night together, and Hernan Mexia gave him an account of all matters, which they wrote to him from *Panama*. Thus did the Prefident gain every day upon the good wills and affections of the People and Souldiery, to that many of them went to dine and converse with him; and in all his discourses, he fold them plainly that he came thither to no other end and intention, than onely to reduce them to their obedience and loyalty due to his Majeffy by terms of peace and friendship, and with promises of reward: That the King had given him full power and authority to promife them a general Pardon for all crimes and faults which were already past; and that if People would not be contented herewith on fair terms, he for his part was ready, without farther force, to return speedily into Soain. This was his common discourse and declaration at all times, when he was in oublick, with intention that the report hereof might be spread in all parts of the Empire : fome few days after the arrival of the Prefident at Nombre de Dios : Melchior de Verdugo, of whom we have formerly made mention appeared before the Circ of P.mama, with intention to enter with his two Ships into the Port: But the Citizens were in great combustion hereupon, by reason that they seared and hated the person of Verdugo, and believed that he was commanded thither by the order of the Prefident: but to clear himself of this suspicion, he wrote a Letter himself to Verduzo, and sent it by the hand of an intimate friend of his, who was a Church-man, ordering Verdugo, upon no terms whatfoever to come to Nombre de Dia, but to go to any other place, which thould be more convenient, and that he should restore the Ships and Goods which he had taken to the true Proprietors.

This was the Contents of what was wrote in the Letter; but then privately and by word of mouth; he gave him orders to return to Nicaragua, and there to expect fuch farther directions which should be fent him, the which would tend greatly to his Majesty's Service. But Melchior Verdugo, instead of returning to Nicurous, failed into Spain, much doubting his fecurity in that Country, for that he had rendred himself so odious to the People, that he thought himself in no place fecure or fafe. And being in *Spain*, his Imperial Majefty honoured him with the habit of *Santiago*. I faw him once in the Anti-chamber of the most Catholick King Philip the Second, in the year 1563. But foon after Informations came against him of all the Pyracies he had committed in Peru, and the other Vioknoes and Mischiess he had done in Nicaragua and Nombre de Dios; which were fuch great and crying fins, that he was in danger of being deprived of the honour of his habit, with which he became fo fad and dejected, that his countenance changed and shewed the inward forrow of his mind; but afterwards, at the Intercession of Friends he obtained his Majesty's Pardon, and returned into Perus

#### CHAP. III.

The Prefident fends Hernan Mexia to Panama to quiet the Disturbances which were made by Pedro Hinojosa, and dispatches an Ambassadour to Gonçalo Piçarro; who having Intelligence of the coming of the President, sends Mellengers to the Emperour.

HE President made preparations to return again to Panama, where he hoped by means of his good conduct to reduce Pedro de Hinojofa, with the other Captains which were there quartered, to due allegiance unto their Empetour: for according to the relation which Hernando Mexia de Guzman had given

him, their inclinations were very well disposed thereunto; and accordingly he conceived great hopes of fuccess. In order to which he went with all speed not fible to Panama, taking the Mareschall Alvarado into his company, and to his affiflance (as Diego Fernandez Palemino in the thirty eighth Chapter of his Book affirms) for whom he had obtained a Licence from the Council of the Indies, that he might be fivared for some time from the Register's Office to attend unto the affairs of Peru, and be an Affaftent and a Companion to him. This Gentleman having been in the Battel of Chupas against Don Diego de Almagro Junior, remmed afterwards into Spain; and by reason that he was well versed in the transaction of affairs between the *Pigarrifts* and *Almagrians*, he was entertained in the fervice of the Council of the *Indies*. But let us leave both him and the Prefident in their iourney; to relate what Pedro de Hinojosa acted in the mean time at Panama, upon the News, that Hernan Mexia had received the Prefident with figns and demonfirations of peace and friendthip, rather than of enmity and opposition: and he was the more diffatisfied, because he was ignorant of the Commission and Contents of the Instructions which the President brought; And because he had concluded and agreed without any communication or correspondence with him: wherefore Hinojofa wrote so very angrily to him upon that matter, that several friends of Hernan de Mexia advised him not to go to Panama: Howsoever ( as Augustine Carate saith) after some conserence had with the President thereupon it was concluded, that Hernan Mexia should speedily depart for Panama, and laving afide all fears and jealoufies should boldly communicate the whole matter to Hinojofa; which Mexia accordingly performed in confidence of the friendship which was between them, and the knowledge he had of his humour and diftoolition. After some conference together Mexia so well acquitted himself and gave fuch reasons for receiving the President; shewing that, let the business go how it would, his actions hitherto could bring no prejudice to their cause; that Himjosa appeared well satisfied: thereupon Hernan Mexia returned to Nombre de Dios. and the President went to Panama, where he personally treated with Hinoiosa and with all his Captains, declaring to them the cause and reasons of his coming: And managed matters with fuch fecrecy and prudence, that none knew what he had communicated to the other; which so secured their affections and good will towards him, that he adventured publickly to declare his defign, and to affure them that his negotiations tended to the publick welfare: and at the fame time took care to provide for the necessities and conveniences of the Souldiery; the which he acted with such sweetness of behaviour and respect towards all, as feeds the vanity of that Souldiery, and prevails most in that Countrey. Thus far Augustine de Carate in his seventh Chapter.

So soon as Pedro de Hinojosa had notice of the coming of the President to Nombre de Dios, he gave immediate intelligence thereof to Gonçalo Piçarro, as did all his Captains, giving him affurance, that they would never fuffer him to pass into Pem. But notwithstanding all their resolutions, after some conferences which they held with the Prefident at Panama, they changed their minds, and then wrote in a different manner: for the President had so dealt with every single person in private, as had much engaged them and inclined their good-wills and affections to him. Whereupon they consented, and gave permission that he might send one of those persons whom he brought from Castile with Letters from Gonçalo Piçarro to advise him of his arrival in those parts, the Gentleman whom the President resolved to send was called Pedro Hernandez Paniagua, who was an Inhabitant and Governour of the City of Plasencia, a person well qualified for such a negotiation; for, besides that he was a Gentleman of good extraction, he had lest his Wife and Children a competent Estate in Spain, for which he not onely merited esteem and respect of Piçarro, but also for his Countreys sake, and for the sake of his kindred and relations, who were engaged in his saction. Thus did Paniator of the same of the gua set sail for Peru, upon a frigate appointed for him; all the Letters he carried with him were one from the King to Gonçalo Piçarro, and another to him from the Prefident, befides some other private Letters to persons of quality, as namely, to the Bishop of Lugo, and another to Licenciado Benito de Carvajal, to whom the Prefident wrote amicably, and as became a kindman, directing him in what manner to act for the service of his Majesty. And here we will leave Paniagua in his voyage, and relate what Gonçalo Picarro was acting in the mean time.

Whilft

Whilft Picarro was arrived at the top of all his hopes and expected a confirmafrom in his Government, and to be made perpetual Dictatour in that Empire, he non in the Covernment, and to be independent in the Entire, ne received Letters from Pedro de Himojofa his General, which gave him advice of the ariyal of the Prefident in those parts. Pigarro and all his Captains were greatly anivar of the complete at this unexpected News, and thereupon with some of the Criters entred into confultation how and in what manner they were to behave hemselves in this business; the Debates were many and long, and the opinions different to each other; but at length they were reduced to two: fome were of spinion that either publickly or fecretly the Prefident was to be killed. Others were of opinion that they should invite him to Pern, where having discoveand all his Papers, Instructions and Commission, that then they should endearour to perfuade or force him to concur with them, and grant whatfoever they defired; and in case they could not prevail, it was but to put him off then with kelays, pretending that they had not power to conclude alone, without the confent and concurrence of all the other Cities of that Kingdom, with that of Los Reves: and in regard the Places and Cities were far distant each from the other, there would be good cause of excuse and means to deferr the Assembly for two years: And in the mean time the President would be deteined a Prisoner in the Island of Pund 4 under a Guard of faithfull Souldiers, who were to be carefull to interont all Letters which he should write for information of his Majesty, by default of which they might still continue under the notion of obedient and loyal Subjects. Others were of opinion, that the best and most expedite way was, to cause him to return again into Spain, and to persuade him thereunto with money and provisions for his voyage; by which it would appear, that they had treated him like a good Servant and Officer of his Majefty. These Debates continued with geat difference and heat for many days; but at length it was by common consent ageed, That Messengers should be sent from them to his Majesty to negotiate the Gant of fuch Particulars as were most conducing to the welfare of that Empire: That they should give an account of all things which had been lately transacted; and especially to infift in justification of their cause, that they were compelled to the engagement of Quitu, where the Vice-king was flain: and in all their Difourse they were to charge the Vice-king as the Aggreffour, who had persued them through all places, and at length forced them to kill him in their own deface: And in fine, the Prayer of their Petition was, That his Majesty would be pleased to confer the Government of that Empire on Gonçalo Picarro, who by his own bravery and merit of his Relations had gained that Empire to the Crown; and that farther, he pretended a Title thereunto on the Commission his Maiesty had given to his Brother to nominate a Successiour thereunto after his death: and in the mean time they defired, that the Prefident might be ordered to refide in Paruna, and not to proceed farther into Peru untill his Majefty should give new directions. This matter being agreed upon, Ambaffadours were chosen who were to negotiate those great Points in Spain; and to give the better countenance thereunto, Don Tray Geronimo de Longia, Arch-bishop of Los Reyes, who was a great Prelate, Father and Pastour of that City, was entreated to accept of that Charge, who being a Person of great esteem and interest in Spain, it was presumed that he would be heard with the more favour; the like also was defired of the Bishop of Santa Marta, and Friar Thomas de St. Martin, who was Provincial of the Order of St. Dominick; and Lorenço de Aldana and Gomez de Solis were pitched upon to join with them in the Commission. Money was ordered for their Voyage sufficient to defray all their charges; and particularly it was ordered, that Gomez de Solis who was chief Gentleman uther to Gonçalo Piçarro, should have thirty thousand pieces of Eight paid to him apart, out of the which he was to give unto Pedro de Hinojofa fo much as he judged necessary: but as to Lorenço de Aldana, he supposed that he had so many endearments towards him on account of his Countrey and mutual friendship which was between them, that he did not doubt but that he would prove a faithfull correspondent, and with all fidelity advise him of the accidents and treceffes of his Voyage, but more particularly to acquaint him from Panama of the import and contents of the Commission, and Instructions which the Prefident had brought with him: Accordingly these persons embarked in the month of Officer, 1546. with Title of Ambaffadours from the Empire of Peru, unto his Majesty; in whose Voyage nothing occurred worthy the Relation.

Eeeee

#### CHAP. IV.

The Ambassadours arrive at Panama, and both they and the People of that City revolt from Gonçalo Piçarro, and deliver up their Fleet into the power of the President. Paniagua comes to Los Reves.

CO foon as the Ambaffadours arrived at Panama, Lorenço de Aldana went to D take up his Lodgings with Pedro de Hinojofa: and having first burnt the Com. mission and Instructions which he brought from Gonçalo Pigarro, relating to matters which he had to act in Panama and Spain; he made his Addresses to the Prefident, giving him in few words to understand his intentions: and in a shore time becoming better acquainted, Aldana, Hernan Mexia and Pedro de Hinoiola engaged to employ themselves in the Service of the President; onely they pretended to make fome difficulties for the first three days, until they had well digefeed their matter: and then finding themselves all of an opinion, they began to publish their intentions, and on the fourth day they and all the Captains went to the Prefident and professed their allegiance to his Majesty: and in token thereof delivered up the whole Fleet into his possession and command, together with the Arms, Ammunition and Appurtenances thereunto belonging, engaging upon Oath to doe homage to him, and to serve and obey him in whatsoever he should command. And in the mean time these Resolutions were kept as a Secret untill it was known how Gonçalo Picarro received Paniagna and the message which he brought him. The principal motives which incited these persons to revolt from Picarro to the Service of his Majesty were, impartially speaking, the sense of true allegiance and duty which they owed to his Majesty. In the next place, it was fecretly agreed, that fo foon as these Commotions were suppressed and the Countrey in peace and quietness, that the Army should receive their full arrears of Pay: the which was afterwards complied with in a more ample manner than they themselves had proposed, of which we shall speak in its due place. But nothing more prevailed and facilitated this matter than the Repeal of the late Ordinances and new Laws, and the general Pardon for what was already past: for when they faw themselves secured in their possessions and commands over the Indians; and absolved of the murthers, spoils and robberies they had committed in the late Civil Wars; they refolved to close with this opportunity to fave themselves, though thereby they sacrificed and surrendred him to destruction who had promoted them to the Titles of Captains and Ambaffadours of that Empire, rather in expectation of future services from them, than in reward of former merit; for though they were Persons of Quality, yet none of them had been Conquerours, unless Alonso Palamino. This Secret was concealed for some sew days, which the President esteemed, as no loss of time, considering his great succels in to short a time. In fine, at a general Rendezvous the several Colours were surrendred up into the hands of the President, and the Captains publickly declared for the Prefident; who accepted the furrender in the name of his Majesty and restored every man to his Office by Commission from the Emperour: as is confirmed by Gomara, Chapter 179, in these words:

By the prudent and dexterous negotiations of Gafca, and by the promifes of reward which he made to Hinojofa, for there could be no force or compulfion in the case, a voluntary surrender was made of the whole Fleet unto the President: and here the first step was made to the ruine of Gonçalo Piçarro. Gasca accepted of the Fleet, and confirmed Hinojofa in his Office of Admiral, and all the Captains in the commands of their respective Ships, thereby converting Traitors to a condition of loyal and faithfull Subjects. The Prefident having gained the Fleet, began to conceive great hopes of these his negotiations; and indeed he had reason so to believe, for without the Fleet he could never have succeeded in his enterprise; by Sea it had been impossible to have found thipping to transport him to Pern: and to go by Land, (as it was once defigned) the journey had been difficult and atrended with the fufferings of hunger, cold and other dangers. Thus much Gomareports of this matter, and in the same place touches upon the industry and diligence used by the President in all his actions, and the mutual Promises and Enorganients which paffed between both Parties. This accord being made, and the account of the Arrears of pay being made up and stated, Gasea thought it time publickly to own the command of all, and to chuse Pedro de Hinojosa Cautain-General of all the Forces both by Sea and Land. Then he commanded and ordered four Ships to be prepared and fitted, under the command of Lorenço de Aldana, flom Alonso Palomino, Hernan Mexia and John Yllanes. Lorenço de Aldana was appointand Admiral of the four Ships, which were to carry three hundred men of the best Samen and Souldiers felected out of the Fleet and provided with all things neces-

Royal Commentaries.

fary for their Voyage.

Book V.

They were moreover ordered to carry with them many Copies or Transcripts of his Majelty's most gratious revocation of the late Ordinances, and of the general Pardon, which was extended and indulged to all persons without exception. the which were in the best manner they could contrive to be dispersed in all plaos of the inland Countries. These four Captains being accordingly dispatched. the President wrote a Letter to Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-king at that time of Mexico, informing him of all particulars which had succeeded to that time, and defining his affiftence with Men and Arms to forward his Majefty's Service. In like manner Dispatches were sent to Don Baltasar de Castilla at Guatimala, and Ni-Grana, and to other persons of St. Domingo and Popoyan, and the like unto other parts, for it was believed that all was little enough to reduce the Rebels to their duy and allegiance: but no force was fo prevalent as the revocation of the late Ordinances, and the general Pardon, which operated on the minds of men. and contributed more to the ruine of Gonçalo Pigarro, and confignation of the Empire to Galea than all the preparations did which were made for War.

But now, returning to speak of *Paniagua*, whom we left on his Voyage to *Los Ross*, we shall pass by the Journal of what happened in his passage, to relate mattes more effential to this History. Paniagua being arrived at Los Reyes, he delivated the Letters which he brought from his Majesty and from the President to the hands of Pigarro, as also his general Letter of Credence, fignifying that he was feat by order of the Prefident, and that entire belief was to be yielded to whatfoever he should deliver in the name of his Majesty and of the President. Goncalo Figure Geningly gave him a fair reception, and having heard his Melfage, he dif-mit him for the prefent, charging and forewarning him not to meddle or treat with any about the affairs of the Prefident at his peril. He then called for Licenusto Cepeda and Francisco de Carvajal, and in presence of those three onely were

the King's Letters read, as Augustine Carate Writes.

#### The Substance of his Majesty's Letter.

#### The KING.

Py jour Letters (Gonçalo Piçarro) and by other relations, we have been informed of the many troubles and commotions which have happened in the Provinces of Peru, since the time that Blasco Nunnez Vela Our Vice-king arrived there, together with the Judges of our Courts of Justice; and which were raised by putting those new Laws and Ordinances into execution, though contrived and framed for the better Government of the parts, and for the ease and relief of the Natives thereof. And we are well assured, that neither you nor any of those who have followed your Party, did act intentionally to doe in a dif-fervice, but onely to put a stop to the severity which the said Vice-king used in the violent and indifferent execution thereof, without receiving or admitting any reasons or petitions to the contrary. Of all which being well informed, and having heard what soever Francisco Maldonado had to communicate to us on your behalf, and from the Inhabitants of those Provinces; we have thought fit to send Licenciado de la Gasca, one of the Counsellours of the Holy and General Inquisition, with Title and in Quality of our President, to whom Eeeee 2

We have given a Commission and such Instructions as will undoubtedly put an end to all the troubles and commotions of that Countrey. And farther we have given him a general ambority to act and doe whatsover he shall judge may most redamd to the service and howour of God, to the improvement of those Provinces, to the benefit and welfare of Our Subjects, who are Planters, and of the Natives thereof. Wherefore we do command and require no our Name towards the performance and accomplishment of those rules and directions which have been given him. And herein relying upon you with much considence, We shall ever be mindfull of the Services which your Brother the Marquis hath done for Us, and which shall ever be remembred to the advantage of his Sons and Brothers. Given at Venloe the 16th day of the Month of February, 1546.

#### I the KING.

By command of his Majelly.

Francisco de Erato.

### The Letter which the Prefident wrote to Gonçalo Piçarro was to this effect.

Illustrious Sir,

764

ODpposing that my stay would not have been so long in this Countrey I deteined the Embe-Drour's Letter by me, intending to deliver it with my own hand; nor did I think fit in the mean time to acquaint you of my arrival, out of respect to his Majesty's Letter, which ought to have come first unto your hands before mine. But considering that the Affairs of his Majesty would require my presence here for some time, and hearing that you had convened an Assembly of the People to meet you at the City of Lima, to consider of Affairs which depend on things already past; I judged it necessary to employ an express Messenger with his Majesty's Letter, and with the same occasion also to send you mine, the bearer whereof, named Hernandez Paniagua, is a Person of Quality, and one considerable in your Countrey, and very much your Friend and humble Servant. What I have now to fay to you farther, is to acquaint you, That in Spain there have been great Confultations concerning the manner how the commotions and disturbances, which have been raised in Peru since the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez (whom God forgive) came into those parts, were to be taken and resented. And after his Majesty had well weighed and considered the several Debates and Opinions thereupon, there hath no cause appeared hitherto to believe, that the same did proceed from any motive of disobedience or differvice to his Majesty. but merely from a principle of felf-preservation, which induced them to oppose that severity which the Vice-king used in the execution of the new Laws against the privileges and rights of that Country: And farther his Majesty hath considered the obstinacy of the Vice-king, who would admit of no Petition or Appeal, or suspension of the new Laws untill such time as his Majesty was acquainted with the inconveniences thereof; all which appears at large in your Letter to his Majesty, and which gives a farther relation, that you had taken upon you the Government at the instance and desire of the Court of Justice, and which they had delivered unto you by Commission under his Majesty's Broad Seal; in virtue whereof you promise to serve his Majesty, and profess, that to have refused the Government at that time would have been a disservice to his Majesty, and that you accepted it on no other terms than such as became a good and a loyal Subject, and with intention to resign it at the command and will of his Majesty. All which being thus understood by his Majesty, he hath sent me to quiet the minds of the People by a revocation of those Laws, according to the prayer of your Petition; with power to publish a general Pardon for all Faults, Crimes and Misdemeanours already committed: and lastly, to take the opinion and direction of the People of this Countrey concerning the methods which are to be used for the advancement and promotion of the service of God, and for the common good and welfare of the Inhabitants: And in regard there are many Spaniards in those parts, who are unemployed, and have no possessions, it is thought

be that they should be provided out of new discoveries, which is the onely may for them to out honour and riches according to the example of the ancient Conquerours, wherefore I heartily defire you to consider these matters with the understanding of a good Christian, and the worthy mind and intention of a Gentleman, and of a wife and prudent Person. and with that affection and good will which you have alway themed to the happiness and welfare of this Country, and charity towards the Inhabitants thereof; giving God and our Lady thanks, (10 whom you are a zealous Votary) that this great and important Affair, in which you have to deply concerned your felf, bath been to favourably interpreted by his Maielty and by the Grandees of Spain; who were pleased to acquit your actions of rebellion and dillorality, and to the them with the more loft terms of defending his Majefty's Justice, to which his Subjects were denied access, or to be heard by way of Petition. And now in regard your King, who ica Catholick and a just Prince, hath restored you and every person to the enforment of his amn Estate and Possessions in as full and as ample a manner as they desired in their Petition: It is but reason that you deal as sincerely and justly with your King, by yielding due obedience to him, and compliance with all his commands: the which is a duty incumbent on us, not onely by the Laws of Nature, which oblige every Subject to be loyal to his King, but also by the Laws of Scripture and Grace, which injoyn us, on the penalty of eternal damnation, to winder unto every man his due, and especially obedience unto Kings. And since your Ancehours have made themselves illustrious by their loyalty and by their services to the Crownwhich have gained them the Title of Nobles; it will now be your part to Copy out this lellon in the largest characters, rather than to degenerate from their lineage and cast a blemish on all their atchievements by your demerits and defection from their vertues. The greatest concomment we have in this world, next to the falvation of our Souls, is our honour, which is most resolendent in persons who move in your high sphere, in which you are capable to brighten the luftre of your Ancestour's glories, or otherwise by irregular actions to cast a blemith and an aernal obscurity upon them. For whosoever falls from God by insidelity, or from his King by treason and disloyalty, doth not onely dishonour himself but likewise casts a blemish and infamy on his whole Family: wherefore let me advise you to reflect hereupon with a wife and a prudent spirit, weighing well the power of your King, whose Forces you are very unable to withstand: but lest your want of knowledge and experience in his Court, not having viewidhis Armies, or fathomed the depth of his Counsels, should betray you to an over-weening minion of your own strength; be pleased to figure unto your self the mighty power and puislune of the Great Turk, who marched in Person at the head of above three hundred thoulud fighting men, which he brought into the Field against him, besides Pioniers and other atundants on the Camp, notwithstanding which, when he met his Majesty near Vienna he dust not adventure to joyn Battel with him, but rather endeavoured a retreat, facing the Enemy with his Horse whilst the Infantry marched away and made their escape, &c.

This Letter is writ more at large by divers Authours, which we have thought fit to abbreviate, because it relates the many Victories which the Emperour gained upon the Turk, from whence he frames divers Arguments to prove how unable Gorgalo Pigarro was to contend with so formidable a Force, but that rather he should incline his mind to submiffion and obedience: but what his confultations and reflexions were on this Letter, we shall declare in the following Chapter.

CHAP.

## Of the Consultations and Opinions concerning the Revocation of the New Laws: and of the General Pardon of all faults and crimes past. What private Instructions had been given to Pamagua; and Gonçalo Piçarro's Answer thereunto.

766

HESE Letters having at the first consultation been read three or four times in presence of Gonçalo Pigarro, and of Licenciado Cepeda and Francisco de Carvajal; Picarro demanded their opinion thereof: Cepeda defired Carvajal, because he was the oldest man of the company, that he would first speak to the matter in question, and though there were some little Replies between them, each defiring the other to begin first: yet at length Carvajal gave his opinion as followeth: ring the other to begin nitt: yet at tength Carvajai gave his opinion as boloweth: These are, Sir, in reality great offers; Let us not neglect to accept these fair Conditions. What fair Conditions, answered Cepeda. What good or benefit can they bring to us? Why, said Carvajai, they are, Sir, both good and cheap; for they propose a revocation of the late Ordinances which gave us so much cause of discontent, together with a General Pardon for all that is past. And that for other matters a general Assembly shall be held consisting of Members of the several Cities, by whose Votes and Directions, Rules shall be given to order all matters tending to the fervice of God, to the wellfare of the Countrey and benefit of the Inhabitants and Planters thereof; which is as much as we ever defired or can possibly expect: for by annulling or revoking those new Ordinances, we fecure our Indians; our properties in which was the chief cause which moved us to take up Arms, and to adventure our lives in the defence thereof. The General Pardon exempts us from all future Reckonings for what is past, and still we conserve the Government in our own hands; fince that all the Laws and Rules which are to be made, are to proceed and to be enacted from and by the respective Corporations of Cities of which we are principal members. Wherefore upon the whole matter my opinion is, that we should accept of these gracious Offers, and in answer thereunto return Ambassadours to the President, signifying our acceptance of the terms proposed: and to engratiate our selves with him, let him be invited to this place, and carried on mens shoulders into the City; let his way hither be paved with Plates of Silver and Ingots of Gold, and treated in the most magnificent manner imaginable, for having been the Messenger of fo general a good to us: let us find some farther way to oblige him to deal with us as Friends, and treat in confidence with us: I do not doubt but fince he hath begun thus generously to open himself, but that he hath yet a larger Commission, and a power to conser on you the Government of this Empire: but let the matter go how it will, I am of opinion, that he should be brought to this place; and if afterwards his proceedings do not pleafe us, it will remain fill in our hands to dispose of him as we shall think fit.

Cepeda was absolutely of another opinion, and opposed all that Carvajal had declared; faying, that these fair promises were words without security; which powerfull men could easily avoid, as they saw occasion. That if the President were once admitted in, he would so draw the hearts of all people to him, as to order and dispose every thing according to his own will and pleasure: that the person who was sent with these Letters, was not one of that plain and simple sort as was pretended; but a man of great subtlety and understanding, and sull of sort trigues and Policies to delude and affect the minds of the People: and in him his conclution was, that they ought not to receive the Prefident amongst them; for that his admittance would prove the ruine and destruction of them all. This was in short the opinion of these two Councellours, though the reasons Pro and Con were more large; and though Pigarro did not declare himself at that time either one way or other, yet in his own thoughts he inclined more to the opinion

of Copeda, than to the fense of Carvajal; believing that so soon as he affensed thereinto, he immediately develted him of all the power and authority which he had in that Countrey. Cepeda alfo, blinded with his own ambition and interest. fifth adhered to his own opinion, well knowing, that in case the President were received, his authority would fail, and that he should lose his Seal, and perhaps his life, for his crimes were of a deep stain; he had once been an Officer and Miof the King's; whose Laws and Ordinances he ought to have sustained; and inflead thereof he had opposed the execution of them, and born Arms in that Battel where the Vice-king was flain. Howfoever Picarro not being fully refolved what course to take, summoned a general Assembly of all the principal Inhabitants of the City, of the Captains, Nobility, and of the most knowing perfons in those parts, to deliberate upon the Answer which was to be given to the Letters from his Majesty and the President; which being of common concernment would best fuit with the general authority and consent of the whole Countrey. The Affembly being met, confifted of eighty persons, amongst whom were many strange and different opinions. Some were delivered with great gravity and prudence, tending to the common good of the Indians and Spaniards, and to the advancement of God's glory and service: others were of a different strain, every one speaking according to his own fancy and talent, and as it is usual where many are there are different imaginations and fancies according to the Proverb. So many men, so many minds: men of the most solid judgments did concur in oninion with Francisco de Carvajal, but ambition and the defire of rule thwarted all to the other fide. Howfoever Francisco de Carvajal boldly declared in publick, that the Offers were fatisfactory, and ought not to be refused: to which Ceveda presently reply'd, that the Major General was asraid, the like was said by other raft and desperate men; which Carvajal hearing, cryed out aloud; Gentlemen, Iam as affectionate a Servant to my Lord the Governour as any man living, and as much defire his prosperity, quiet and increase of honour; and as such I deliver my oninion fincerely and really as I believe to be best and most convenient for him. and from the abundance of my heart and affection I speak it. You may, if you please, follow other Counsels which lead you into missortunes; for my part, It cannot much concern me, who have already lived many years in the World, and have as long a neck for a halter as any of your Worthips. Fernandez Palentino relates fomething of this opinion of Carvajal in his History, but touches it not in this place, but in another some time after; perhaps he that gave this information gave it to him late and defective, so that he delivered it more fully in another place. Neither Lopez de Gomara nor Augustine de Carate make any mention of this particular, which is very strange, because after the War was ended, all people genetally applauded the wife and politick counsel of Carvajal, which had undoubtedly preferved Goncalo Picarro, had he had Grace and wifedom enough to have received it.

These Consultations and Debates were publick; but the Cabals of the other fide were more private in the Chamber of Paniagna where many People voluntarily reforted the very night that he arrived there and every night afterwards during the time that he refided at Los Reyes; all of them proteffing that they were Servants to the King, and obeyed Gonçalo Pigarro against their inclinations and will; which they would make appear fo soon as the President arrived in those parts; for then they would revolt from Picarro to his party; and in the mean time they intreated him to involl their names in a Lift, and offer them to the Prefident, affuring him of their faithfull fervice, as opportunity should offer. These were the affurances which were fecretly given to Paniagua by the most principal Citizens, and by those who were most deeply engaged with Piçarro, and of such who most desperately declared against the President, vowing that they would stab him or poison him, or cause the Ship which should carry him to Peru to founder in the Sea, as Historians write. And this secret intelligence was given in the night, partly to prevent the full declaration of his Commission in favour of Gonsalo Picarro: for we must know that just as Paniagua was about to take his leave of the Prefident, the last and most secret Instruction was given him to be sure to be very referved, and with much art and industry to discover the inclinations of the People to Gonçalo Picarro; and that in case he found them all of one piece and unanimoufly to adhere unto him; that then he should publickly declare, how that the President brought a Commission with him to confirm Gonçalo Pigarro in

 $Boo\kappa V.$ 

the Government of Peru. And the truth is, it was concluded in Spain by his Ma. iefty's Council just at the departure of the President, that, as the last and ultimate remedy of all, he should have power to confirm Pigarro in the Government: for it was faid and concluded, that provided the Country were the Emperour's. 'rivae no matter, though the Devil governed it.

This fecret, (faid the Prefident to Paniagna). I entrust to you in as much confi-

dence as it was committed to me, and in all things act as becomes a Gentleman

and as one obliged in duty to ferve the King.

After the Countrey was quieted and fettled, and the Prefident refurned to Spain. Paniagua himself revealed this story, for he remained behind with a good Estate. and a large proportion of Lands and Indians which were given to him. And he confessed, that he was often resolved to have revealed the secret to Picarro, while he remained in a doubtfull condition amidst the various humours and opinions of the Commonalty; and he faid, that he often repented that he had not done in

But to return to our History. Paniagua obtained an answer to his Message: the dispatch unto which was chiefly procured by the interest and favour of Licenciado Carvajal: which was a matter of high importance to him, being in continual fear and danger of his life; for had Pigarro known that he had fecretly admitted access to him, and Cabals in the night, he would certainly have been as good as his word in putting him to death, as he threatned him at his first coming to the City. Paniagua, having received his dispatch, departed from Los Reyes in the month of January, 1547. being furnished with money for his Journey, he carried onely a fingle Letter for the Prefident, of which Augustine Carate takes no notice, but Fernandez Palentino rehearfes it in this manner.

#### Most Honoured and most Reverend Sir,

YOUR Letter dated from Panama of the 26th of September of the year last split, I have received, and return you many thanks, and kiss your hands for the advices you have given me therein, knowing well that they proceed from an affectionate and a sincere heart, agreeable to the quality of your Person, endowed with much learning and conscience, As for my part, I defire you would consider me as a person naturally inclined to the Service of his Majesty, the which you feem to acknowledge without any testimony of my own: And indeed those onely can properly be said to serve his Majesty whose actions and not their words declare their works. Men who serve the King at his charge and cost, may be faid to serve him; set howfoever, they are not to be compared and fet in the ballance with them, who, like my Brothers and Relations, and like my felf, who have for the space of fixteen years ferved his Majesty in my Person without any charge or expence to the Crown; to which I have gained and acquired greater and better Countries, and a vafter quantity of Gold and Silver than ever any man hath done which was born; and all this at my own charge, without putting his Majesty to the expence so much as of five Shillings towards all my acquisitions and labours. And now at last there remains nothing either to me or to my Brothers but onely the bare and naked reputation of having served his Majesty, in which we have consumed all that we have gained. When Blasco Nunnez first arrived in this Countrey, there were then living of our flock, the Sons of the Marquis, Hernando Pigatro and my felf, among the which there was scarce the value of a crown remaining either in Gold or Silver, notwithflanding all those immense Sums we had fent to his Majesty; nor had we one Acre of Land amongst us all, notwithstanding that vast tract of Empire we had annexed to the Imperial Crown: and yet notwithstanding all these neglects which have been put upon us, we remain firm and immovable in our Allegiance, to which duty we have no need to be incited from Arguments of his Power, or to be informed of his prowefs and puissance of his Arms, unless it be to give us occasion to praise God who hath bestowed such a Prince upon us, who is gratious to his Subjects and fo formidable to his Enemies, that as well Christian Princes as Insidels fear and envy his greatness. And though I have not spent so much time in his Majesty's Court as I have done in the Wars for his Service, yet I would have you to know, that I have been as curious to hear and understand the Affairs of his Majesty, especially the successes of the late Wars, as any person what soever that is conversant in his Court, who perhaps are not well acquainted with all the occurrences fo particularly and truly as I am; for those who come from thence give me informations of what bath palt, and fome Friends who live upon the place constantly write to me from the Camp, and give me as good intelligence as they are able; for they knowing me to be a man of truth, and delighted with a real and exact acaunt of all successes, do endeavour to gratific my curiosity and affection to his Maiesty's inwell by faithfull and true informations, which my zeal to the Crown fettles and fives in my memory. &c.

Royal Commentaries.

The remainder of this Letter, for brevity fake, we omit, as impertinent and little to our purpose, for it reslects chiefly on the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela. and casts the blame of all the mischies past on his miscarriages; and to instifie himself he says, that all the Cities of that Empire chose him for their Agent-General; in which capacity he was empowered by Commission from the Judges under the great Seal, to drive out and expell Blafeo Numez, Vela from the limits of that Kingdom; and that he acted nothing all that time but by their Warrant, and by virtue of their commands.

With this Letter Paniagua was dispatched by Sea, where we shall leave him for a while to discourse of other matters which intervened; onely before we condude this Chapter, we must reslect a little on that passage of his Letter wherein he fays, that of that vast tract of Empire which he and his Kindred had acquired to the Crown, not one Acre thereof was appropriated to his Family; he means by inheritance for ever, as the Lords in Spain hold their Lands, which were granted to them by former Kings in reward of the Services they had done in the Wars against the Moors, helping to subdue and drive them out of the Land: for though Goncalo Pigarro and Hernando Pigarro were feifed of much Land, with command over Indians, yet they held them onely for their lives, as did also the Marquis Don Francisco Picarro whose Estate was onely for Life, and never descended to his Children.

#### CHAP. VI.

The death of Alonfo de Toro. Diego Centeno and the other Captains come out of their Caves and places of retirement, and appear for the service of his Majesty. Gonsalo Picarro fets all his Ships on fire, and what was the faying of Carvajal thereupon.

Ernandez Paniagua having received his dispatches and departed, Gonçalo Piçarro I began to be troubled that he had received no advices or intelligences from Larenço de Aldana either in relation to his Voyage, or to the Fleet then at Panama, nor of any other matter concerning Pedro de la Gafca; fo that he suspected something amifs, in regard the time did well admit of a return. Wherefore he dispatched Letters to Captain Pedro de Puelles his Deputy at Quitu, and to Captain Mercadillo Governour of the City of St. Michael, to Captain Porcel in Paccamurus, and to Captain Diego de Mora at Truxillo, advising them to be in a readiness in case he hould have occasion to call upon them for their affittance, which he believed would be very speedy; but when the Messengers came to those places, they found all the People already pofferfied with the news of a general Pardon, and of the revocation of the late Ordinances (for the Prefident had taken care to disperse Copies in all parts) upon publication of which there was a general defection in all places from Gonçalo Picarro: the like Message was also sent to Captain Antonio de Robles, then in the City of Cozco, to prepare and keep his People in a readiness to be employed in any future fervice which might offer: this Meffage was tent to Amonio de Robles, because Pigarro was informed, that Diego Gonçales de Vargas (with whom I had acquaintance) had killed Captain Alonfo de Toro, who was Governour under him in that City: the truth is, the matter was fudden, and neither contrived by him who killed him, nor suspected by the person who was slain; for Alonso de Toro was Son-in-law to Diego Gongales, and lodged in the same House together:

gether: Alonso de Toro was of a proud, cholerick disposition, and very loud in his ineech: Diego Goncales being in the Hall, which was next to his Daughter's Apare ment, he heard Alonfo de Toro foold and quarrel with his Daughter, who was a very good and vertuous Wife, and in his fury coming out into the Hall, he mer with his Father in-law, and fanfying that he came to take part with his Danoh ter, he presently brusted up to the good old man, who was above fixty five years of age, and with a loud voice gave him base and soul language; but Goncales de Vargas, rather with intention to defend himself than with design to hurt his Sonin-law, laid hold on an old Dagger which hung by a ftring at his fide, and drew it in his own defence, with which Alonfo de Toro being more provoked, came up fo close to the old Man that he received a wound from the Dagger, which when De Vargas perceived, and confidered that there was now no other way, he gave him three or four stabbs more in the Belly, and then fled, fearing lest de Toro should by his strength wrest the Dagger from him, and kill him with it; but he had strength onely to purfue him about fifty paces to the foot of the Stairs, where he fell down and died. This was the fate of poor Alonfo de Toro, which his own fury and cholerick disposition had brought upon him, his Father-in-law being forced there. unto merely to fave and defend himfelf.

Diego Gonçales was afterwards tried for the fact, and acquitted, and I knew him feveral years after; he had a Son named Diego de Vargas, who went to School with me whillft we learned to reade and write, and were afterwards in our Latin: we were also neighbours, and lived next door but one to them when this unfortunate michief happened. After the death of Alonso de Toro the Corporation of the City made choice of Alonso de Hinojosa to be Governour and Captain thereof under Gonçalo Piçarro; but he was soon superseded by Antonio de Robles, who received a Commission for the place from Piçarro; by which though Hinojosa esteemins himself much disobliged, yet he dissembled his pleasure until a fair opportunity offered to make known his resentments, as will appear more plainly hereaster.

The Letters and Advices also of the arrival of the President were carried to Arequepa, and to the City of Plate, and flew over all Collao, where many of those people were concealed who had been dispersed by Francisco de Carvajal when he purfued Diego Centeno. This news caused great fermentation in the minds of the People, and particularly an inhabitant of Arequepa called Diego Alvarez, being then near the Sea-coast with nine or ten Companions, made himself Captain of them. and taking Colours of a Linen Cloth, they went in fearch of Diego Centeno, who had by this time quitted his Cave, and gotten together about five men, who unanimously chose *Centeno* for General of the new Enterprise. At first they consulted whether it would be most advantageous for them to march to the City of Arequepa or to Cozco, where they knew that Antonio de Robles refided with three hundred men well fitted and appointed; but as yet they knew not what to refolve upon, for it feemed a hazardous matter to attack a body of men with fo much difadvantage of numbers; but afterwards, confidering that they carried with them the specious colour of the King's Authority, and the powerfull name of Loyalty, they refolved on the question, and to march directly to Cozco. But let us leave them here on their Journey to relate other actions and fuccesses which were carried on and pasfed in divers parts, and at the fame time in those Countries, which were so many and various, that I feem to be entred into a Labyrinth, from whence I shall endeavour to extricate my felf in the best manner I am able, hoping for the Reader's pardon and acceptance, in case I fall short in the relation where such great variety of affairs hath happened.

We have mentioned before, how that Lorengo de Aldana, Hernan Mexia de Graman, John Alonfo Palomino, and John de Illanes were, by order of the Prefident, feat by Sea to Peru; these by the way came to Tumpiz, where Barrolmeo de Villalobor was Governour under Gongalo Pigarro, who observing that their four Ships had remained four days before the Port and had not entred, he suspected that they had changed their Copy, and were revolted to the other Party; upon which supposition, without other grounds, he dispatched a Messenger to Pigarro with this information. The news was first carried to Captain Diego de Mora, who was then in Truxillo, above a hundred leagues distance from Tumpiz, who was from thence to forward it with all expedition to Gongalo Pigarro. Diego de Mora, upon receipt of this Advice, dispeeded the Messenger to Los Repre, but he himself remained doubtfull which side to take, whether he should adhere to Pigarro, or revolt from him:

but whilft he was thus confidering within himfelf, the news came that the new Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon granted by his Maiefly for all Treations and Crimes which were past: wherefore, remaining no longer in sufrence, he packed up all his Houthold-stuff, took what Gold and Silver he had, and therewith embarked his Wife and Family on a Ship, and with forty of his Souldiers (of which some were Inhabitants of Truxillo) he failed to Panama: the news of these four Ships being come to Los Reyes, though the particulars thereof were confused and obscure, it being not known who or what they were, vet it fewed to put the People into a great conflernation, and caused every one to prenate for a War. At the fame time news coming of the revolt of Diego de Mora. his place was immediately supplied by a Commission given to Licenciado Leon, and he fent by Sea to Truxillo: but meeting a few days after with Lorenço de Aldana, and his Affociates in his way, he turned to their fide; the like also did Diego de Mora. and all of them returned together to the Port of Truxillo, where Diego de Mora landed with his forty men, to recover them of the fickness into which they were fallen at Sea; but he marched farther into the Countrey, as far as Cassamarca, publishing in all places, how that the late Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Treafons and Crimes already committed: upon this news all people generally came in and offered themselves for his Majesty's Service. amongst which were John de Snavedra, a Native of Sevil, Gomez de Alvarado, John Pocel, to whom Picarro had lately wrote, advising him to prepare matters in a readings for War. In thort, all the people of those places and Provinces coming in they formed a Body of about three hundred men, under the command of Diego de Mora, and declared for the Emperour: of which Bartolmeo de Villalobos then quartering at Tumbia receiving intelligence, he gathered what Forces he could and narched into the inland Countries, intending by way of the Defart to pass over to Goncalo Picarro: but his men gave a stop to his Journey, persuading him to change his way and his intention, and return to Piura, and keep that Town for the Emperour, as he had done before for Gunçalo Piçarro, to which he affented, though much against his will. The like happened in Puerto Viejo, which Francisco dolmos held for Picarro; who, upon news of the many revolts, and of people tuning to the service of the Emperour, went with some persons, in whom he much confided, unto Huayllqui, which was a place governed by Manuel Estacio with Commission from Pigarro; and there, without farther ceremony, taking him by the hand, he stabbed him to the heart with his Dagger, and immediately set up his Majesty's Standard. And thus, with the news onely of a general Pardon, and revocation of the late Ordinances, without other perfuafions or forces, the hearts and inclinations of all the Captains, chief Commanders and People were turned and reduced to the fervice of his Majefty.

Of all which Goscalo Pigarro and his Party were not ignorant; for they received intelligence daily how matters fucceeded, at which they were much troubled, and with great reason; for seeing how people daily fell from their Party, they seared that many others would follow the same example: whereupon they entred into frequent consultations, but with such consustion and disorder that nothing was concluded; onely it was agreed to burn the five Ships then in Port, together with all the Boats and Vessels which were there. This Counsel was said to be given by Licenciado Cepeda, and Licenciado Renito de Carvajal, men who were better Lawyers than Souldiers, and better skilled in Books than in the Politicks; for they believed that the Ships and Vessels then in Port would give people opportunity to escape and turn to the Enemy, and for want thereof they would be

forced, though against their wills, to side with their Party.

The burning of the Ships was ordered during the absence of Carvajal, who was gone for a weeks time about twenty leagues from Los Rejes, to direct some important affairs then in hand; but when Carvajal returned, and heard of the burning of those Ships, he grievously lamented the issue of that satal Counsel, and mongst other things he said to Gonçalo Piçarro, Sir, Ton have ordered five Guardian-Agels, appointed for the desence of the Coass of Pertu and destruction of your Enemies, to be consumed with fire; had you reserved but one for me, I should therewith have given you suit an account of my actions as should have surpassed all my former services, and have given the world cause to enough my great successes; for with some Musketiers which I would have numbertaken to engage all the Fleet of the Enemy; for according to the intelligence we have from Panama, all the people they bring from thence, as

Fffff 2

also those who come into them from the Coast, are all weak, and fickly, and ill armed, and their powder is most and west, and of little strength; for which reason one of your Ship is worth some of theirs. But the two Lawyers, who were no Friends to Carvaid, whisspered to Googalo Pisarro that they much suspected Carvaid, and search, that the trouble and concernment he shewed for burning the Ships, was because he thereby lost his means to escape and sty to the Enemy. But hereaster we shall see the advice of Carvaid verified by experience, and how much the Lawyers were mistaken in their measures.

### CHAP. VII.

The President departs from Panama, and goes to Tumpiz, as also Lorenço de Aldana to the Valley de Santa, from whence he sends Spyes against Gonçalo Piçarro; who names Captains, pays all his Souldiers, and frames a Process against the President.

Platro de la Gafea, Prefident for his Majefty, having dispatched Lorenço de Aldana and his Companions upon the four Ships which were bound for Peru, he applied himfelf wholly to raife Men and Horfe, and to get what Arms and Provisions the adjacent Countries did afford him, that therewith he might follow and fecond the Forces which were gone before him. Amongst those which came to his affiftence, was a very famous Souldier called, Pedro Bernardo de Quitos, born at Anduxar, who some years past came into the Indies, and had served his Majetty in the Isles of Barlovento, Cartagena and the Continent, in quality onely of an Enfign; in which station he still contented himself, because no better preferment did offer at that time, in which capacity he acquitted himself well during all the Wars with Gongalo Pigarro; and afterwards ferved with title of Captain in the Wars of Don Sebastian de Castilla, and of Francisco Hernandez Giron, so that he well deserved to have been rewarded with Lands, and an Indian Plantation, which in the City of Cozco was called Cacha, together with a provision to maintain Lances for defence of that Kingdom. Several Gentlemen and Noble Souldiers, and the best Nobility of that Maritime Coast, put themselves under the command of this worthy Officer for fervice of his Majesty to the number of five hundred perfons; which when the Prefident had feen, and accounted his Forces in other parts, he believed that he should have no farther need of any relief or recruits from Mexico, as he formerly defired; of which he gave notice to the Vice-king Don Antonio de Mendoça, and the other Governours, with informations of whatloever had hitherto palt. Having fent these advices, and lest necessary instructions for fecuring the Government of Panama and Nombre de Dies, he diffratched a full relation of all that passed untill that time unto his Majesty, and in what manner he had acted for his fervice, and then fet Sail for Peru with all his Fleet; and though when he first set out he met some storms and bad weather within the Bays and Gulfs between Lands, yet they gave him no stop in profecution of his Voyage, in which on his way he happily encountred with Fernandez Paniagua, who brought an answer from Gonçalo Piçarro. Their joy was very great at meeting, and increated, especially when he understood the good will and affection which the people then actually with Pigarro expressed towards his Majesty's service, which they promifed to manifest so soon as occasion offered: and so much was the President transported with the news, that he refused to reade Pigarro's Letters lest he should make some Propositions which he would not gladly hear; and therefore without reading he burnt them, and continued his Voyage with a favourable gale untill he came to Tumpiz, where we will leave him for a while, to fee what Lorengo de Aldana was doing, who was gone with his four Ships to the City of Los Reyes, and to relate the great trouble Picarro conceived at the news of this revolt. Lorence Lorengo de Aldana, proceeding on his Voyage, loofed from Truvillo and failed along the Coaft, and, having fome fick people aboard, he came for refreshment to the River called de Santa, where they took in fresh water, from whence he sent a certain Friar of the Merceds, called Friar Pedro de Olloa, to carry to Pigarro the news of his arrival in those parts, and with this occasion to advise all persons whom he knew to be well affected, to escape out of the City of Los Rojes upon any Boats or Vessels they could get, promiting that, with the Pinnaces and Skisselonging to the Ships, he would gather and take them up, and bring them aboard their Ships. So so so as Pigarro heard that this Friar was come, he presently caused him to be brought to him without permission to discourse with any persone either in publick or private: and upon the news of the revolt of his Fleet, he highly inveighed against Lorengo de Aldama, accusing him of fallity, and betraying his Countey; and of ingratitude for the friendship he had ever shewed him; blaming himself very much for not having followed the counsel and persuasions of his Officers, who long since would have had him hanged, and punished for his de-

merit as inflice required.

BOOK V.

But matters gould not be carried to fecretly, but that the revolt of the Fleet under command of Lorengo de Aldana unto the Prefident was published and talked of over all the Town; fo that Picarro being forced to own it, he prefently proclaimed a War, and beat up Drums for lifting Souldiers; Captains also were named and appointed, and pay advanced to every private Souldier; and fome Souldiers of note received a thousand or two thousand pieces of Eight upon advance according to their quality and deferts. A general Rendezyous was appointed, to which place Picarro marched on foot as General of the Infantry, which (as Carate, in the eleventh Chapter of his fixth Book, tays) confifted of a thousand men, all as well anned and clothed as any Companies in Italy in the times of peace; for, belides their armour, every man had good Shoes and Stockins, and a Silk Doublet; and fome of Cloth of Gold or Silver, or embroideries upon their Cloaks, with Hars nmed up with Gold Buckles; and the Stocks of their Guns placed and emboffed with Gold. The Captains of Horse were Licenciado Cepeda, and Licenciado de Caxraid, being great confidents and highly in favour. The Captains which commanded the Harquebuffers were John de Acosta, John Velez de Guenara and John de la Torre. The Captains, of the Pikes were Hernando Bachicao, Martin de Almendras and Martin de Robles : but the Lieutenant-General of all was Francisco de Carvajal, who kept his former station, and commanded his own Company of Harquebutiers which had always followed him. The Standard was carried by Antonio Mitamirano, and gaarded by eighty Horfe. Some Captains in their Colours made a Cypher with the name of Gonçalo Piçarro, that is with the G. and P. with a Crown over it; another Captain brought that Cypher into the form of a Heart; all their Enfigns and Colours were made new of divers colours, and a new fathion came up by direction of Carvaid (which I have not observed in any other Army) for every Souldier to tye a knot of Ribbon of the colour of the Enfign of that Company to which he belonged within the plume of Feathers which he wore in his Hat, and such as had no Feathers wore them in a bunch on their Hats, by which every man was distinguished and known unto what Company he belonged; onely Carvajal thought not fit to make new Colours, but told his Souldiers that the old one was their honour, under which having had great fuccesses, they might still hope to be fortunate and add now Victories to their ancient Glories. And now Pigarro shewed himself open-handed to his Souldiers, giving them large pay, and money upon advance; to some Captains he gave forty, to some fifty or fixty thousand pieces of Eight for their Souldiers, according to their numbers, or as they were Horse or Foot, which consequently required more expence. He also bought all the Horses, Mares and Mules he could find, to mount his people, for which he paid with ready money: but for some (as a certain Authour says) he did not pay, the reason for which was this: Several Merchants of the City of Los Reyes listed themselves for Souldiers, nor to shew themselves Cowards or disaffected, but after some days march, growing weary, they procured a discharge by surrender of their Horse and Arms, and those who had neither, gave money by way of com-Pensation: for Gonçalo Picarro and his Officers thought not fit to constrain any man against his will, knowing that prest men never made good Souldiers.

In this manner was the Army fitted and prepared with Weapons of War; and now to frengthen the good Caufe with Reafons and Arguments to pleafe Pigarro,
Licen-

Licenciado Cepeda carried with him a whole Library of Law-books, out of which with the help of certain Lawyers who lived in those parts, he drew up an En. dictment of High Treason against the President Gasca, and against Pedro de Hinaiasa and all the other Captains, for having betrayed the Fleet into the hands of the Prefident. And to make the buliness more formal, Witnesses were examined. and the treachery and robbery made by the Captains proved upon Oath, and there Galea had accepted of the Ships, and appropriated them to his own use, which coft Picarro about a hundred thousand pieces of Eight: upon this Process Sentence of Death was passed upon them all to be hanged, drawn and quartered. Cebedh was the first who signed the Sentence, and desired Gonçalo Piçarro and all his Offic cers to Subscribe it in like manner; but when Cepeda came to Francisco Carvaial for his hand, telling him that his firm was of great consequence, Carvajal smiled and made a jeft of the Sentence. I warrant you, faid he, fo foon as this Writing is figned by this learned Council in the Law, execution will immediately follow thereupon, and the condemned persons dye upon the spot. No, Sir, said Cepeda. but it is good to have them fentenced by course of Law, that when we take them execution may prefertly follow without delay or loss of time. At which answer Carvaial laughed aloud; As I am a Souldier, faid he, I thought that fo foon as I had figned the Sentence, fome certain blow of Thunder-bolt would have knocked them all dead on a fudden; but if it be not fo, for my part I would not give a farthing for all your Sentence nor Subscriptions; for had I them but here, without fuch formalities, I would find a way to execute your Sentence with more expedition; to which he added many other pleafant Sayings to shew the impertinence of fuch a Sentence.

Licenciado Polo ( of whom we have formerly made mention ) was present at this Affembly, where he gave some reasons against the Sentence: the first was. Because Gasca was a Priest, and in Holy Orders, and therefore no Sentence of Death could be passed upon him in that nature, under pein of excommunication; another reason was, that this Sentence ought not to be precipitated in such manner. because it might probably be hoped, that some of those Captains, who for fear of Hinoinsa had betrayed their Ships to Gasca, might yet repent of this action, and return again to their duty; whereas on the contrary, they will become desperate if the door be shut, and they excluded from Pardon by a Sentence. Upon these reasons a stop was given to the Decree, and the Writing signed by none

but Cepeda.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Gonçalo Piçarro sends John de Acosta against Lorenço de Aldana. Spyes are sent from both sides. The death of Pedro de Puelles.

WHilft matters were thus in confultation, and the Lawyers bufied in drawing up their ridiculous and important the Lawyers bufied in drawing up their ridiculous and impertinent Process, Gonçalo Piçarro received Advice, that the four Ships under the command of Lorenço de Aldana, and the other Captains were making their way towards the City of Los Reyes, that they had already been at Truxillo, and were failing along the Coast: whereupon he detached fifty Horsemen armed with Carbines, under the command of Captain John de Acosta, to march to the Sea-shore, and hinder them from taking Wood, or Water, or landing in any of the Ports. John de Acosta proceeded as far as Truxillo, but durst not stay above one day there, for fear of Diego de Mora, who was then in Cassamarca; wherefore he returned again to the Sea-coast, and lay in wait expecting to take some of Aldana's men in case any of them should adventure to come ashore. Aldana on the other side had Spyes abroad who gave him notice of all the motions of John de Acosta; upon knowledge of which he laid an ambush of a hundred Musketiers in a certain Wood through which Acosta was to pass; but he receiving intelligence thereof turned another way, and fell upon a party of those

which Aldana had employed to fill water and cut wood, of which he killed three or four, and took as many Prifoners, befides fourteen or fifteen of them who of their own accord revolted to his party, and gave notice and caution of the Ambulh. And though the Forces of Aldana were much more in number, yet they durft not adventure to relicue the Prisoners, for they were all Foot, and the Enemy Horse, and their Powder not half so good, nor their Guns so well fixed, and the Countrey a deep and dead Sand. Acolta fent the perfors which were taken to Picarro, who received them very kindly, and furnished them with Arms, Horses and Money: they acquainted him with the ill condition of the Fleet, how ill they were provided with men and victuals; and most of their people being fick and diseased were put athoar, and some were dead and thrown into the Sea : those that remained aboard were fickly and ill provided, and wanted both Arms and Animunition; that they had received no late News of the Prefident, nor did they know where he was, nor when he would come, nor did they expect him for this whole year. And though this was great good News to him, yet when he considered the weakness of the four Ships, then he began to be sensible of the evil Counfel which fome of his Confidents had given him, to burn his own five Ships, and how much Francisco Carvajal was in the right, when he condemned that counsel, and faid, one of these five Ships was able to fight with all the other four which Aldana commanded. After this Acolta failed to the Port of Huanga, where Palentino faith there is excellent good Salt, and in fuch abundance as is sufficient to supply all Italy, France and Spain.

Goncalo Picarro having received intelligence of what Acosta had performed at Lu Rejes, and what Diego de Mora had done at Truvillo, he refolved to fend Licenciado Carvajal with three hundred men under his command to hinder Acost a from landing his men, or taking water or cutting wood, and likewife to keep Diego de Mora in some awe, and act other matters as occasion should serve. Licenciado Carvajal having accordingly provided all things necessary for his march, the Lieutenant General Carvajal gave a ftop to his proceedings, condemning the Counfell as not good, for he was perfuaded within himself that he would revolt with all his men to the other party: that which hath fixed him, faid he, fo long with us was nothing but a defire to revenge the murther of his brother the Agent; and now fince that is over, and the late Ordinances repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Crimes past, there is no doubt, but he will pass over to the King's party, with whom all his Kindred and Relations are engaged, and are men of quality, and eminent in their Offices; nor can be forget, how without any fault, the halter was about his neck, and the fentence ready to be executed. John de Acofta was of the same mind, and earnessly persuaded Pigarro not to send him; upon which the delign was altered, and Acoffa was fent in his place with the three hundred men formerly ordered for Licenciado Carvajal: but when Acosta was on his march, he observed a kind of backwardness in some of his Souldiers, and an inclination to revolt unto the other party: the which was verified by the flight of twelve Souldiers, men of note and great reputation. And some of his friends affured him (whether true or false it is not certain) that several others had the same intention. and that the chief Leader of them was Lorenço Mexia de Figueroa, the Conde de Gomera's Son-in-law; on which information, without farther proof or testimony he put him to death: This Gentleman was married to Donna Leonor de Bobadilla, the Widow of Nunno Jovar, who was Lieutenant General to Governour Hernando de Soto, in that enterprize which was defigned for the Conquest of Florida, as we have at large related in that History: he left one Son and a Daughter called Micria Sarmiento, who was married in Cozco to Alonfo de Loaysa an Inhabitant of that City: the very night that they were married, happened the infurrection of Franoffo Hernandez Giron, as we shall relate, God willing, in its due place. The Son
was called Gonçalo Mexia de Figueroa, a very hopefull youth, he went with me to
the Grammar School, but he died very young, to the grief of all those who
were acquainted with him. But let us leave Acosta upon his march, and the others upon the coast, to relate the disaster which besell Pedro de Puelles in Quitn: for he, having received advice that the late Ordinances were repealed, and a general Pardon given for all Crimes and Treasons already past, he resolved to accept the benefit of that gratious Proclamation, and return to his allegiance and duty towards his Majesty, and thereby renounce Picarro and his Cause, for whom and for which he had zealoufly engaged himfelf in former times.

775

To compass the Plot intended, Pedro de Puelles made a solemn invitation to all his Souldiers and Captains; and then amidst the entertainment, he resolved to propose what was fit in order to his Majesty's service, and for a motive thereumo he defigned to make known to them that a general Pardon was granted, and the late Ordinances repealed. Pedro de Puelles had in private communicated this his intention to a certain Souldier of note, called Diego de Orbina, who also entrusted the fecret to one Rodrigo de Salaçar, a fellow as crooked in his conditions as in his body: this Rodrigo, effeeming the matter easie and already well prepared to take effect, refolved, that Pedro de Puelles should not have the honour to himself. him that his Majesty and the President should own the signal service of reducing three hundred men to their allegiance folely to his management and valour. This unrpose of his he made known to four of his friends, whose surnames were Ballida Firado, Hermofilla and Morillo, which were the names by which they were known: giving them to understand what the intent of Pedro de Puelles was, and therefore to wrest so signal a service out of his hands, and appropriate it to their own merit. he proposed to kill Pedro de Puelles: to which they all affented and agreed, as they accordingly did, and went next morning, being Sonday, all five together to the house of *Pedro de Puelles*, and sent him up word, that Captain Salazar was come to make him a vifit, and to attend him to Church to hear Mass. Pedro de Puelles took the vifit kindly from them, and defired them to walk up into his chamber. for he was not as yet out of bed. It is reported that four of them entred in, and that Rodrigo de Salazar remained at the door, to fee first how matters succeeded though some say he did goe in; but I have heard the story related often in the manner before mentioned. These four Villains killed Pedro de Puelles with their Swords and Daggers, and then with Rodrigo de Salazar they ran out into the Market place and declared for the King, to which all the City inclined and concurred with the greatest cheerfulness in the World.

Royal Commentaries.

### CHAP. IX.

A Challenge is fent to Salazar to fight a Duell, on occasion of the Murther of Pedro de Puelles. Diego de Centeno sights with Pedro Maldonado, and enters into Cozco.

R Odrigo de Salazar and his Complices, having performed this Exploit, went with all expedition to join with the Prefident Gafea, and happily met him in the Valley of Saufa: where he received them with all the kindness imagimable, and praifed them highly for their Loyalty and Demonstrations of Allegiance to his Majetty, which he took notice of, and should be rewarded in its due season: but Diego de Orbina, who was a friend to Pedro de Pnelles, considered that the Discovery he had made of his Friend's secret was the cause of his unhappy fate, and that Rodrigo de Salazar enjoyed all that honour and applause which was juftly due to his dead Friend: wherefore being fensibly touched in conscience for the fact, he published in all places the truth of the whole matter, and of the loyal intentions of Pedro de Puelles, as before related. He also threw all the infamy he could heap up against this Salazar: he declared that he was a false, treacherous person, that he had betrayed the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela, and revolted to Pigarro, and had followed and fided with him in all his actions: that he was acquainted and informed of the loyal intentions of Pedro de Puelles; and that to gain the glory thereof to himfelf, he had perpetrated that bloudy Murther: the like he had done by Almago the younger, whose Servant he was, and yet he betrayed and delivered him up. And with such faithless practices as these, he had ever lived, and to the shame of the world was well esteemed, as the Proverb fays, Who is prosperous and overcomes, is always commended. Wherefore upon the whole matter Diego de Orbina publickly declared, that he challenged him to a single

duell in the field; where he would make him confess with his own mouth, and aknowledge that all which he had faid was true.

Royal Commentaries.

Rodrigo de Salazar, who trusted more to his own subtilties and crast, than to his Swor Schole rather to confess all which Diego de Orbina required of him to be true. than to enter the Lifts with a person so much renowned for his valour and expetience in Arms, as was Orbina. And therefore after fuch confession made, he added, that in regard *Pedro de Puelles* had elapsed the day appointed for such de-daration, as before mentioned, he suspected that he had repented of the design, and therefore killed him, knowing that delays of that kind are commonly dangemis: upon which confession approved by the President to be satisfactory; Diego La Tirbina. and his Companions, who were men of note, and engaged with him in the quarrel, accepted of the confession, and put an end to any farther dispute thereupon: though some were of opinion, that the reasons were of some small moment, and not valid enough to put up fuch a challenge: but as the Proverb

lays. Dead men and absent have but few friends.

But to return now to Captain Diego Centeno, whom we left on his march to Coza. with resolution to engage Captain Antonio de Robles, who with a good force kent that City for Gonçalo Piçarro: and though it might feem a very rash action to attack three hundred men well disciplined and armed with fourty eight men onely, and those ill provided with Arms and Ammunition, and lately come out from their Caves and Mountains to which they were driven by Francisco de Carhow that Alonjo de Hinojofo being oftended with Gonçalo Picarro for having advanced Antonio de Robles before him in the command of Coeco, had wrote to the mincipal Inhabitants of that City, to return to their duty and to his Majesty's service: to which most of them affenting wrote Letters to Diego Centeno to prosecute his journey towards them with all diligence, promifing to join with him, and afford him all the affiftence they could at his arrival. So foon as Antonio de Robles received News that the Enemy was near at hand, he consulted with his Caprains in what manner they should oppose him: and in the mean time he ordered Francisco de Aguitre, a person in whom he much confided, to scout abroad, and ide until he met with Diego Centeno, as he did about fix Leagues diftant from the City, where he informed him of the intention of Antonio de Robles to oppose his entrance into the City, and in what manner he defigned to order and draw up his own men: upon which intelligence Diego Conteno and the Commanders then with him, the chief of which were Pedro Ortiz de Carate, Francisco Negral, Luys de Ribera, Diego Alvarez, Alonfo Perez de Esquivel, agreed at a Council of War to make their attempt in the night, which would be more terrible to the Town, and give a better advantage to those who were well affected to pass over to their

They also used this ingenious strategem of War; they took off the Bridles from their Mules and Beatts of burthen, and tied lighted matches upon the pomels of the Sadles, and ordered the Indians who attended them to lead them to fuch a place, and then whip them in such a manner, as that they might come running into the Town; the way by which they were to enter was by the Street of the Sun, which, as we have mentioned in the description of the City, leads directly to the Market place: the Indians followed the Orders which were given them, and in the mean time Diego Centeno and his Souldiers entred by another Street to the Well fide, which comes out at a corner of the Market-place. Antonio de Robles being thus alarmed about the beginning of the night, drew up his three hundred men into a body in the Market place, and faced towards the Street of the Sun, knowing that there was no other way for them to enter the Town but that, unless they took a great compass to come about. The Indian servants did their parts, and made a great noise and out-cry with their Horses and Mules, as if they had with them a multitude of People, and broke in upon the Squadron of Antonio de Robla, before he or his Souldiers knew againft whom they were engaged; and when they found them to be Horfes and Mules onely without Riders, they were more aftonished and troubled than before. At the same instant Diego Centeno and his men appeared at the corner of the Market-place and charged the Enemy on the right-wing, with loud shouts and crys, firing those few Muskets which were amongst them. At that time there was a certain person called Pedro Maldonado, who was lodged in the House of Hernando Picarro, which is now turned into the Jesu-

Ggggg

BOOK V.

its College, he was a person of a quiet and mild disposition, he was no Soul dier, nor pretended to the War, and was then repeating his Office of our Ladv. dier, nor precenced to the Yvar, and was the repeating in Since or our Lady, to whom he was entirely devoted; but he being alarm d with this noise, clapt up his Breviary into his bosom, and laying hold of a rusty Sword and a Halbert, which came next to hand, he ran into the Market-place, and the first person he met with happened to be Diego Centeno, and not knowing with whom he engaged without farther ceremony, he took him over the left hand with a good blow, and with the next he thrust him into the thigh with the point of his Halbert, which did not pass through, because there was a cross bar to that weapon in form of a Flower-de-luce; and endeavouring to difengage his Halbert, and pull it out, that fo he might give him another thrust, the barbes were fastned to his breeches of Vel. ver, so that pulling at them, Centeno fell to the ground: at which time a Page of his, who is grown up to be a man (whose name I have forgot) came in to the affiftence of his Mafter, and thot Maldonado with a Carbine, with which he fell foon; but rifing again to fight with Centeno, more Company came in, and feifed on Maldonado, and difarmed him, and then pursued their Victory, which was eafily gained; for by this time most of the Enemy's party had declared for the King and the rest had conveyed themselves away. In all which Engagement nothing happened fo remarkable as the Combat between Pedro Maldonado and Diego Centeno. with both whom, I was acquainted, nor was there one drop of bloud shed. but onely that of Centeno.

### CHAP. X.

A strange Accident which happened upon this Combat of Pedro Maltionado. The death of Antonio de Robles. Diego Centeno is chosen Commander in chief. Lucas Martin is reduced to his Majesty's service. An Agreement is made between Alonso de Mendoca and Diego Centeno.

PEdro Maldonado was one of the fattest and most corpulent men that ever I have feen: and though the shot which was given him knocked him to the ground, yet he received no wound; for the bullet happened to strike on the Breviary which was in his bosom; and so by the miraculous Providence of the B. Virgin (to whom he was zealoufly devoted) his life was preferved. I my felf faw the Breviary fome years after; for happening to be on a Saturday at Mass with Pedro de Maldonado, for on that day in the Church of Merceds, they always sing Mass to the Mother of God; I defired him to let me see that Office or Breviary which is now called the Office of Miracle, for I told him, that I was very defirous and curious to fay, I had feen it: he was pleafed to comply with my requeft, and I opened the Book, and found that the Bullet had paffed the cover, and entered the first thirty or fourty pages, and some twelve or fifteen leaves farther it had rumpled up together, and had impressed the bigness and form of the Bullet, as far as to that leaf where the Mass of our Lady begins; and which in those days they bound up with our Lady's Office and with other Offices of Devotion, as the Bookfellers pleafed; for then there was not that care taken of Books as hath been fince that time ordered by the Council of Trent; for then the Breviaries were of that fize as the Prayers are now for daily Devotions.

That night there was no other encounter than this which happened between Maldonado and Centeno, though some Authours make a long relation of men killed and wounded; but certainly it was not true, of which I have as much cerrinty as a man can have that was not an eve-witness; for fix days after this matper happened, I came to the City with my Uncle John de Vargas and with Captain Rebigo de Pantoja, and with about nine Spaniards more, who came from a Plantation about thirty Leagues distant from Cozco, as did also all my family, who fled from Pi arro's party, and came for refuge to that City, with intent to be lifted in his Majesty's service: but I and my brother followed them, and the next day afper I came thither I was brought to kifs Diego Centeno's hands; and I remember his left hand was bound up in a piece of black Taffety, and though he was wounded in the Thigh, yet he feemed not very lame with it; for, I observed, he was standing upon his Legs: he was lodged in the House of Fernando Bachicao. which now belongs to Don Lewis Palomino: All which happened some few days after the Teaft of the most Holy Sacrament, in the year 1547. And we have figifted the History hereof about the same month, in the year 1605, and do confirm the truth thereof, which I faw with my own eyes.

All the Fight was friendly, and rather in words than actions, for had they been in earnest, as Historians tay, fourty eight men to ill armed as these were, whose chief Arms were onely Daggers fastned to the end of Staves, would have had a difficult task, to have engaged against three hundred men all well armed and

disciplined, as those were under the command of Antonio de Robles.

Captain Antonio de Robles, being thus defeated and abandoned by his Souldiers. Aed for Sanctuary into the Convent of Saint Francis, which in those days was on the East fide of the City, and not where it now is: from whence Diego Centeno fent the next day to bring de Robles to him, not with defign to kill him, for he was a person of a gentle temper, and not bloudy, but to persuade him to serve his Majesty. But Antonio de Robles (as Carate reports of him) was a Youth, and of nogreat understanding, and behaved himself as if he had been still Commander in Chief of the City, uttering many infolent Sayings in favour of Pigarro's Party, and reflecting with some disgracefull terms on the service of his Majesty: at which Diego Comeno being greatly offended, fent to take off his Head; and though he was fufficiently provoked to have hanged him, (as it was generally believed he would) yet being a Gentleman, he was fentenced to a more honourable death.

Those who were well affected to Picarro's Party, conveyed themselves away in the night, and with great expedition travelled to Rimac, where they brought the full news to Pigarro of the loss of Antonio de Robles and his men at Cozco: which though ill news, and deeply refented by Pigarro, yet he covered and diffembled his trouble for a time, and gave out his Orders and Commands in fuch manner as we shall declare hereafter: but so soon as the news of the Victory which Diego Content had gained had foread it self in the Countries, all those people who were abfoonded, and had hid themselves in parts about forty or fifty leagues round. renumed to Cozco in great numbers, amongst which were divers persons of quality. and Souldiers of honour and fame, who, joyning with those in Cozco, formed a Body of five hundred men, who with common confent freely chose Diego Centeno to be their Commander in Chief; who accordingly gave out Commissions both for Horse and Foot to several Captains, whose names we shall mention when we come to relate the Battel of Huarina.

So foon as General Centeno had reformed his Forces, he returned to Collao with defign to fall upon Alongo de Mendoga (who was appointed Governour of the City of Plate by Gonçalo Pigarro) and to reduce him to obedience of his Majesty ei-

ther by fair or foul means.

The news of Centeno's fuccess at Cozco reached to the City of Arequepa in a very hort time, where a certain Captain refided, called Lucas Martin Vegaffo an inhabitant of that City, and fent thither by Gonçalo Picarro after the Battel of Quitu for Governour of the place. This Captain having not as yet received intelligence of what had passed at Cocco, resolved to bring an hundred and thirty men with him to Pigarro to ferve him in his Camp; but being on his march fome few leagues from the City, his own men who went unwillingly upon that fervice, defired him to turn to the King's Party, but he shewing an aversion thereunto they seised upon him, and kept him prisoner, that he should not fly from them, nor leave

So foon as they were returned to Arequepa they received news of all that Diego Centeno had done, and being all Friends and intimately acquainted, they perfuaded Lucas Martin to change his mind and Party, and to serve his Majesty, and to doe

Ggggg 2

that willingly to which he would be compelled by force; and that then they would reftore him to his command as formerly, and efteem him for their Captain. and would write word to Diego Centeno that they had all devoted themselves to his Maiesty's service. At length Lucas Martin complied, but by compulsion and nor with a good will, as he afterwards acknowledged.

In Arequepa the Souldiers found thirty or forty thousand pieces of Eight, which Lucas Martin was fending to Picarro, which they took and divided amongst them felves, and then marched to Diego Centeno, who gave them a very-kind reception, and thanked them for the fervice and duty they had thewn to his Majefty; and afterwards they all marched in a Body to the Charcas in pursuit of Alongo de Mondoca, who was newly gone out of that Province with three hundred men to iown

with Gonçalo Piçarro.

When both Parties were come near to each other, General Conteno being defi. rous not to put matters to the extremity of a Battel, wrote a Letter to him, perfuading him to put up and forget all the ancient grudges and enmities which had happened in the time of Alonso de Toro and Francisco de Carvajal, and that he should now espouse his Majesty's cause, and abandon the interest of Picarro, who had renounced all allegiance to his Majesty, and that he could not longer continue in fuch a state of Rebellion without incurring the infamous name of a Traitour to his natural King. One of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Cozco was dispatched upon this Message; he was a School-master, but Pedro Gonçales de Carate had taken him from thence to be an instrument of this happy agreement for indeed he was a man of authority and prudence, and one fit for any employ.

In the mean time, whilst this School-master was thus employed, and treating with Alonso de Mendoga, endeavouring to reduce him to his duty towards his Majesty, which he found to be a difficult task, because he thought it dishonourable to renounce Picarro: General Centeno received Letters from the President, wherein he informed him, how his Majesty had given him the Government of that Empire, that the late Ordinances were repealed and made null, and that a general Pardon was granted for all crimes and faults already committed. The which Advice he dispatched away with all expedition to his Agent the School master, ordering him to make use thereof for inducements herewith to persuade Alonso de Mendosa, believing that those arguments would be most prevalent with him, though he had been much more obstinate than he was. The matter operated and succeeded according to defire; for fo foon as Mendoça faw the Letters and the news he altered his mind, and refolved to declare for his Majefly; onely he made this condition, that in case he joyned with *Diego Conteno*, he would command his own Forces and remain chief Captain of them, as he had formerly been: his Souldiers were three hundred in number, all choice men, well armed and well mounted. Diego Centeno affented to the condition, not being willing to break off for the inconvenience of two Generals commanding one Army of the same Nation; so that both Parties met and joyned with all the rejoycing and triumph imaginable. And now (as Carate reports) they finding themselves a thousand men strong, resolved to attack Gonçalo Piçarro, and in their way to seise upon a certain advantageous Pass and to proceed no farther for want of provision, but there to expect him. And at this Pass we will leave them, being near *Huarina*, where that bloudy Battel was afterwards fought, and return to the President Gasea, whom we lest in his Voyage, failing on the fouth Sea.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XI.

The President arrives at Tumpiz: the Orders he issued out there. Gonçalo Picarro sends John de Acosta against Diego Centeno. Lorenço de Aldana comes near to Los Reyes; and Gonçalo Picarro administers an Oath of Fidelity to bis Souldiers.

THE Prefident having overcome many difficulties in his Voyage, at length arrived fafe in the Port of Tumpiz with all his Fleet, excepting one Ship, which being a dull failor upon a wind, was left behind: the name of the Captain was Pedro Cabrora, who finding it impossible to turn to windward with his leewardly Ship, he entred into Port Buena Ventura, and travelled over Land with his (mall Company, and came to the President at Tumpiz, whom he found there emplayed in giving out Orders, and making necessary provisions for the subsistence of his Army, which confifted now of about five hundred men. At this place he recired many Letters from confiderable persons, as well Citizens as Captains and Souldiers, to all which he returned civil and obliging answers, promising them recompense and rewards in the name of his Majesty. He gave Orders to Pedro de Hinigla, whom he had made Captain-General, to march before with the Forces to Offimmers, and to joyn with the Party which was there. Psulo de Meneses was appointed with the Fleet to coast all along by the shore; and he himself with a convenient Guard for the fecurity of his person travelled by way of the Plains, as tras Travello, where he received the news of those Captains and Souldiers, who had declared for his Majesty, and in what places and Countries they remained in expédation of his coming, he dispatched Messengers into all parts, with directions to pass by way of the Desart untill they came to the Valley of Cassamarca, where they were to attend farther Orders. After which he travelled by way of the Plains, and fent Scouts before to fee that the way was clear before him.

Whilst things succeeded thus with the President and his Army, Pigarro received news from Cocco of the Victory obtained there by Diego Centeno, of the death of Abasio de Robles, and of the imprisonment of Lucas Martin Vegasso, at which he was very much troubled, and seeing that sabrick of Empire which he had erected for himself, to fall and become daily ruinous, for want of a good foundation, he began to doubt his condition, and fear that he should never attain to that height of Government which he had long fanfied to himself. Hereupon in all haste he knt to recall Captain John de Acofta, whom, (as we have faid before) he had fent with some Souldiers to Truvillo to suppress some disturbances which began to appear in those parts. At this time also Francisco de Carvajal cut off the Head of donnio Altamirano, who carried the Standard in Picarro's Army, for no other reaon than that he fanfied, that Altamirano was pleased with the news of Centeno's facels, and that he of late carried himself coldly and unconcerned in the service of Pigarro, which was cause enough for Carvajal to take away any man's life; the Sandard was afterwards conferred on Antonio de Ribera. So foon as Acofta was reurned, he ordered him with three hundred men to fall upon Diego Centeno: Marin de Olmos was appointed to command the Horse, and Diego Gumiel the Foot, with both which persons I was acquainted: Martin de Almendras commanded the Pikes, Martin de Alarcon carried the Standard, Paez de Sotomayor was Lieutenant-General, and John de Acosta was Commander in Chief. These Forces were ordeted to march to Cozco by way of the Mountains, and in a few days afterwards to descend into the Plains, and on all sides to make War upon Diego Centeno 3 for above all men living he refented his carriage towards him, and had most cause to complain of him, because he had been the first and the most importunate of any to advise and persuade him to accept and take upon him the Title and Office of Procurator-General of that Kingdom; and afterwards upon a report onely of a seneral Pardon, and repeal of the late Ordinances (whether true or falle no man knows) he poorly and meanly deferted that cause which he himself had owned

and promoted fo far untill he faw him nominated and chofen Governour of *Perus*, the fame complaint he made againft all those who had been instruments of his advancement, whom he hoped God would punish and avenge his cause against their falseness and treachery.

These and treatisty.

These and such like complaints Gonçalo Picarro often uttered in the presence of his intimate Friends, though in publick he carried it with good courage, and a chearfull countenance, as he ever did in all his troubles and difficulties; which all Historians confess and report of him when they come to speak of his missortunes.

To these ill successes Fortune yet added worse, for when the begins once to they per disfavours the contents not her felf with a fingle milchief. For now in happened in this unlucky conjuncture that Lorenzo de Aldana came with his four Ships within fifteen leagues of Los Reyes; and though he was ill provided with Men and Ammunition, and was in want of all Provisions and things necessary yet he remained fecurely enough and well fatisfied upon the news he received that Piçarro had burnt all his Ships which were in that Port: upon which affurance he took courage, and with confidence came boldly to the Port of Los Rejes, not with intention to fight with any, but onely to take up fuch persons who should escape and revolt from Pigarro and his Party. The news of the arrival of these four Ships at Huawa, from whence there was no means now left to remove them, was refented as a common difference and diffeonour to the whole Town: but Gonçalo Picarro, confidering how his people fell daily from him, and that there was a general defection in all parts, thought it necessary to secure them to him by way of Religion; which counsel was given him by the Lawyer Gepeda, who formed an Oath of Fidelity to be administred to all people; and thereupon the Citizens and Lords who had commands over the Indians, and the principal Inhabitants in all Cities near, and Captains and Souldiers were all fummoned to take this Oath: upon administration of which the Lawyer made a speech to the People, telling them how great obligations they had to Pigarro for having fulfained thole labours and difficulties, and endured Famine and Wars, and paffed through infinite dangers onely for their fakes, to fecure their Lives, Liberties and Estates to them, in which they were invefted, and now peaceably possessed by the favour of his Brother the Marquis Francisco Piçarro. And to evidence unto the world the justice of his Cause, he had dispatched Messengers to his Majesty with an impartial Narrative of all the transactions in these Countries, but were intercepted by contrivance of the Prefident, who corrupting the Commanders of his Fleet, deprived him of his own proper Ships, which had coft him an immense Treasure; and lastly, had entred with in his Dominions, and dispersed seditious Papers in all parts of the Kingdom, to debauch the minds of the People, and feduce them from their affections towards him, with intent to raife Ways in the Empire: but that Picarro for his part refolved to oppose them, and he hoped that they would all joyn with him in desence of their Privileges and Effates, well knowing, that notwithstanding the sair pretences of the President, he will, so soon as he hath gained possession of the Countries of the President, he will, so soon as he hash gained possession of the Countries of the President, he will, so soon as he hash gained possession of the Countries of the President, he will, so soon as he hash gained possession of the Countries of the President, he will be soon as he hash gained possession of the Countries of the President of the P trey, follow the Example of Blasco Numnez Vela in execution of the late Ordinances, and feverely punish all such who shall oppose him: wherefore to know and discover the mind of every man, how he stood affected to him, he desired every person freely and clearly to declare himself; affuring them that he would force no man, but leave them all to their own liberty, either to return to their own Pof fellions, or to go to the Prefident, as every one inclined; but as for those who refolved to flay with him, he expected an engagement from them never to defer or forfake his Caufe or Interest, upon the word of Gentlemen, and under the facred affurance of an Oath, which should be administred to them according to the Christian Rites. So soon as these words were ended, they all cried out, that they were relolved to dye with Pigarro, and fuffer a hundred deaths rather than abandon him; in confirmation whereof they took the Oath, and figned an Engage ment to which a long Roll of hands were underwritten; the Subscriptions were taken by Licenciado Cepeda, who was the first that figned the Lift: but Francisco de Carvajal, who was a wife and a knowing man in the affairs of the world, did often laugh and jeft at these matters in private with his Friends, and would say, you shall fee how these promises will be performed, and what Conscience will be made of this folemn Oath; and uttered likewife many other witty Sayings, of which had a Collection been made, perhaps they would have been eftermed the best Apothegms, and the wifest Sentences in the world. CHAP

#### CHAP. XII.

Hostages are mutually sent from one side to the other, in which much caution and subtilty was practised by both Parties. Many principal men of Quality abandon and leave Gonçalo Piçarro.

T WO days after this Oath was administred, the four Ships under the command of Lorenço de Aldana appeared in the Port of Los Reyes, upon which the Ciry was in a great Consternation; and Picarro ordered the Souldiers to put themselves into Arms, and appear in the Market-place, being then about the number of fix hundred men; but afterwards caused them all to draw up in the field; where, being in publick view, it would be more difficult for any person to revolt or forsake his Colours: the Camp was pitched about a League from the City, and about two from the Port; and, to prevent all escapes, he kept conflant Guards and Petrolls of Horse between the Camp and the Sea, to intercept those who inclined towards the Enemy: but to quiet the minds of the people. and to know and understand the pretensions of Lorenço de Aldana, an Inhabitant of Los Reves, named John Fernandez, was fent to remain with Aldana, in nature of a Hostage, with intent that he should send another in the like quality to make known the defign of his coming into that Port, and what his pretentions were. Accordingly Captain Penna was fent from the Ships, and carried to Gonçalo Picarwa Copy of the Prefident's commission from his Majesty, and the general Pardon of all past Crimes, with a Revocation of the late Ordinances, which had caufed all the diffurbances: And in regard his Majesty was not pleased to commit the Government into the hands of Pigarro, Penna had Orders to persuade him by word of mouth to obey his King, and submit to his Commands. And here Palonino relates what we formerly touched, about fending Commissions; but he is milaken in his Discourse, for matters were now much altered, and it was too late to treat of Commissions or Delegation of Powers as they were called; for there was nothing now but noise and confusion, and endeavours to escape, as will appear by the feguel of this Hiftory. Picarro answered something warmly to the Message which Penna had brought him: and bid him tell Lorenço de Aldana and Pedro de Hinojofa and the rest who had been sworn friends to him, that they had fallly betrayed him, and been the occasion to have him branded with the infamous name of a Traytour, whereas he had never deferved to be so esteemed; having fent Ambassadours to his Majesty to render him an account of all the transactions of those parts; that his intentions were never to offend the King, but to quiet and compose the disturbances of the Countrey, and order every thing for his Majesty's better service. He added many other things like a troubled and an angry man complaining of the falleness of friends and ingratitude of men whom he had raifed and preferred to offices and places of Truft, in requital of which they had unjustly and basely sold him; He ordered that Captain Penna should be lodged in the Tent of Antonio de Ribera, without liberty to converse with any per-fon, that so the dispatches and orders he brought might not be divulged amongst the people; some Authours say, that the same night Picarro tryed if he could corrupt him with money to show him a way how Aldana's Ship might be betrayed to him, and for that fervice, he promifed a reward of a hundred thousand pieces of Eight, believing, that if he could gain that Ship, the others would of courfe fall into his hands: but Penna made answer, that he was not the person they took him for; for that all the advantage and interest in the world could never prevail with him to be guilty of a Treachery fo mean and manifest as that; and therefore it was an affront to propose it to him: the day following Pigarro ordered him to be returned fafe to the Ships, which was performed according to the faith and pledges which were given: but on the other fide, the Proposals made to John Fer-nandee had better effect; for Lorengo de Aldana having understood from Captain Penna, that Picarro concealed and finothered the Letters and Papers which were

fent him; in the publication whereof the fuccess of his negotiation confifted; there being no other means whereby the Inhabitants and Souldiers could come to the knowledge of his Majefty's gratious Pardon for all crimes and fault salready committed, and of the Repeal of the late Ordinances, than by these Papers and Letters; to disperse which he treated with Fernance, and obtained his promise to be instrumental therein: to which purpose two Copies were drawn both of of the Pardon and of the Repeal of the Ordinances, as also of the Letters which were wrote to particular persons; all which were delivered into the hands of Fernandez, and he fafely returned alhoar. So foon as he was landed, he went directly to Picarro, and taking him apart from the company, he told him fecretly, that Aldana had made him great promifes, in case he would disperse amongst the people those Papers and Letters which contained the pardon and revocation of the late Laws. Papers and Letters which contained the pation and revocation of the late Laws; and to amuse Aldana with vain hopes, I gave him (said he) my promise for doe, and received the Papers, which I here faithfully deliver into your hand: for fince you have been pleased to entrust me with your person, your safety, and your estate, having had so great a considence in me as to adventure me for a Hofrage amongst your Enemies; I refolve to be faithfull and true to you, and with my other vertues to bequeath that of faithfulness and truth to my posserice; befides these he uttered many other flattering expressions wherewith to delude Picarro and fettle him in an affured confidence of his integrity and reality towards him. Gonçalo Pigarro who was naturally in himself of a frank and noble disposition, believed every word that Fernandez had told him; and taking the Papers from him. reposed an entire confidence in all his actions and dealings: upon which Fernander. gained an opportunity with better fecurity to publish and disperse his Papers: those which were for particular friends, in whom he could confide, he delivered with his own hand, and the others he threw in at Windows and put under Doors: fo that the Contents thereof were foon known and divulged over all the Town. which had the effect and iffue for which they were defigned, as we shall hereafter

fee in the fequel of these matters.

For no fooner was the substance of these Papers published, with a particular clause, That whosoever was delirous to gain the benefit of his Majesty's gratious Declaration, and escape to the Ships, should find Boats ready in the River to receive them and carry them on board, but great Disturbance arose in the minds of the people; for no man knew whom he could trust, every one growing jealous and suspicious each of other: and indeed there was just cause for it, because those who had entred into the most solemn engagements were the first who broke them and fled to the Enemy. And though the Camp was pitched at some distance in the fields, and Orders given out for the Army to march by way of the plains; yet feveral principal persons having obtained licence to goe to the Town, under colour of making provision of necessaries for their march, returned not again to the Camp, as they had promised to Pigarro, but renouncing his cause and interest, marched away to Truxillo. The most considerable of these persons were Vasco de Guevara, Martin de Meneses, Nicholas de Ribera, Hernan Bravo de Laguna, Diego de Escobar, Francisco de Barlovento, Diego Tinoco, Francisco de Ampuero, Alonso Ramires de Sosa, all which had Possessinos of Lands and Estates in Los Reyes and Cozco; and besides them, several private Souldiers quitted the Service. Of which Picarro having received intelligence by the Out-guards, he immediately ordered Captain de la Torre with twenty Musqueriers to goe in pursuit of them and kill them in case they refused to return. Accordingly Captain de la Torre followed them about eight leagues, and not overtaking them, he turned back, and in his way met with Hernan Brano, who had for some time absconded himself in a Kinsman's house in Los Reyes, where fearing to be discovered, and considering the trouble he should thereby bring upon his friends, he resolved to adventure abroad and follow the rest of his Companions, but being unhappily met by Captain de la Torre, he was brought back and delivered to Francisco de Carvajal, to be hanged for a Runagate.

But it happened that a certain Lady of Quality, named Thes Bravo, Wife of Nicholas de Ribera, who was one of those lately revolted, was informed that Hernan Bravo, who was her Cofin german, was taken, and would certainly be executed; the with her own mother speedily went to Pigarro's Tent; and though she was conscious to her self of having persuaded both her Husband and Kinsman to make their escapes; yet being affured of the generous and mercifull nature of Picarro, the confidently call herfelf upon her knees at his feet, and with many tears asked the life of her Kinfman: Pigarro, like a Gentleman, prefently lifted her from the ground, and though at first he seemed averse and hardly persuaded to grant him mercy; yet at length fuffering himfelf to be overcome with the Prayers and Tears of the Lady, and with the Intreaties of those who stood by and joined in the Petiof the Lady, and with the interaction of the Pardon (according as his oftom was in the likecafes) his took off his Cap with the Medal on it, and delivered it to her to be shown to Carvajal; the which was brought to him just at the moment of time when Hernando Bravo was at the foot of the Tree with the halter moment of time when the matter about his Neck and ready to be truffed up: the which fignal from Gonçalo Piçarro ferved for a fufficient Warrant to Francisco de Carvajal, who was also mollified by the lattractics of those then present, who esteemed themselves concerned to promore and favour the Lady's Petition. And thus Hernan Bravo de Laguna escaped death, whom I knew a long time, and left him living in Cozco, possess of a small

Royal Commentaries.

Aughstine de Carate in the seventh Book of his History Chapter the sixteenth having related this Paffage, farther adds a particular which happened upon this Pardon yery remarkable, which was this, A certain Captain called Alonso de Carceres. being then prefent when Gonçalo Piçarro pardoned Hernan Bravo, kissed him upon the Cheek, and cryed out with a loud voice, Oh Prince of the World, cursed behe who for fear of death shall deny thee: notwithstanding which, before three hours were ended, both he and Hernan Bravo, and feveral others revolted, which was the more strange, in regard that an honest and a considering person might believe that a man who had the halter about his Neck could not in fo short a time

have recovered from the agonies and ecstasies of death, &c.

#### CHAP. XIII.

Martin de Robles contrives a Plot for his Escape.

WHEN so many noble and principal Persons had deserted Gonçalo Piçarro who had been the chief Instruments to incite him to appear in defence of their Lives and Estates, a great murmuring and trouble was raised in the Camp: for as Carate relates, many persons were amongst them, who had from the beginning followed Picarro, and given him fuch affurance of their faith and fidelity. that no man could reasonably imagin that they could abandon or betray him: at which Pigarro was fo enraged and put into that ill humour, that no man durst to appear in his presence; and in his passion gave Orders to the Out guards to kill any man whom they found without the Precincts of the Camp: foon after which a poor Souldier happened to fall into their hands, upon no other evidence, or pre-fumption rather, than because he carried two Shirts with him. But nothing could be more infamous and dishonourable than what happened the night following, when Martin de Robles, pretending to be fick, that he might have leave to return to the City, fent fecret intelligence to Diego Maldonado, who was a rich man, and a Citizen, and the High-constable of Cozco, that Gonçalo Piçarro, by advice of his Captains intended to kill him; and therefore out of the sense of friendship which was between them, he could not give him better Counsel than exhort him to take care of his own fafety. Diego Maldonado gave entire credence thereunto, because he remembred that he was once under an ill opinion with Pigarro, when he ferved the Vice king against him, as hath been formerly mentioned. After which they put him to the torture, upon certain Libells which were scattered in Picarro's Tent, at the time when the Battel at Quitu was ready to begin; of all which though he was afterwards found innocent, yet the actions of his friend Antonio Altamirano served afterwards to render him the more suspected.

These imaginations and the apprehensions of a tormenting death, which was practifed in those days, so operated on the mind of Diego Maldonado, that believing every word that Martin de Robles had told him, he, without making a discovery to any of his Servants, or giving order to faddle his Horses, of which he had ma-

Hhhhh

ny good ones in his Stables, went out of his Tent with Sword and Cloak onely. and though he was a man of fixty eight years of age, yet he walked all the night . until he came to certain Cains or Oliers about three leagues diffant from the Sea. where the Ships were at Anchor, and there he fecretly absconded him. the sea, where the simps were at rainting, and there is a dictionary num-felf for that time: but then fearing that the day following he should be pursued and taken by them, or at least perith there with thirst and famine; he came from thence, and happily met with an *Indian*, to whom he revealed the great necessity and danger he was in. The poor *Indian* compassionating his condition (that National Control of the Poor Indian Compassionating his condition) on being generally of a mercifull nature) conducted him to the Sea, where on the thoar he presently woave a float of Rushes in the manner we have before described bed, and with which the Indians pass over the Rivers; and thereupon both of them mounting, the *Indian* brought him fafe to the Ships, though not without great danger of being drowned, especially Diego Maldonado, for when they came to the Ships, the Rushes began to be all untied, and for want of good tackle and work. manship the Vessel had like to have miscarried. And thus the good man Diego Maldonado escaped, who was one of the first Conquerours, and whom I lest living in Cozco, when I departed from thence; next day very early in the morning Martin de Robles went to the Tent of Diego Maldonado, to fee what operation his advices had worked in him: and understanding that he was gone from thence the night before, he went immediately to Pigarro, and feigning much concernment for his fervices, he told him, Sir, Maldonado is fled; and fince it is vifible how vour forces diminish daily, my opinion is, that you should raise your Camp from hence, and march towards Arequepa, and farther, to prevent Fugitives in their intentions, I would advise you upon no pretence whatsoever to permit any person to return to the City. And as to my own Company, I am fecure enough of them. for there is not one of them who demands leave to goe to the City, but give good example unto others; onely with your permittion, I would goe to the City with fome few of my Souldiers in whom I repote the greatest confidence, and whom I know to stand in want of several necessaries, with which having provided themselves in my presence, I shall then return with them: and with the same occasion I will make search for Diego Maldonado, who, as I hear, is sled to the Monastery of St. Domingo, from whence I will endeavour to bring him to you, by whose exemplary punishment men may for the future be afraid to fly, and abandon your cause and interest. Picarro reposing great confidence in the faithfulness of Martin de Robles, who was deeply engaged with him in all matters: for it was he who had taken the Vice king and profecuted him to death, and performed other pieces of notorious fervice; he gave him his permiffion with all readiness to goe to the City: hereupon Martin de Robles in the first place made bold with the Horfes belonging to Maldonado, as the conflicated goods of a Traytor, and calling those to him of his Company, for whom he had most kindness and in whom he most confided, who were about thirty in all, he immediately went to the City of Los Royes, and thence took the direct road to Truvillo, publickly declaring, that they were going to the President, and had renounced Pigarro, who was a Tyrant,

When this News came to the Camp no man would hardly believe it; thinking it impossible for *Martin de Robles*, who was a person so deeply concerned with *Pi-çarro* in all matters, to forsake him at the last. But when the truth was confirmed, it was the common opinion, that that very day the Camp would break up, and every man shift for himself, or that they would kill *Pi-carro*, and make an end of the dispute at one blow: but such was the gentleness and generosity of *Pi-carro*'s disposition, that it entred into no man's thoughts to perpetrate so execrable a villany upon his person, all their designs being onely to leave and revolt from him.

lany upon his person, all their designs being onely to leave and revolt from him. Howsever Pigarro put a good countenance upon all his missortunes, pretending to esteem lightly of those who had denyed him, and saying, that if he had onely ten good friends, who would stick by him, he should not despair of making a new Conquest of all Pern, as Palentino says in the sixty sourth Chapter of

his Book.

# CHAP. XIV.

Licenciado Carvajal, Graviel de Rojas, and feveral other Citizens and Souldiers of note fly from Picario.

But these frequent revolts did not end with the flight of Martin de Robles. but rather a general desection was seared; for the night following Lope Marin Preserva of the Portugal Nation made his escape: he was one of the first Conquerours, and one with whom I was well acquainted: whereupon Goncalo Picarro, to prevent other escapes, at least on that side of the City, he ordered Licenciado Carvajal with a party of Horfe to guard that part, and not to fuffer any person to pass that way. One would have thought that this Carvajal had given sufficient assurances and pledges of his Fidelity, that his faithfulness to the Cause ought not to be suspected; and yet for all this he fled away and revolted, and by his example opened a door for every man to escape away and be gone; for he was followed by all his Troop of Horse, as also by Pedro Suarez de Escobedo, Francisco de Escobedo and Teronimo Escobedo, who were his Kinsmen, and all took the great Road to Truvillo: these also were accompanied with Licenciado Polo, Marcos de Retamoço an Enfien of good esteem, Francisco de Miranda and Hernando de Vargas, with many Souldies of chief renown. The flight of these persons could not be so conceased but that it was quickly made known to the next Quarter, from whence Graviel de Rois followed the same example, who was the person on whom Picarro had not long before conferred the honour of carrying the Standard, which he had taken from Don Antonio de Ribera, whom he had left in Los Reyes to govern the City, because he was a person of great abilities, and related to him by kindred, and engaged with him as deeply as any in all his defigns. Graviel de Rojas was followed by many others, amongst whom were his two Kinsmen Graviel Vermudez and Gomez de Rojan, both Persons of Quality: the slight of these Officers was not presently known abroad, because the Quarters of Licenoiado Carvajal were in the Out-guards, which Gonçalo Picarro and his Souldiers esteemed to be well secured by them, and reposed all confidence imaginable in their fidelity: but so soon as it was divulged, it caused great noise and rumour in the Camp; and Pigarro himself was particularly concerned for Licenciado Carvajal, and was grieved that he of all the men in the world thould for fake him: and confidering what could be the cause of his discontent or disgust, he was forry that he had not married him to Donna Francisea Picarro his Cosin-german, supposing that if he had so done, he had obliged him by perpetual bonds of alliance; and again he fanfied that he must have been difobliged, because having nominated him to have commanded some Forces, he had asterwards put John de Acosta over his head: of all which he complained to Francis for Carvajal, his Lieutenant General, blaming him for giving him the ill counsel which had disobliged his Kinsman: to which Carvajal made answer, that since the Licenciado had been so bold and daring as to forsake and abandon his cause even in his presence, and was so resolved upon it as to adventure his life in the Act; it was better to be rid of him than to entertain him in his service, since he might have carried three hundred men away with him, in case he had employed him in the place of Acofta. In the like manner (faid he) fuch men as these turned to your fide and party, at a time when their occasions required your affistence to help them to their Estates, and to conserve their Lives and Honours; and ac that time they denyed and renounced the Emperour, they persecuted his Viceking to the death: and now the tide being turned, they deny, and fell you, and entirely abandon you: and, why? for no other cause certainly, than that they think they have no farther need of you; their Estates and Lives being now secuared to them: fuch men as there, both here and in all other parts of the World, adore no other God than the Idol of their own interest: and having paid you like men of that flamp, their deferts will be recompenfed to them in their own coin.

This was the faying of the Lieutenant General, and he proved a true Prophet in it; for I faw many of these things verified in my time; for none of these peo-

788

ple at least very few of them, died in their beds, but were afterwards killed in those insurrections which succeeded these troubles. The whole party of Picarro began now to despair and to faint in their courages by this desection of Carnaid and fo many persons of note: for since such a Gentleman as he was so deeply engaged in this cause, having cut off the head of the Vice-king, and who had given other evidences of his zeal for it, had revolted and fled, what could be ind ged of the affections of others who had neither the guilt nor those engagements mon them? for the day following, when the Army was on their march, as many as could privately convey themselves away made their escape; and at length the defection became general, and Souldiers openly and in the fight of Picarro and his Camp turned their Colours and marched away: amongst which, two Horsemen of good reputation, named Pedro Villadan and John Lopez, declared openly for his Majefty, and that Goscalo Picarro might be confounded, who was a Traytor and a Tyrant: these were quickly followed by two others, called Francisco Guillada and John Paez de Soriano: Piçarro intended to have fent after them, but he had none whom he could trust or be affured that they would not have born them company in their design of revolt: Wherefore he hastned his march as fast as he could to Arequest by way of the Plains, and yet many of his Infantry forfook him, leaving their Musquets behind them; with which they supposed the Picarrifts would be contented and not purfue them. In fine, as Angulline Carate faith in the fixth Book. Chapter the feventeenth, fo many had left him that his whole number was reduced to two hundred men, as appeared at the Muster taken in the Province of Nanasca, which is not above fixty leagues from Los Reyes. Francisco de Carvaial, who was an experienced Captain, got all the Arms of the Fugitives together, intending to arm other Souldiers with them, in case any would come in to their Party.

#### CHAP. XV.

The City of Los Reyes declare for his Majesty, and set up his Standard: Lorenço de Aldana comes ashoar: A great Confusion and Disturbance in Los Reyes.

Army, which was now reduced from a thousand unto two hundred men: but all things turning contrary; those forces which he lest in the City of Los Regard and desence of it, and in whom he consided as his best and most faithfull friends, who were obliged to him on the score of alliance and many other arguments, did now renounce him and declared for the King: for Piçarro had not gone above two days march on his way to Arequepa, and not above fisten leagues distant from the City, when Don Antonio de Ribera, whom Piçarro had made Governour of the City, ioning with the Justices Martin Piçarro and Antonio de Leon and other Inhabitants, who upon pretence of sickness or infimities of old age, had obtained licence from Gonçalo Piçarro to remain behind, (to whom they resigned up their Arms and Horses) spread the Standard of the City, and let sty the Colours in the open Market-place, and gathering what people they could declared for his Majesty, publishing by out-cry the general Pardon, and the revocation of the late Ordinances as delivered by the President.

Palentino relating this passage, says, that it was done by order of Gonçalo Piçaro, and that he had left instructions with his Governour so to does that those who had forsaken his Party might not gain the honour they pretended unto and expected by their revolt: and yet Palentino contradicts himself again in it, and says, that it was not to be believed, and that it was onely a report of some disasticted pegasions; though in truth Piçaro did leave such instructions with Don Antonio de Ribera; for his sake onely, that he might save himself, and gain savour with the President Gasea: for Pigaro was well assured, that so soon as he was out of fight he should be out of mind, and that after his departure the City would throw of all

respect and fidelity to him, and follow the example of his Captains and Governous in other places: and therefore that Antonio de Riberà, whom he entirely loved both on the force of alliance and of past fervices which he had done to the Marquis Don Francisco Pigarro his brother, he gave him fecretly his consent to make a furrender of the City; that thereby he might conserve himself and his Nicce Donna Francisca Pigarro, Daughter of the Marquis, who remained under list Guardianship.

The News of this Change in the City was foon carried to Lorenco de Aldana. who was furprized with extraordinary joy to hear it, for he did not expect fo fudden an alteration; and was riding at anchor at a good diftance from the floar. looking out with his Boats to take up fuch as made their escapes from the City, to fecure which he ordered Captain John Alonfo Palomino with fifty Souldiers to row along the thoar; suspecting that Gonçalo Picarro would return again to the City to prevent Plots which might be there contriving against him: and to have the berter and more speedy intelligence of the proceedings of Pigarro, he ordered twelve of those persons who had revolted to him, and who hereby had given undenvable proofs of their fidelity; to be mounted on Horfe-back, to fcour abroad and travers all the ways and roads near the City. He also gave Orders to Captain John There, who was Commander of a finall Frigate, to coast along the shoar of the South-fea; and at some convenient place to land a Friar and a Souldier; who were to carry Letters and Dispatches from the President directed to Captain Dieto Contono, and feveral Letters to particular persons then in company with Digo Canton, and others to perfors of great reputation and effects then engaged with John de Acofta, the Contents of which were chiefly to inform them of the State and Successes of the Empire; the which were dispersed abroad over all the Country by the *Indians*, and by their means came to the hands of those to whom they were directed, which produced many ill effects, to the prejudice and de-

function of deofts, as will appear in the fequel.

We shall now touch upon some matters particularly relating to Lorenco Aldana, who was a person with whom I was acquainted. For both Sea and Land being diffurbed and moved with intestine troubles, Aldana acted, and sent all his difputches and orders from aboard his Ship, being unwilling to trust himself ashoar; for fear left some treacherous person should design to kill him, and sly to Gonçalo Picarro; for (as Historians report) there were people who revolted to Picarro, awell as from him to the King; with which apprehensions and jealousies he remined aboard untill he received certain intelligence that Gonçalo Picarro was removed eighty leagues from the City of *Los Reyes*, and indeed by that time this News came, he was removed at the diffance of a hundred and ten leagues from thence. And then, adventuring alhoar with all his Captains and Souldiers. he was received into the City with great joy, being met by all the Inhabitants, which though few, yet the very Children came in to make up the number. The darge of the Ships was committed to the care of John Fernandez the Sheriff of the Town, with the usual formalities required in such cases: And now Aldama being with his men lodged within the City, he endeavored to get all the Arms and Ammunition into his hands; but whilft he was bufie and intent on these matters, allying report came, that Gonçalo Piçarro was returning again towards the City; and that he was not above four leagues off, and though there could be no ground to imagine such a rumour to be true or possible; yet such was the consternation, that no man had power to confider the probability of the report; but every one out of the abundance of his fear shifted for himself. Those who were unprovided of Horses fled to the Seafide to secure themselves within the Ships; those who had Horses travelled away, and took the common way to Travillo; others who were not possessed with so violent a fear, concealed themselves within the Osier-Bardens and other secret places; and in this manner they lay perdue or hidden for <sup>4</sup>whole night and a day, untill fuch time as certain intelligence came that the re-Port was false. And then they all returned again to the City unless such who had travelled away at a farther diftance.

Angustine Carate writes, that Lorenço de Aldana came as alroar upon the ninth of September, 15-47. Where we will leave him for awhile, to speak of John de Acosta, who was now on his march towards Cozeo by way of the mountains consisting of three bundred Souldiers under the command of a Major General, a Standard-bearer,

and other Officers, as if it had been a great Army.

CHAP.

790

# CHAP. XVI.

The Captains and Souldiers fly from John de Acosta. Goncalo Picarro comes to Huarina, from whence he fends a Message to Diego Centeno; with his Answer thereumo.

WHEN John de Acosta came near to Cozco, they received intelligence of the unfortunate success of Gonzalo Piçarro, and of the general revolt of his People from him; to conceal and smother which all endeavours were used but all in vain, for many of the Letters which were dispersed abroad sell into the hands of Officers and Souldiers, which made a full discovery of all matters; and though none durft to confide in each other fo far as to discourse and communicate the news; yet by some accident or other the Advices became the publick talk. and then the Major-General Pace de Sotomajor and Captain Martin de Olima (with whom I was acquainted) refolved to kill John de Acosta, which design was so secretly carried, that one did not know the intention of the other, but onely by certain conjectures and circumftances; and in like manner at a diffance treated with fome Souldiers in whom they thought they could best confide: but the Plot was not contrived fo fecretly but that it came to the ears of Acofta, who became thereby more watchfull, and doubled the Guards about his Person with those of whose faithfulness he was best assured.

The two General Officers growing jealous hereupon, and knowing that John de Acofta was one day retired within his Tent, and in fecret conference with Captain Martin de Almendras, and another intimate Friend of his, called Diego Gumiel, and fearing that they were plotting to kill them, they resolved to revolt, since they were disappointed in their delign of killing Acosta: and accordingly passing their word in fecret one to the other, without farther delay they mounted on Horseback with thirty men following them with their Arms, and in fight of the Camp marched boldly away towards Los Reyes. The principal persons hereof were Pace de Sotomayor, Martin de Olmos, Martin de Alarçon chief Standard-bearer, Garci Gutierez de Escobar, Alonso Rengel, Hernando de Alvarado, Martin Monge, Anionio de Avila and Gaspar de Toledo. John de Acosta made pursuit after them, and overtook three or four of them and put them to death; but finding it in vain to profecute them farther, he defifted and followed his way towards Cozco, where he took away the white Staves from the Sheriffs of the Town, who were appointed by Diego Centeno, and placed others in their stead.

And here he found Orders from Gonçalo Piçarro to come with all haste possible to Arequepa, and to joyn his Forces with him there. Accordingly John de Acosta marched out of Cozco, but before he was twelve leagues advanced on his way, Martin Almendras (who was the person in whom he most confided) sled from him carrying thirty of his best men with him, and returning again to Cozco he took the white Staves away from the Sheriffs, whom John de Acosta had constituted, as if the fuccess of great matters had depended thereupon; and so he went to Lor Reges, to the great admiration of Acofta, who wondered much that a man so much esteemed and obliged by Gonçalo Piçarro, should desert him who had treated him like a Son, out of respect to the memory of his Uncle Francisco de Almendras, who was killed by Diego Centeno.

John de Acosta durst not adventure to pursue Martin de Almendras, lest all his Souldiers stould follow the like example, and therefore he took the direct way to Arcquepa by long marches, but still his numbers decreased by two and three in a company, so that by the time he came to Arequepa to joyn with Gonçalo Pigarro he brought not above a hundred men with him, as is confirmed by Palentino Chapter fixty eight of the fecond Book, and by Carate, the fixth Book, Chapter eighteen. And now having loft their Honours by being outlawed and proclaimed Traitours, and their Estates, which remained in the power of the Enemy, there was nothing more to fave but their lives onely, and how that stake might be conserved was their onely confultation.

In fine. Picarro and his Captains refolved to take their march by the way where Dies Centero was quartered, because it was the passinge to the high Mountains of Antis, which are to the eaftern parts of Peru; in which quarters they defigned to osin some Province to make their aboad, in case they might there be suffered to remain in quietness; and if not, they intended then to proceed to the Kingdom of chili, to affift in the Conquest of that warlike people, supposing that, being then without the limits of *Peru*, they might more easily obtain the benefit of the general Pardon by fuch new fervices. And in case that Diego Centeno should interrupt them in their paffage, they then refolved to break through him, and either overcome or dve, though they knew that he had much the advantage in his numbers. And departing from Arequepa with this defign, they came at length by the usual marches near to Huarina, where the way leads to those Mountains.

Diego Centeno, having contlant Advices of the motion of Picarro, left his own quatters well fortified, and burnt the Bridge which is made over the Channel, whereby the Lake of Titicaca empties it felf, that he might give a ftop to the Enemy's pallage; and, trufting much to the courage and refolution of his Souldiers.

he resolved to engage him (if possible) in a Battel.

But Goncalo Picarro, endeavouring on the contrary to avoid fighting, fent a Meflenger to Genteno with a Letter, putting him in mind of the ancient friendship and consederacy between them, when they conquered Collao and the Charcas, and the many kindnesses and good offices he had done him, both at that time and fince; and particularly that he had given him his life when he killed Tasper Rodriguez and Philip Gutierez for the very same Plot in which he was concerned; for though he was in the List with the other Conspiratours, and was well affured that he was one of the principal of them, yet he granted him his Pardon against the opinion and sense of all his Friends. He farther desired him to recall to mind that he, that is Centeno, had been one of the first and chief of those who promoted him to the Office of Procuratour General of that Kingdom, that he had followed him under that Character to the City of Los Reyes, and had continued with him untill he law him advanced to the Government of Peru: wherefore, forgetting all that was past, he defired him to enter into a Treaty with him relating to matters which might tend to the common benefit of themselves and of all the Countrey, and that he would accord with him in any reasonable Propositions, as if he were his own Brother. This Letter was fent by a Souldier called Francisco Vosso, the Husbind of Joanna of Legion, of whom we have formerly made mention; who for his relation to Francisco de Carvajal was employed, as a person of great trust and faithfulnels. Augustine Carate, in the second Chapter of his seventh Book, faith, that this Souldier delivered the Letter to Diego Centeno, and offered to serve him, and at the same time advised him that Diego Alvares, Ensign of his own Company, keys a correspondence with Picarro; but Centeno thought not sit to examine the matter, or punish the Enfign, because he had discovered to him all the particulars, and affured him, that the correspondence was carried on with defign of fervice unwhim, Diego Centeno returned an Answer hereunto with great civility, giving him to understand that he did gratefully acknowledge the many good offices which he had received from him; in return whereof he did heartily advise and intreat him, to take into ferious confideration the true circumftances of the present Affairs, and the gratious Declaration of his Majesty to pardon all past offences: And in case therefore that he would come in and return to the Service of his Makly, he would promise to be his Advocate to intercede with the President in his behalf, and that he might be confident to obtain all the advantageous and honouable conditions he could defire, without hazard of his Life or Estate. And he dd father affure him, that he would be his Friend and his Affociate in all matto what loever but those wherein his allegiance and duty towards his Prince were argument. These and the like complements he returned in answer to his Letter. Thus far Angustine Carate.

# CHAP. XVII.

Diego Centeno writes to the President, giving him an account of these matters by the same Messenger which Pisarro had sent to him. The President comes to Sausa where he meets Francisco Vosso.

\*Enteno being well affured of the good will and affection which Volo bore to his Majestv's Service, by that free manner with which he offered it, and by the discovery he made of the correspondence which the Ensign held with Picarro: he shought fit to fend the very same Messenger to the President, with Letters giving him a relation at large of all which had passed untill that time, and how he had fo environed Picarro on all fides, that he could not escape from him. He acquainted him how ftrong he was, and how weak Pigarro, and that he hoped to overcome him without fighting. He farther acquainted him with the Meflage brought to him by Francisco Vosso, and for better confirmation he sent him the very Letter. Moreover Centeno acquainted Vosso with the answer he had given to Gonçalo Piçaro, and told him, that he trufted him with that dispatch to carry it unto the President and to bear his charges in fo long a Journey he gave him the value of a thouland pieces of Eight in Gold; and farther directed him, that after he had been a flort time at Pigarro's Camp, and had delivered his Letters, and given a relation of all matters, he should then buy the best Mule he could find to carry him with all fpeed possible to the President; and in regard he was well acquainted with the state and condition of both Camps, his directions were to inform the President with the circumftances of affairs on both fides, in respect to the number of people, and the manner how they were armed. And because his business was now to act a double part, he gave him a Grant in the name of his Majesty of certain Lands or Plantations in Arequepa which were vacant, figned by his own hand, desiring the President to confirm the same in reward of the Loyalty and Services of Fran-

Accordingly Vosso returning again to Piçarro was ordered by him to acquaint Francisco de Carvajul with all the particulars of what he had seen and heard from Centeno, because that Carvajul having been his intimate Friend and Patron, he would no doubt freely open himself, and declare whatsoever had passed between him and Centeno. Carvajul examined him as to all matters, and Vosso fully answered and satisfied him in every thing; namely who were the Captains both of Horse and Foot, and what was the number of his Souldiers; and consessed that he had received the information from Centeno himself, who was so free with him as to acquaint him with the substance of the Letter which he had wrote to Ginzalo Picarro in answer of his; confirming the same by word of mouth that he would be his Advocate with the President, and intercede with him to pardon them both as to Life and Estate, and would doe him all other good offices, provided he would return to his allegiance and the duty he owed unto the King.

Carvajal, having heard and examined all the matter, brought Vofo to Piçarro to tell the story himself, who having repeated all as is before related, and particularly that Cemeno offered to be his Advocate and Intercessour: Piçarro turned away in a rage, and said, that he scorned to receive favours from him who had been so much obliged to his Brothers and himself: and understanding that the Letter contained little more than that, he resuled to reade it; and, like a surious and desperate man, he ordered the Letter to be publickly burned, to shew that he would enter into no Treaty with him: And not to discourage his Souldiers, he ordered Vosso to the contained in the surface of the surface

 Camp on his way toward the Prefident, paffing by Arequepa where his Wife and Children were. When Pigarro received the news of the flight of Voffo, he wonded much at it, and whifpered it to Carvajal, and told him, that he did not now think it ftrange that many of those who had great obligations should defert him, since Voffo, who was his Servant, and tied to him in duty and with all the bonds of humanity, had denied him. Carvajal answered, that it was no strange thing to him, for that he looked on Voffo to be in the number of those faint-hearted men, who, being afraid, refolved to secure themselves by a Pardon, which was the condition of most of those who had followed his Party; and on the contrary, it plainly appeared that such as were counageous and had been the least obliged were still fixed and constant to their Party: And that it was one of the miseries of this world, that no man respects or honours another but for his own interest, and that to soon as he finds he hath no farther need of his affistence and savour, he presents to forgets all former ties of benefits received.

And now the falfity and tre-chery of Vosso being clear and apparent, and the agreement between him and Centens being discovered, Pigarro complained of his missorume in conferring his favours on those who had proved most ungratefull; and being full of anger and despair, he resolved (fince there was no place less for Treaty) to venture all upon the success of a Battel, and either overcome or

The Prefident, whom we left on his way from Truxillo to Los Reyes, had bu this time received news of all matters which Gonçalo Pigarro had acted in that City, and how his people had deferted and fled from him. And whereas he understood from those very persons who were come in to him that Picarro was marched along the Coast towards Arequepa, he sent Orders to the Captains who were quartered in Columnica to march with their Troops in good order to the Valley of Saula, because he understood that that was a good Countrey and a good quarter for plenty of Provisions, and a convenient fituation for people to come in, and for receiving fuch who fled from Picarro. Having given these Orders he marched forwards. and is he travelled intelligence was brought him of the ruinous condition of Gonab Picarro, that of all his Army he had not two hundred men remaining, who allo expected an opportunity to escape; that Acosta was in no better a condition. for that of the three hundred men with which he marched out of Los Reyes above to buildred had deferted him with their Captains and Officers; that the City of Lo Rose had declared for the King, and that Lorenço de Aldana was possessed of the Government, and lay in the Port with his Ships.

The Prefident being much encouraged with this good news, dispatched fresh advices thereof to his Captain-General Pedro de Hinojosa, ordering him to march with all possible speed to Sausa; which he accordingly did, and not to lose time be passed by Los Rejes, and took the shortest cut by way of the Mountains and came to Sausa, where, are took the shortest cut by way of the Mountains and ad meet each other. And here the President remained some days, during which time he set up Smiths Forges for making and repairing Arms, and appointed seveal Officers: and in short, did all that became an able and a diligent Captain; and to forward him in this work his Officers and Ministers were as diligent and a salive as he, omitting nothing which might tend to the destruction of client Enemy, set they should fall again into his power whom they had denied.

Thefe good fuccesses and prosperous proceedings were increased by the happy news which Voss brought, declaring the low and mean condition of Picatrio's Army, and the welfare and numerous increase of that of Centeno's, of which Voss assured the President, having seen both Armies, and been an eye-winness of the state and condition of both. Voss delivered his Letters together with the Grant which Centeno had given him of a certain Plantation, which the President readily confirmed; and indeed it was his missfortune that the Gist was of no greater, value, for had it been one of the best Baronies in Pern, there would have been no scruple in the conveyance of it, in reward of the good news he brought; which was so considerable and so well regarded, that Orders were thereupon issued to several Captains to give a stop to their farther Leavies of men, since that Diego Centeno had force sufficient without other affistances to subdue and destroy Picatro. And here we will leave them in their consultations and rejoycings at Arequepa; to recount the crue! Battel of Huarina, which happened in those days.

742

# CHAP. XVIII.

Pigarro resolves to give them Battel. Acosta is sent to alarm the Enemy in the night. Diego Centeno draws out his Men, and Picarro doth the like

Onçalo Piçarro and his Captains being enraged with anger and disdain, to find while they were treating of peace and accommodation, that the Enemy had corrupted their Meffenger, and feduced him from the faith and duty he owed to his Lord and Mafter; whereupon, blinded with madnefs and rage they refolved to purfue their march, and forcibly make their way through the midst of their

Enemies, and either to dye or conquer.

This resolution was taken at a consultation held by *Picarro* and his Officers on occasion of the flight of Francisco Vosso; and accordingly now to put it in execution they forbifhed and prepared their Arms to march towards Huarina; but first they gave out a report, that they intended by some other way to divert Comeno from giving them any interruption in the Pass they designed; and to make this report the more credible, they fent a meffage to Francisco de Espinosa to provide them with Indians and provisions on their way by those parts. Howsoever the true design of Picarro was discovered to Centeno by means of the Indians, who by order of Don Christoval Paullu Inca (of whom we have formerly made mention) were very diligent and faithfull to acquaint Centeno with all the motions of his Ene-

By these means Centeno being truly informed of the way and course which Picarro intended to take marched forth to ftop and interrupt him in his paffage; and thereby came so near each to the other that the Scouts met and called to each other, and then returned to carry the advice. So foon as Centeno received this intelligence of their near approach, he put his people into a posture of desence, and drew them out all night into form of Battel, having been formerly well acquainted with the alarms and furprifes which Pigarro had often given him in the night. And yet for his care and vigilance Acofta made such an attempt upon him in the night with twenty Musquetiers as put all the Camp into confusion; and the affightment was so great, that Carate saith, in the second Chapter of his seventh Book, that many of the Souldiers fled to their Tents, and the people of Valdivia lest their Pikes and shamefully ran away; and that Acofta retreated again without the loss of one man. Thus far Carate. What he farther adds concerning the people of Valdivia is this; There was a certain Captain, says he, named Pedro de Valdivia, who, being in Chili, received intelligence of the great stirs and troubles which were in Peru, and to be the better informed thereof, and perhaps to interest himfelf on one fide or the other, he came with many followers, and failing along the Coast of Peru, he received information of the ill condition of Picarro, and that the Prefident Gasca was then in Sausa preparing to march against him; whereupon Pedro de Valdivia resolved to go himself in Person to the President, and to list himself with him in his Majesty's Service, and to travel with the less Train he dishift his men and fent them to joyn with Centeno; and these are those Valdivians, who, as Carate faith, shamefully ran away.

The day following, as is reported, both Parties marched in fight of each other, with their men drawn up in Battalia. The Forces of Centeno (as Lopez de Gomara reports) were twelve hundred and twelve men strong; Carate faith that they were formething under a thousand; Palentino calls them above nine hundred; but for my part, I have received it from very good hands that they were twelve hundred; of which there were two hundred and fixty Horfe, a hundred and fifty Fire locks, and about eight hundred Pikes and Lances. All the Infantry he drew up into one Body, flanking the Lances with the Fire-locks, though indeed the Flanks were

The Captains of Foot were John de Vargas Brother to Garcilasso de la Vega, my Lord and Father, Francisco de Retamoso, Captain Negral, Captain Pantoja and Diego Lopes de Cuniga; these five Captains with their Ensigns marched on the left Wing and in the Van of all about twenty paces distant from the rest of the Squadron. These were immediately followed by eleven Files of the choicest men in the

Sonadron, in nature of a Forlorne Hope: After these came the Ensign bearers carrying their Colours, and then followed the Lances and Pikemen interlined

BOOK V.

The right Wing of the Infantry was supported with three Troops of Horse. whose Captains names were Pedro de los Rios a Native of Cordona, and of as noble descent as any in that City, also Antonio de Ulloa born at Carceres, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and with them was joined Diego Alvarez, born at Almendral, who carried the Royal Standard. Diego Centeno being then fick was not amongst the Troops, nor prefent in the Battel, but was carried up and down in a Chair giving orders and directions. This Squadron, confifting of a hundred and fixty Horle, was commanded to charge the left Wing of the Enemy: likewife Cemeno flanked the left Wing of his Foot with ninety feven Horse which belonged to nament the Alonfo de Mendoça and Arequepa, and to the City of Plate, whose Captains were Alonfo de Mendoça and Arequepa, and all commanded by the Major-General Lios de Ribera; and the Serieant-Major of this Army was Luys Garcia de Sant Mames.

On the other fide the Lieutenant-General Francisco de Carvajal formed his Souadron with the flower and choicest men of the Militia of Peru; and it was pirv that fuch frout and excellent Souldiers did not take the right fide, and employ themselves in service of the King their Lord and Master: this was the cause which moved Historians to write with such defamation of a man so experienced in War that he knew to a point how many Lances were requifite to give check-mate to a Party, and had as much advantage over others in War as an expert Mafter at the Game of Chess hath over a young beginner or learner. Accordingly with great at he drew up in Battalia his little Army of four hundred men upon the Plains, of which eighty five were Horse, fixty Pikes and Lances and about two hundred and fifty Fire-locks: howfoever many Authours make Picarro to have been of a greater force, and Centeno of a far less; perhaps to abate the glory of Francisco Carund in case he conquered Centeno; but these Writers understood not the Secret. nor found out the true cause of the Victory on one side, and the deseat of the other, which we shall speedily relate.

Carvajal drew up in admirable Order his small Squadron in an open Plain. where were no Bushes, nor any thing else to hinder the shot of his Harquebusiers: the Captains of which were Diego Guillen and John de la Torre; and Carvajal himself commanded his own Company composed of stout Souldiers, and excellent Marksmen. And though John de Acosta commanded at that time a Troop of Horse, yet he changed that day with Captain Guevara for his Foot Company, because Guevara was lame and could not fight otherwise than on Horse-back: these four were Captins of Foot, and Hernando Bachicao commanded fixty Lances and Pikes; and both Wings were interlined with Harquebusiers on one side and the other.

Amongst the Captains of Horse Gonçalo Pigarro was bravely mounted and armed with a good Coat of Mail, and over it a Coat of green Velvet, which I have feen him wear, and over all he had a loofe Garment of crimfon Velvet flashed; on each hand of him were Licenciado Cepeda, 'who was Captain of Horse, and Bachiller

Francisco de Carvajal was Commander in Chief of this whole Squadron of Horse. and posted himself on the right Wing of the Foot, not exactly joyning to them, but advanced about fifty paces before, that the Musquetiers might have the more toom to play their shor; for in them he reposed his greatest assurance of Victory.

Carvajal was armed like a Commander of Horse, with Coat of Mail, and Gantlet, and a Head-piece, which they call a Burgonnon, with a close Bever, furnished with such cross Bars as they put upon the Hilts of their Swords; over these Arms he wore a Coat of green Cloth, of a fad and deep colour, and he was mounted on a common Pad, like a poor Souldier, not to be known. And in this manner were his Troops ranged, whilft he, to put them into good order, rode to the Front and Rere, and was present in all parts and places to give his directions and word of

Thus were both Armies drawn up, and at a distance of about fix hundred paces faced each other. Those of Centeno's side remained so consident of Victory, that when they went out of the Camp, they ordered their Indian Servants to pro-

vide their Dinner with a double portion ready against their return, that they might concertain their Extends, when they had subdued them, and taken them wi foners.

But the Indians, who feared that this vanity and confident boaftings portended former ill, answered their Masters, and asked them where they should drive those Herds of Cattel, to secure them against their Enemies; who though sew in number, will yet, faid they, be your Mafters; and this they uttered with that earneffuels and confidence, that many of the Spaniards grew fo angry and outrageous to hear them, that they were ready to beat them, and with this passion they entred in to the places and posts appointed them in their respective Squadrons. One of these was Marin de Arbieto, who discoursing with a Friend of his upon what the Indiana had so unluckily presaged, at the same time came one Gongulo Silvestre, who reported the fame as the Indians had prognosticated: And they had scarce advanced a few paces forward before one Julio de Hojeda, who was an Inhabitant of Cozco, and one of the first Conquerous of Peru, came roaring, and swearing said, that he could scarce forbear killing his Indians, for saying that we should be deseated this day. How thele doggs should come to say these things, I know not, unless they being Witches, converse with the Devil. At the same instant came another Inhabitant of Coxce, called Carrera, who faid the fame things; and another also came to report the same News, so that it came by six or seven hands; who scorning to give credence to the vain prefages of their *Indians*, posted themselves in that Squadron of Horse which slanked the Infantry in the left Wing.

# CHAP. XIX.

The Battel of Huarina. The Strategem which the Lieutenant General Carvajal used. The particular Exploits of . Gonçalo Picarro and of other Cavaliers of renown and good fame.

OTH Squadrons being drawn up in the Field stood facing each other for a long time without moving, and being in this posture, Gonçalo Piçarro sent his Chaplain, called Father Herrera, to Diego Centeno, requiring him to permit him a free passage to depart, and not force him to make his way by Battel; and in case he would not grant his requeft, he did then proteft against him for all the losses, damages and bloud which should ensue thereupon. The Chaplain came with his Crucifix before him, but the Guards stopped him, upon suspicion that he came as a Spy to discover their numbers and order. The Bilhop of Cocco and Diego Corteno who were cogether at the same time, sent for the Chaplain, and having heard what he had to fay, he was ordered to be brought into the Bifhop's Tent.

The Forces of Diego Conteno, having information of the Message which the Prieft brought, and being confident and affured of Victory, were resolved to gain the honour of being the first to make the on-set: and accordingly moving to-wards the Enemy they had scarce advanced a hundred paces before they made a stand. Fruncisto, de Carvajal ordered his men to keep their ground, being desirous to have the Enemy come up to them, and to encourage and provoke them thereunto, he fent John de Acosta with thirty Musquetiers to begin a skirmish, and to make a feeming retreat, to draw the enemy to follow them. The other fide drew out an equal number to engage with them; but no hurt was done, for they fined at fuch a diffance that the Bullers could not reach home.

Historians, write, and particularly Augustine Carate, in the third Chapter of his fecond book, hath these words; Francisco de Carvajal, faith he, seeing the Camp of Diega Centeno to make a halt, ordered his own Souldiers to advance ten paces forwards, which when Cemeno's Souldiers observed, they cryed out, that the Enemy gained honour over them; and thereupon began to march in a full body;

at which Picarro's men made a full ftop, and ftood ftill in expectation of the Enemy's coming up to them; and by the way as they approached, Carvajal ordered Come few shots to be made at them, to incite them to return whole vollies; which forceeded accordingly, for they advanced faft, and charged with their Pikes, firing as they went at the distance of three hundred paces: all this while Carvaial fixed nor one Musquet, till the Enemy was come within thot, and then they poured not one Mulquer, this the Enemy was come within thot, and then they poured whole showers of Bullets on them; which coming from expert Marks-men, above ahundred and fifty men were killed at this first charge, and amongst them two Captains; so that the whole Body began to be disordered; and at a second charge they were put into consustion, and plainly ran away.

Thus far Carate, who wrote all the particulars at the beginning, middle and end

of this Battel: and the like Relation is given by Gomara and Palennino, with little or no difference. I shall repeat their Narratives, and add what I have heard re-

ported from both fides.

BOOK V

It is faid, that the reason why Carvajal would not advance, but stood still to keep his ground untill the Enemy made the first on-set, was this, The whole body of his Musquetiers were not above two hundred and fifty men in all; yet they had fix or teven hundred Fire arms, being such as had been left them by the fugitive Souldiers; these Arms some sew days before the Battel were sitted up, and new fixed and delivered to the hands of the Souldiers, so that some Souldiers carried three, forme four Musquets; and because it was difficult for a Souldier to carry fuch a heap of Arms on his shoulders, it was thought most convenient to stand still and expect the coming of the Enemy.

This Francisco Carvajal was certainly as great a Captain as any was in his time; and whatfoever he faid or acted was accompanied with much tharpness and dexterity: and therefore we will mention some few sayings of his, which he uttered

during the time that these matters were transacting.

Two days before this Battel, a certain Souldier of his of good fame and effeem came, and defired him to give him a little Lead to make some Bullets against the day of Battel. How, faid Carvajal, I cannot believe that a Souldier of your wor-hip's quality should be without Bullets when the Enemy is near: Really, Sir, answered the Souldier, I have none: Your Worthip must pardon me, replyed Carvajal, and give me leave not to believe you; for it is impossible you should be without Bullets. The Souldier finding himself thus urged, in truth, Sir, said he, upon the word of a Souldier, I have but three. Oh, Sir, answered Carvajal, did not I tell you, that your Worthip being the man you were taken for, could not be without Bullets; and therefore I defire you to lend me one of your three, to beflow upon another; and then kill me to day a Bird with one of the two remaining, and a man with the other on the day of the Fight; and then I will require you to shoot no more. By this faying, Carvajal would give us to understand, that if every Musquerier could but kill his man, the Victory would be seone and certain. But howfoever, he largely supplied the Souldier with Ammunition and Arms, as he did all the others who had occation of Powder and Bullet: in this pleafant manner he treated with his Friends; but when he came to deal with his Enemies, he treated them at another rate, with all gravity, caution and refervedness required.

Another quaint faying of his was expressed to his Musquetiers in fight of the Enemy; when he advited them to level their Arms from the Girdle downwards and not from the Breaft to the Head upwards: For, look you, Gentlemen, faid he, Bullets are apt to rife, and that which miffes, though but two Fingers breadth, is lost, and cannot doe execution; but that which flies low, and grazes ten paces off, may yet have some effect: And in case you wound your Enemy either in the Thighs or Legs, he must fall, and become disabled; when, on the be moral, he may yet continue fighting. Upon this ground, and for this rea-fon, he ordered his Musquetters not to fire above a hundred pixes distant from the Enemy; which, as Carate faith, did futh cruel and terrible execution, that in the first ranks of Captains and Enfigns, and in the eleven files which were in the Van before them, there remained not ten men found, all being killed or wounded; which was a fad case, and much to be lamented. In like manner these Shot gauled the Horse very much, of which Alonso de Mendoça and geronimo de Villgar were Captains; fo that ten or twelve of the Gavaliers were difmounted,

and amongst them was one Carrera, whom we have formerly mentioned. One of the Colonels, named Luys de Ribera, confidering that in case the Horsemen were detached by degrees and ordered to charge the Foot, they would all be killed one after the other, before they could be able to come up to the Enemy; and therefore Orders were given, that they should charge Pigarro's Horse; who seeing the Enemy coming upon them, kept their ground, and stirred not one step forward, as the Lieutenant General had directed; that the Musquetiers might not lose their as the Lieutenant General had unecces, that the Manqueters might not obether Shot, nor advantage of their Vollies, as the Enemy came up to them: but when he saw that Centeno's Horse had passed the right wing of the Foot; he then adne taw that Centeno's Florie had paned the right wing of the Floor; he then advanced thirty paces forward, to receive the charge of the Enemy. Centeno's Horse riding upon a full trot, over-bore Piçarro's Horse, and trampled and trod them under foot, as if they had been so many Sheep, so that (as Historians agree, and I with them) Men and Horse were overthrown; and scarce ten Men of all their numbers remained who were not difmounted. One of these thus hardly beset was Goncalo Picarro himself, who being single and divided from his Company, hastened up to join with his Foot. But being known by three Cavaliers of chief note they fell upon him with intent to kill him or take him priloner: one of them was called Francisco de Ulloa, another, Michael de Vergara, and the other, Gonçalo Silvestre: This latter assailed Picarro on the right side, Vergara on the lest, and Who joined with Vergara. These two came up so closely to Picarro, that they gave him many Stabs under the Ribs, but good Arms defended him. Michael de Vergara made a loud Out cry, and faid, This Traytor Pigarro is my prize and my prisoner. In this manner they all four pursued him, till he came up to the my pritoner. In this manner they all four puritied fifth, this he came up to the Foot; but the Horse on which Gonçalo Silvestre rode most troubled and endangered him, for, being a nimble Horse and in a full carriere, he came so close up to him that Silvestre took hold of the Horse's pectoral, and stopped him in his course, which when Picarro perceived, he turned about his body to him, and with a thort Cutlace, which was hanged with a Ribon on the wrift of his right hand, he gave three Cuts upon his Horle, one of which lighted upon his Nofe, and cut off his Lips, so as the Teeth were laid bare upon one side; another Cut he gave him over the Nostrils; and the third took him over the hollow of his right eve. though without hurt to his fight. And this Picarro performed with so little concernment, as if he had been engaged in sports of the Ring or other Feats of Arms. And this very flory I heard from Gonçalo Silvestre himself, who often amongst other particulars of this Battel recounted this passage, and the same I have heard confirmed by divers others. And that all four of them pursued him up to his body of the Foot.

# CHAP. XX.

The Story of the cruel Battel of Huarina is farther continued, several Feats of Arms performed therein. The Victory is gained by Piçarro.

WHEN the Souldiers faw him coming they knew him to be Piçarro, and charged with their Pikes to receive and defend him. Silvestre perceiving that he had not wounded Piçarro with all the Stabs he had given him on his fides; he stopped his hand, and gave a Cut on the Blade-bone of his Horse's Shoulder, but the wound was so inconsiderable, that after these matters had passed, and the Wars were at an end; this particular was scarce judged worthy to be mentioned, lest it should accuse his Arm of saintness and want of strength: but this small wound was again returned by Piçarro's Souldiers, who sallying forth to kill those who pursued him, wounded Gonçalo Sitvestre's Horse in the head with a Lance, which made him rise up on end; and then another with his Lance and Silvestre himself through both his Arms: the Horse with the smart of his Wounder shoundred

floundred and tumbled on all four; with the force of which the head of the Lance broke off in his Arms; but howfoever the Horfe bounfing up, carried off his Mafter with more danger than what is here expressed. But Michael de Vergara was more unfortunate, for he in the heat of his Fury sansying that the Traytor Pigrro was his prisoner, pursued him within three or sour files of the Enemy, where they knocked him down, and cut both him and his horse into pieces.

Nor did Francisco de Olloa succeed better, sor as he was turning his horse to escape, a Musquetier clapt the nose of his Gun on the reins of his Back, which passed clear through him; and another Souldier at the same time, cut his horse over the hucksons of his hinder leggs, and though he was hamstringed thereby, yet he was a horse of that spirit, that he carried his Master off above fifty paces, and then both of them fell dead together; all which I have learned and heard so very particularly that the colours of their Horses were described: This was the issue of the Fight between the Horse of Picarro and Centeno, which was so bloudy that a hundred and seven horses lay dead within the field where the Battel was fought, which contained not above two Acres of ground besides those which fell at some farther distance off, and yet all the number of horse on one side and the other did not amount to above a hundred and eighty two. The matter was very strange, and indeed no man believed the report, untill my Father Garcitasso de las Vega did assure them upon his word, that he had counted them one by one, and that out of curiosity, he had taken the account, by reason that the Battel was so exceeding bloudy that no man would hereafter believe, that out of so similar assured to the sorter of the same of the same had out of so similar to man would hereafter believe, that out of so similar assured to the same had out of so similar as a similar to the same had the other of curiosity, he had taken the account, by reason that the Battel was so

number so many should be killed.

When Diego Centeno's Horsemen saw that Pigarro was retreated into the Body of his Infantry, they then charged those few Horse of the Enemy which remained with fuch fuccess, that they killed them almost all to the last man, so that the Victory was clear as to them: One of those who were killed was Captain Pedro de Fuentes, who had been Governour to Picarro in Arequepa; he was knocked down with one of those Clubbs which the Indians use in the War; by the strong Arm of a Horseman, who rifing high from his Saddle, gave him such a blow with both hands on his Helmet, as beat it into pieces, and dashed out his Brains, so that poor Pedro fell down dead upon the very place. Captain Licenciado Cepeda was gievoutly wounded with a Cut over his Face and bridge of his Nofe, and was taken prisoner, I remember that I saw him at Cozco, after he was cured, with a patch of black Taffaty of a Finger's breadth over the Scar. At this time Hernando Bachicao, who commanded the Lances under Picarro, hearing the Enemy found the Levets of Victory; ran over to Centeno's side, and called Witnesses that he was come over to the King's fervice, and claimed the privilege of the Proclamation of general Pardon. But the other Squadron of Horse belonging to Centeno, which flanked on the right Wing of the Infantry, and commanded by Pedro de Los Rios, and Amonio de Olloa, charged the left Wing of Pigarro's Foot, as was ordered at the beginning of the Battel; but they were so warmly received with such a volly from the Enemy, that Captain Pedro de Rios was killed, and many others, before they could come to close with them; whereupon they wheeled off, and would not adventure to engage farther with that Squadron, which was too hot for them, being well fortified with Pikes and Fire arms: Howfoever paffing along the left Wing and the rere guard of Piçarro's Forces, they were much gaulled with Shot from them; for that Squadron was well guarded with Illapus, which in the Indian tongue fignifies thunder and lightning; and indeed it proved so to that noble and flourishing Army of Diego Centeno, which consisted for the most part of Gentlemen, mounted on the best Horses which at that time were to be found in all Pern, and which were for the most part that day destroyed in that bloudy and unfortunate Battel. Picarro had a defire to have charged the Enemies horse in person, and sought it out with them to the last, but Carvajal advised him not to doe it, but to keep his ground, and leave the management unto him; and do not doubt (faid he) but very speedily you shall see your Enemies routed, taken and killed. Centeno's Horse having rallied into one body, after they had passed the two Wings of *Piçarro's* Squadron, were yet more warmly received by the Rere guard which *Carvajal* commanded to fire briskly upon them; which they performed with such success, that they killed many of them, and put them into disorder, and forced them to quit the Field; the which action was performed in fo thort a time that scarce had Centeno's Trumpets finished their Levet which sounded Victory,

before it was begun on Picarro's fide: which when Hernando Bachicao perceiperfore it was begun on Figure's fide. Which when Hermania Bathicho perceived, he returned back to his former Squadron, crying out Victory as loud as any. One of the Horsemen on Centeno's side, born at Herrera de Alcantara, (whose name I have forgotten, running away, in his Flight and full carriere, accidentally happened to pals by Francisco de Carvajal sitting on his small Nag, as we have before mentioned, and not knowing who he was, gave him a ftroak with a broad Sword over the Vizard of his Head-piece, which being given with a ftroag Arme and a good Will, the Sword entred deep within the Iron, but yet went not fo far as to wound him: at which those who saw it wondered very much; and after the Battel was ended, and all things quiet, Carvajal thewed the Head-piece to Ter the natter was eneed, and an times dute, on some invest the read-piece to Gongalo Pigarro, and faid to him, what do you think, would have become of me, had I not been guarded with this defence? One third part of Diego Come-20's Foot were all flain, as is mentioned before; another third part of them, when Victory was founded on their fide, were licensed to plunder *Pi*, arros Camp, and accordingly they facked a great part of it; but this proved their ruine, and was a ereat occasion of the loss of the day. The remainder of the Infantry, which were not above fixty in all, were left at pulh of Pike with Picarro's Souldiers, feconded with a Party of John de Acosta's. A certain Souldier of Centeno's side, called -Guadramiros (whom I knew) a Man tall of Stature, and well shaped, of a peaceable disposition and more a Courtier than a Souldier, gave Acosta a path with his Pike in the Throat; and the head of the Pike remaining within the fleth. he gave him with the Staff end fuch a blow over the Shoulders, that Accil a was therewith knocked down, with his Heels up in the Air: at the same time a Noger chanced to come in, whom I knew, called — Guadalupe, and gave hima cut over both the Calves of his Leggs; but the Neger being a weak little fellow, and the Sword as dull and as black with ruft as the Mafter, he rather bruised the flesh

than cut it. At length Picarro's men coming to handy-blows with those of Centeno's, they killed them almost all: but John de Acosta saved both Guadramiros and Guadalune from being killed: for he interposed himself between them and those who would have killed them, and cryed out a loud, that they deserved Quarter and also Honour and Reward: What I have faid here I knew to be true; for afterwards I took acquaintance with Guadalupe, when he was a Musquetier in one of the Companies belonging to Gonçalo Picarro, quartered at Cozco, where he was gallant in his Habit, and dreffed up in Feathers as gay as a Peacock, because every one respected him for his courage and bravery. And here I must beg the Reader's pardon for having descended thus far to trivial particulars, having onely an intention hereby to confirm the truth of my Narrative by the Testimony of having been

an Eve-witness to the foregoing Transactions.

# CHAP. XXI.

The number of those who were killed and wounded on both fides, with other particular Successes: as also what was acted by Carvajal after the Battel.

THE escape of Guadramiros was after the Battel ended, and after the Victory Union appeared for Guadranic Try plainly appeared for *Gonçalo Pigarro*; for on his fide were flain about a hundred men, of which feventy odd were Horlemen, and about fifteen Foot, besides those which were wounded, amongst which were Captain Cepeda, John de Acofta, and Captain Diego Guillen. On Diego Centeno's fide above three hundred and fifty were killed, and amongst them their Major General, and all the Captains of Foot, with their Entigens, being the Flower of their Army, and the choicest Men amongst them; besides which Pedro de Los Rios, Captain of Horse, and Diego Alvarez, who carried the Standard, dyed on the place. There were, besides those that were flain, three hundred and fifty wounded, of which above an hundred

and fifty dyed for want of able and experienced Chirurgeons, and of Balfams. Plaand the Medicaments; and the extreme colds of the Countrey contributed much thereunto; for though that Countrey is within the Tropicks, yet the Colds are often very intense, by reason of the high Winds and losty Mountains. Goncalo Biogra followed the pursuit with feven or eight lamed Horses; with which they entred the Tents of Centeno, rather to own and publish the Victory, than to offend the Enemy; for as Gomara faith, in Chapter 182. the Conquerours themselves were fo ill treated, that they were not able to pursue or offend the Enemy. On one fide, where this Battel was fought in that great Plain, was a long Bog or Marth, and about thirty or fourty paces broad, but so shallow as would scarce ferue to cover the Fetlocks of a Horie. Before they came to this Bog. one of Picorre's Souldiers called to one of Centeno's, whom he faw covered with bloud both he and his Horfe. Do you hear, Sir, faid he, Your Horfe will fall prefently: at which faving Centeno's Souldier was much troubled; because he trusted to make his escape

Royal Commentaries:

by the goodness and strength of his Horse.

BOOK V.

This person was Gongalo Silvestre, of whom we have formerly made mention: and it was he from whom I received the Information of many of these Passages: and he told me moreover, that turning his face to the left-hand, he faw Goncalo Picarro himself, with some few of his men, marching softly to Centeno's Tents, crossing himself as he went, and crying with a loud voice, Jesu, What a Victory is this! γω. What a Victory is this! which he repeated many and many times. A little before they came to the Bog, a certain Souldier of Piçarro's fide called Gonçalo de hi Nidor overtook Gonçalo Silvestre; whom Silvestre had a little before taken Prifoner, and upon his asking Quarter and his Life, he gave him his liberty, withon the least hurt done to him: When Nidos knew that Silvefire was his Enemy, he cryed out, Kill that Traytor, Kill that Traytor: upon which Silveftre turned tohim, and calmly faid, Sir, I befeech you let me alone to dye in peace; for in the condition that I and my Horse are, we cannot live many minutes without eiving you the trouble to Rill us. No, faid he, No; Damne me, Thou shalt dve by my hand. Silvefire looking well upon him, and finding him to be the man to whom he had newly given Quarter: Good Sir, faid he, be patient, and use me with the like mercy that I shewed to you. But Nidos roared out then louder. and cryed, Thou art the Rogue: Damne me, I am refolved for that very rea-fonto kill thee, and tear out thy Heart, and throw it to the Dogs. Silvefire told me, that if this fellow had answered him in more moderate and civil terms, he should certainly have yielded to be his Prisoner; but finding him so ungratefull, rude and barbarous, he resolved to fight with him, if his Horse were able to stand against him: this discourse passed between them as they were wading over the Bog or Marsh, which was no place for a Combat; but so soon as they were over, Silvefre sourced up his Horse, to try his strength and mettle; and finding him therewith to spring forward and answer the Spur, as if he had received no hurt; and throwing up his Head, fnorted out some of the bloud which issued from the wounds on his Nostrils on his Master's Clothes; which when Sitvestre perceived, he rode away a gallop, feeming to fly, that he might draw the fellow farther from his Party: accordingly Nidos purfued him, crying out aloud, The Traytor runs, and The Coward runs: but so soon as Silvestre had drawn him at a convenient distance from his Companions, he returned upon him, and gave him a stroke about the middle with a rufty Rapier, which he had taken from a Neger in the Battel; for he had broken the two Swords which he had brought with him that day into the Field; for, as the manner was for good Souldiers, he came doubly armed, that is, with one Sword in the Scabbard by the fide, and another fastened to the Pommel of the Saddle. Nidos was not wounded with the blow, but onely being well affrighted, ran away to his Party, crying out, They kill me, They kill me; for Cowards are always more valiant with their Tongues than with their hands. Gonçalo Picarro being an Eye-witness himself of what had passed, and of the Bravery of Silvestre, sent Alonso de Herrera after him, to persuade him with good words and fair terms to come in and yield, that he might doe him honour, and reward him for his Gallantry and Valour. Alonfo de Herrera hastened what he could after him, but his Horse was so wounded, that he could not put him out of his Trot, and foon afterwards he dyed of his Wounds; howfoever Herrera called after him to return, fivearing, that if he would come back, his Mafter, the Governour, would doe him more honour in one day, than he should receive from Kkkkk the

the King in all the days of his life; but Gonçalo Sitvestre returned him no answer, but spurred up his Horse and went away. This Story I have heard from those of Picarro's Party, and likewise from Sitvestre himself, and on the report of both sides I relate it here.

Royal Commentaries.

Goncalo Picarro, in pursuance of his Victory, thought not fit to enter Centerio's Camp, having understood that his Souldiers were in it already, and were plandering the Tents in great heat and fury: wherefore, returning to his own Camp. he found it had allo been pillaged by Centeno's Souldiers, at the time when they thought the Victory was theirs, and that they had taken from thence all the Horfes and Mules they could feife, which were now usefull in their flight. Francisco de Carvaial on the other fide pursued the Victory, not to kill Spaniards, with Chibs which two Negroes carried, as Palentino reports Chapter the eightieth, and laws that he killed above a hundred; which certainly had been a very cruel action. but it is good neither to flatter men with praise who do not deserve it, nor yet to calumniate or accuse wherein men are not guilty: the truth is, Carvajal killed none after the Battel, but remained fatisfied with his Victory, which he had obtained folely by his own good management and industry, (as was manifest) and might be attributed to his great skill and experience in martial affairs; and therefore he might well triumph and glory, that he himself had killed a hundred men in that Battel, fince the whole success of that day was effected by his extraordinary conduct. Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 183, reflects on the words of Francisco de Carnaid and descants farther upon them, and says, that he boasted of the satisfaction and bleafure he had in killing a hundred men, amongst which one was a Friar, who faid Mass: but if this report be not true, we may then lay the cruelty at the door of this Authour, and not of this great Souldier, who onely gloried in his Victo-

tv. &c. Thus far Gomara.

Francisco de Carvajal, having atchieved so much honour and glory, caressed and dealt kindly with his Enemies; for the next day after the Battel, being informed that feveral principal men of note, belonging to Centino, and profeffed Servants to his Majefty, were wounded, and lay concealed in the Tents of some of his Souldiers, who out of friendship took care for their cure, he with all diligence made fearch after them, which all people imagined at first was with design to kill them: at length he found eight of them, one was Martin de Arbieto a Biscayner, a person of noble descent and valiant, of whom we have formerly made mention, and whom we shall have occasion to name hereafter; another was a Gentleman of Salamanca, called John de St. Miguel; another was a Gentleman born at Cafra, named Francisco Maraver. I knew them all three, and the other five also, but I have forgot their names; all which Carvajal finding very much wounded, he spoke particularly to every one of them, and told them that he was troubled to see them in that condition, and defired them to take care of their recovery, to which if he could contribute, he defired them freely to command it of him, affuring them, that he would be as carefull of them as of his own Brothers; and that when they were cured he would readily grant them their freedom and liberty to depart; but if they would refolve to ftay with him, he would make it his business to serve them all the days of his life. Moreover he caused Proclamation to be made thorough the whole Camp, That what Souldiers soever belonging to Comeno which lay wounded, should freely discover themselves and demand help for their cure, which should be administred to them, and money, if they wanted it, and he promifed to take the same care of them as he did of his Lord the Governour. This policy Carvajal used to allure the hearts of the Souldiers to his Party: for he was not ignorant, that benefits and careffes are more prevalent than rigour and cruelties; the which he exercised towards his declared enemies standing in defiance, but was more gentle and complemental with fuch as he perceived inclinable to his Party.

# CHAP. XXII.

Gonçalo Piçarro issues out Orders to bury the Dead. He dispatches Officers into divers parts. The slight of Diego Centeno; and what happened to the conquered Party.

SO foon as Gonçalo Piçarro returned to his Tent, he found my Father there, and defined him to lend him his Horfe, Salinillas, untill his own were cured of the flight wound which Gonçalo Silvestre had given him; which being granted, he mounted thereon, and taking a turn round the Field, he gave order to bury the dead, and to take care of fuch as were wounded; which he found for the most part stripped of their Clothes by the Indians, who, without regard to Friend or Foe, made all prize which came within their power: the common Souldiers were all buried together promifcuoufly in ten or twelve great Pits, which were made for that purpose; but the Bodies of Noblemen and Persons of Quality were carried to the Village of Huarina (which was near thereunto, and for which reason this Fight was called the Battel of Huarina) and there they interred them in a small Church built by the Indians themselves, in which they were taught the Articles of the Christian Faith, when things were in peace, and when the time was proper for it: and there those Bodies rested for the space of sour years, untill the troubles being at an end, and the Empire flourishing in peace, those Bodies were taken up and carried to the great Church of a City which the Spaniards had lately founded and called it the City of Peace, where they were re-buried with much Solemnity, Maffes and Sacrifices, which continued for many days. The Gentlemen of Peru did generally contribute to the expence hereof, in regard they were all related to the dead, either by Kindred or by Friendship. Gonçalo Piçarro having buried the dead, and taken care of the wounded, dispatched away Officers into divers parts to provide necessaries which were wanting. Dionysio de Bovadilla was fent to the City of Plate, to bring what Silver he could get for payment of the Souldiers. Diego de Carvaial, furnamed the Gallant, was dispatched to the City of Arequepa on the same errand, and Captain John de la Torre was sent to Cozeo; all three were attended with thirty Mulquetiers apiece, who had commission to press what men they met, and bring them to the place where Pigarro lay en-

But now to return to Diego Centeno (of whom we have for some time been filent) He was fick, as Authours write of him, having been fix times let blond too in the distemper of a Pleurisie; and therefore was not actually present in the Fight, but was carried about in a Chair, from whence feeing the flaughter of his men, and the loss of the day, he left his feat and mounted on his Horse, which was led near to him: and being overcome with the fear of death and the defire of life which is natural to all men, he fled away, not flaying for the Bifhop or any other; but onely with the company of one Prieft called Father Biscamer, he took his way over the Desarts and Mountains, leaving the high way, the better to elude the devices and strategems of Carvajal, and came at length to the City of Los Rejes , to that neither Carvajat nor any of his own fide knew what was become of him, that he feemed to be vanished like an Apparition, or carried away by some strange Enchantment. And though he was informed that the President Gasca was in the Valley of Sausa, which was in his way, yet he thought not fit to go thither, but wrote a Letter to him by the Father Biscapper, to excuse his non-attendance, being forced to go first to the City of Los Reges to provide himfelf with fuch necessaries as were requifite for his own person, and agreeable to the quality of that Office and Dignity in which he had ferved. And here we will leave him at Los Reyes to speak of Francisco de Carvajal, who was wandring about the Countrey in fearch, as Authours fay, of Don Fray John Solano, Bithop of Cozco, against whom he was highly incensed, faying, that whereas he ought to have been in the Church, praying unto God for the peace of Christians, he was turned Souldier, and was become a chief Officer in the Army of Diego Centeno: but being not Kkkkk 2

BOOK V.

found, nor known where he was, he hanged up a Brother of his called-Ximenez, and a certain Friar who was a companion to the Bithop, and fo proceeded on his march to drequepa: where we will leave him also, to tell what he came of those who fled from the Battel, that by the short relation we make thereof, the Reader may imagine the fad and miferable condition of those who fled from the Battel, wounded and ill treated without Victuals or Chirurgeons, nor fo much as a Cottage or Shed to cover themselves that night, against the excessive colds which are constant in those Defarts; which is most terrible and grievous to

Goncalo Silvestre having thus escaped out of the hands of Gonçalo Picarro and his Souldiers, went directly to his Tent, where the first thing he demanded of his Indians, was the Budget in which they put the Instruments for shoing their Horses; for it was the custome then, and many years after, for every Spaniard to be prepared to shoe his own Horse, in case he should cast a shoe on the Road and accordingly every one carried with him, when he travelled, a Pouch or Budget containing about two hundred Nails, and four Shoes well fitted, with Hammer, and Pinchers, and Shaver to pare the Hoofs: and indeed it was necessary to go fo provided, in regard there were no Smiths Forges in the way, nor in any places but where Spaniards inhabited, which were commonly fixty leagues diffant from each other; and the ways being rugged and rocky, it was necessary for every Horse man to go so provided: though now I am informed that in these days that convenience is found every where, and that in every Inn maintained by Spaniards, there is a Smith's Forge for accommodation of Travellers. Howfoever I am fure that I learned fomething by that ancient custome, for I knew how to shoe my Father's Horses, and to let them bloud when occasion offered: for this reason Sitvestre calling for these Instruments, and for a Scarlet Cloak dved in Grain, which was the habit of Persons of Quality, he departed thence, leaving his Indians fad and melancholy, and complaining that he gave no belief to them when they fore-told this unhappy misfortune, which if he had done, they might have faved and fecured all their goods. Thus left he his Indians without any care or provision made for them; and on the way he saw great numbers of people sying away, as well Spaniards as Indians, not knowing which way to go, but as fortune directed them. Amongst these, about a little more than a quarter of a league from the Camp, he overtook a Spaniard that was wounded, riding on a small Nagg; he had feveral wounds, but one especially on the Reins of his Back, so that he could not fit upright, but lay along with his Face on the Hories Neck: an Indian Woman walked by his Horses side; her left hand the laid on his wound, and in her right the had a flick to switch up the Horse; and said to her Master, pray doe what you can to get out of the hands of these Traitours and Rebels, and do not fear that I will ever leave you untill I fee you again fafe and found; but Silvestre got before him, and overtook divers others shifting for themselves as well as they could. By that time that he had got a little more than three leagues from the Camp, he left the common way, and got into a by path, where was a Hole or Pic covered with Bushes and green Grass, which was all the Provender he could give that night to his Horse; but for himself he had neither Supper nor Bed: in this place he alighted and unbitted his Horfe, who was fo hungry that in a thort time he left neither Grass nor Bush, but ate all up, which Sitvestre was so pleased to see that the good fare his Horse found served him also in the place of a Supper. About two hours after above twenty Spaniards, fome wounded and others found, came to the same place, with as many Indians, who were very serviceable to them at that time, for they lighted them up a Candle, and divided the Mayz amongst them which they carried for their own provision. The poor wounded men knew not what to doe, fighing and groaning with the pain of their wounds; amongst them there was one man who between himself and his Horse had twenty three wounds great and finall. But God provided for them in this great extremity; for as they were fitting, they espied an Indian carrying a Hamper made of Straw in form of a Cheft, to him they went and opened the Hamper in hopes to have found provisions, but there proved to be nothing but tallow Candles, which this Indian, on Supposition of better booty, had robbed from the Tents; for the Spaniards in such Hampers as those, which are very light and portable, usually carry provisions and accommodations for their Journies. The Indians feeing the Candles, told their Masters that they were able to cure the wounded with the Tallow, mixed with the dung of Cattel (of which there is great flore in that Countrey) which having dried and beaten to a powder, they heated it with the greate, and made it as hot as they could well endure it, and fifth having probed the depth of the wounds with fome Bodkins which the span sinds carried with them, they poured it into them, and this ferved for a Balfame which not onely stenched Bloud but healed the Sores, without other remedies: which was recounted afterwards as a mercy of God, and a miracle of Divine Providence to that Party, which in their extremity had found fo fovereign a cure: melently after mid-night they began again to travel, dividing into feveral parties. that the Enemy might not be induced to purfue them, on the report of many gos-

About fifteen days afterwards Gonçalo Silvefire met with the Spaniard who was wounded, with his Indian Woman, and found him well and found, in a Village of Indians, where were about fifteen or twenty Houses; for she had carried him thirher amongst her own Friends and Relations, where they cured him, and entertained him with what provisions their Countrey afforded. These passages I received particular information of from good hands, which happened in that defor Countrey: there were many other accidents of greater importance than these, of which not having had particular information I forbear to write them; and leave them to the contemplation of the Reader, who in his thoughts may imagine the miferies which followed after a cruel Battel, in a Countrey difinhabited, and in a Defart without relief. I shall now return to a description of the place where this Battel was fought, and fay fomething of what the three Authours write concerning the exploits which were performed by Garcilasso de la Vega my Lord and

### CHAP. XXIII.

The Authour confirms the truth of what he hath faid; and to fatisfie those who do not believe him, he boasts of what Historians write concerning his Father.

Rantifeo Lopez de Gomara, Chap. 182. relating the Battel of Huarina, and giving an account of the numbers of those who were killed and wounded, faith, that Pigarro had been in great danger had not Garcilasso de la Vega lent him his

Augustine de Carate, Book the feventh, Chapter the third, discoursing of this Battel, faith that the Horse seeing the rout which was given to the Foot, engaged the Enemy's Horse, and in that charge Gonçalo Piçarro had his Horse killed under him, without other hurt to himself, &c. Diego Fernandez also, Book the second, Chapter the feventh and ninth, speaking of this Battel, faith, as follows;

Pedro de los Rios and Antonio de Ullou charged the Horse on the other Wing, and engaged not with the Foot, as was ordered; which they performed with fuch fucees that they diffmounted the whole party of *Picarro*, fcarce ten men remaining in the Saddle; and therewith being as it were affured of Victory, they began to tifle their Enemies, make them Prifoners, and take away their Arms. In this encounter Picarro himself was dismounted, which when Gargilasso observed, he alighted from his Horfe, (for he was one of those who continued in the Saddle) and lent it to him, and helped him to get up. Licençiado Cepeda was one of those who had yielded and taken quarter; but Hernando Bachicao, giving the day for loft paffed over to Centeno's party.

Though all thefe Authours agree in thefe particulars concerning my Father, yet I am well affured of the truth of what I have wrote; and that the Horse which Pigarro received from my Pather was not in the heat of the Fight, but afterwards: but I do not wonder that Historians should be so informed, for I remember that some School-fellows of mine, who were born of Indian Women, told me the

Gine: and that they had heard what Diego Fernandez relates, how that he aliah ted, and lent Picarro his Horfe, and helped him to get up. And to undeceive the World in this particular; my Father (after the Battel of Sacfabutata) page information before the Justice by an Officer of the Exchequer, and with the Teflimony of twenty two Witneffes, all of Centeno's Party, who declared, that at the time when Picarro defired my Father's horfe, there was not one man of Centeno's Army within half a league of him; and that the Wound which Pigarra's horse had received was to inconfiderable, that notwithstanding the same, he might have fought that whole day upon him if occasion had been. I have heard it also reported, that Picarro's horse was cut over the hucksons or hamstringed, as Franci fee de Ulba's horie was; but it was a false report and information; as it was also that the horfe recovered, and yet dyed twenty two leagues distant from the place of Battel; but the truth is, the horse dyed for want of diet and good government: for though the Farrier who took care of Picarro stables, called Mefine, a Native of Guadalayara (with whom I was acquainted) did use to give that horse water a little warmed, and therein flower of Maga: yet the Groom forgot to give that in charge to the *Indian* who led the horie well covered and warmly clothed against the excetsive colds of that Countrey: and the Indian, not knowing the rules which the Farrier had given, fuffered the horse to drink, as he was paffing a brook, as much water as he pleafed, with which being prefendiv taken with a chilners, he fell into a flyering, and dyed four leagues from that

Thus the Hiftorians had fome grounds to write what they did concerning my Father, and I had reason to give a truer information; not to excuse my Fatherin hopes of favour or reward, but out of affection to truth it felf. As to the Offence which is objected against my Lord Garcitasso, I have been punished and done penance for it, though I committed not the Crime. For when I came to petition his Maiefly for fome reward for the fervices of my Father; and that in confideration thereof the Effate which came by my Mother might be reflored to us, which by the extinguithment of two Lives was escheated to the King: which when I had presented before the Royal Council of the *Indies*, and made it appear how great the fervices of my Father had been: and that those Lords were convinced of the clearness of my pretensions; yet *Licenciado Lope Garcia de Castro* (who was afterwards made President of *Peru*) being then in the Chair, asked me, what reward I could expect the King thould give me? confidering that the fervices my Father had done for Pigarro at the Battel of Huaring were fuch as had given him the Victory. And when I replyed, that the information was abfolutely falle; How, faid he, can you deny that which all Writers of these matters do affirm? And therewith they excluded me from all pretentions, not onely on account of my Father's fervices, but of my own. And though I had many merits on my own fcore to alledge, yet I could not procure to be heard: for I could have related, how I had ferved under Don Alonso Fernandez de Cordona and Figueron, under Marquis de Priego, Chief of the family of Aguilar, under Don Francisco de Cordona (who is now in Heaven) and second Son to that Great Don Martin de Cordona, Count of Alcandete, Lord of Monte-mayor, and Captain General of Oran. I have also served his Majesty in quality of Captain of sour several Companies; two of which were in the time of Philip the second of glorious memory; and the other two under his brother Don John of Austria, now also in Heaven, who were pleafed as figuals of their favours to gratifie me therewith; not that I pretend to have merited them from that Prince; but onely his Highness observing in me a readiness of mind and affection to serve him, accepted my endeavours and was pleased to recommend me to his Brother. And yet notwithstanding so prevalent were the prejudices I lay under, that I durst neither revive my old pretentions nor alledge my later fervices: for which reasons, being cathiered the Army, I was so poor and naked in clothes, and so indebted, that I durft not return again to the Court, but retired my felf into an obscure corner of solitude and poverty, where (as I declared in my Preamble to the History of Florida) I passed a quiet and a peaceable life, as a man loofe and difengaged from the World, and the mutability, without hopes or great expectations: and indeed I have no reason for it, because the best part of my life is passed already, and for the suture God will provide, as he hath hitherto done. Pardon me this impertinent digression, to which my troubles and oppressions have transported me; for it may well be allowed to me,

who have wrote the Lives of fo many men, to relate fome few paffages of my

But to return to what the aforefaid Authours have written concerning my Faher: I must consess that there is no reason for me to contradict the testimony of dree such important Witnesses, nor is it reasonable for me to expect, that any one should yield entire credence to me who am a party in the case. For my own part, I am satisfied within my self, that I have declared nothing but the suth, and let other men judge as they please: I am sufficiently contented, that the character which they have given of my Father should pass for true: and I do much avail and value my self on the honour of being the Son of so courageous, resolute and valuant a Souldier, as he 5, who in the heat of a Battel so cruel and bloudy as is before repeated, durst adventure (as Historians write) to alight from his Horse, and spare him for his friend; and amidit of much danger could bear that presence of mind, as to help to set him on Horse-back. And if this action gave a turn to the fortune of the day, and obtained the Victory for Picarry, certainly there have been none, or at least sew of these examples in the

These Trophies of Honour atchieved by my Father, I gladly assume unto my fif: for the delire of honour is to natural to all men, that even those who have no vertue or worthiness to boast of, yet rather than want some little glitterings of inaginary honour, will glory in that which is their thame: but some may object, and fay, that my Father acted against his Majesty's service: To which I make antiter, that laying that matter affide; the Action in it felf was brave and merits a due honour and renown. But to return to those who fled from the Battel, amonest which the Bithop of Cozco was one; and he, having departed from Contwo without any regard to either fide, or concerning himself farther with them. returned to his Cathedral Church, but he was in too much hafte to visit it, or to make any stay there. In company with him were Alonso de Hinojofa, John Julio de Hojeda with about fourty other principal Citizens and Souldiers, whom I saw in that City, but yet cannot remember their Names, except those three formerly mentioned. The Bilhop (as I have intimated in another place,) lodged in my Father's house with about sourteen or fifteen more, and next morning early they met in the leffer Square of the City near to the Convent of our Lady of the Mirceds; and thence they travelled, and took the direct way to Los Reges; because they understood that John de la Torre pursued hard after them; of whose suctets we shall speak in the following Chapter.

# CHAP. XXIV.

The Proceedings of John de la Torre in Cozco; and what was asted by other evil Ministers in other parts.

Aptain John de la Torre pursuing those who were fled from the Battel came to the City of Cozco; where he executed his Justice on John Vasquez de Tapia, who had been Miyor of the City for the King: he likewise hanged his Colleguer Coassisting in amed Licenciado Martel. These men lost their lives for want of the regard-to themselves: for they resting consident of Conteno's success against bigars, acted with great zeal in the King's service against such as were of the disasticed Party: and yet they took these matters into so little consideration, that though they saw the Bishop fly away, yet they resolved to stay by it, and not quit the City, until John de la Torre came, who made them pay for their errour and incogitancy with the loss of their lives: but as to the common Souldiers he issued a Proclamation of Pardon to all those who would list themselves in his Company. Then he gathered all the Arms he could, and erected triumphal Arches, and prepared all things with magnificence and oftentation for the reception of Pigarro, who, as he pretended, was coming to that City, to enjoy the fruits and happy consequences of his Victory: And here he leavied money for payment of the Army,

and sent Officers to all parts round to bring in Provisions for their support. Amongst these Pedro de Bustincia (who was nobly descended and married to the Lady Beatria Copa, the legitimate Daughter of Huayna Capae) was dispatched to the Province of Antahuslla, which is a Countrey abounding with all forts of Provisions; on this service this Gentleman was employed as the most proper person, because that out of respect to the Lady he had married, the Caciques and their Subjects would with all readines apply themselves, and bring in what Provisions he should require: but he was very unfortunate in this undertaking, for it cost him his life, and very inconsiderate to engage himself in danger which he might have excused and avoided. As we shall find in the sequel.

808

Dionifo de Bovadilla was fent by Piçarro to the City of Plate with Instructions to bring what money be could raise out of Piçarro's own Estate, or out of his Brother's, together with what Tribute and Rent was due from the Indians to those whose Estates were conficated for adhering to the King: and having hereby raised great sums both of Gold and Silver, he returned with all expedition to Gorçalo Piçarro, whom he found in Coreo, where he was well received for the service he had done, in bringing so considerable a supply for payment of the Souldiers. Diego de Carvajal, surnamed The Gallant, was employed to Arequepa with the like Commission; but (as Palentino, Chap. 82. reports) he treated many Women of that City very ill, because their Husbands were said to be in the service of his Majesty, and in consederacy with Diego Centeno, plundering them of all they had, even to their wearing Garments: and it is fatther said, that he and one of his comrades, called Antonio de Viezna, ravished two Women, who in rage, and for shame of the affront, took Mercury and poisoned themselves; imitating the example of the chast Lucretia, who on the like occasion destroyed herself.

But men, from such Outrages as these, deserve not the name of Gallant, being such abominable Villains as want words to express their Iniquity: for he that would be esteemed a Gallant, ought not to derive that Title from his Attie or Dress, but from his Words and Actions, which challenge an esteem and love from all men; but these men soon afterwards received the reward due to their deserts. Nor was the behaviour of Francisco de Espinosa less scandalous in his journey to the Charcas, but rather worse, if worse can be. For in his passage he robbed and plundered all he could find, which (as a certain Authour says) amounted to the value of fixty thousand Ducats: and in Arequepa he killed two Spaniards, one of which had Lands and Command over Indians: in the City of Plate, he hanged a Judge and an Officer of the Court; and all sour of them, for no other teason, than because they had served the King: and in his return to Cocco he buind seven Indians, upon pretence that they had given information of his departure to certain Spaniards who were sted from him. All which he acted without Commission or Order from Gongalo Picarro on his Lieutenant General, but merely out of his own arbitrary Power and Lust, intending thereby to evidence his great zeal to the cause of him, who was not pleased with such service; for when he was informed of his Cruelties, he abhorred both his person and his actions; for Picarro was of a mercifull nature, and did neither approve of these nor other Cuelties committed by Carvajal of the like nature.

But to divert the Reader awhile from the fad relations of fuch Barbatities, we will mention one generous action performed by a perfon infamous in those days: whereby, it will appear that he was not altogether so wicked as Historians de-

CHAP.

# CHAP. XXV.

Of the Gratitude which Francisco de Carvajal shewed in Arcquepa to Miguel Cornejo, in return of those benefits and kindnesses which some years before he had done for him.

W E have now an occasion presented to declare some good actions persormed by Francisco de Carneid in liga of Lander med by Francisco de Carvajal in lieu of the many bad ones which Writers report of him. We formerly left him on his way to Arequepa, in pursuit of his Aving Enemies: Upon News of his approach, not onely those who fled from the Battel of Huarina, but likewise the Inhabitants, who were about fourty in the Batter of Harma, but Internite the Inhabitants, who were about fourly mumber, abandoned the City, and took the way to Los Rejes along the Sea-coasts. So son as Carvajal was entred into the City, and had received information of their flight, without stop, or stay, or repose so much as of one hour, he dispatched twenty sive of his chief and choice Harquebusiers after them, commanded by an experienced Souldier; who had all been instructed in the School of an excellent Mafter, and were for their bravery termed his Sons; and these made such expedition in the pursuit of them, that they overtook them two days journey form dreptepa, and seizing upon every one of them, they brought them back again to the City, not suffering one man of them to escape. Amongst these was anoble Gentleman, one of the first Conquerours, and an Inhabitant of that City, called Miguel Cornejo; who had some years before much obliged Francisco de Carvajal when he came first into Pers, before he had Lands or Estate, or had acquired any Fame, or Reputation, or Interest in that Countrey: the manner of it was this; Carvajal travelling with his Wife Donna Catalina Leyton, one maid servant and two men-fervants, came to Arequepa, where finding no Inn nor House of entertainment to receive him, he remained in the Streets: for it is to be noted, that in those times, and many years afterwards, there were no Houses of publick ententainment in all Pens; nor were there any when I came from thence, in the year 1560; but Travellers were used to take up their quarters with the Inhabitants of the Countrey or Province; for such was the generosity of those Gentlemen in those days who had Lands and Indians allotted to them, that they frankly received all Strangers into their Houses, affording them entertainment not onely for days and weeks, but also for months and years, and likewise furnished them with Clothes untill fuch time as they were able to provide for themselves; the which generous and obliging usage was the common custome and practice of that whole Countrey. In this condition was Francisco de Carvajal in that City without friend or acquaintance, or house whereunto to resort, and so remained for the space of three hours on horse-back with his whole family in a corner of the Market-place; when Miguel Cornejo having taken notice of him, as he was going to Church, at his return went up to him, and asked him what his business was so long there, since for above three hours he had observed him in that place? Sir, answered Carvajal, I have no kindred, friends or acquaintance in this Countrey, and there being no Inns or places of publick entertainment whereunto I might goe to be rectived. I am enforced to flay in this corner of the Street. To which Miguel Cornejo replyed, Your Worship hath no need of another Inn than my House, whereunto if you please to goe, you shall find us all ready to serve you to the unnot of our power. After this he carried them to his House and entertained them untill fuch time as that Marquis Don Francisco Pigarro bestowed some Lands and Houses on Carvajal in that City; for he was one of those choice Souldiers which Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-king of Mexico, sent to the affistence of the Marquis Picarro, when Prince Manco Inca had raised great Forces against him, as we have formerly related in its due place.

When Francisco de Carvajal understood that Mignel Cornejo was amongst the prisoners that were taken, he caused them all to be brought to his presence, and having seen Cornejo, he took him aside, and began very kindly to complain and chide

.him. Is it possible, said he, that you should fansie and imagine me to be so ungratefull as to forget the kind and charitable entertainment I received from you, some years past in this very City? or to believe, that in return thereof I should not embrace all occasions to male known my gratitude? is it possible for me to be so short of memory as not to remember how kindly you took me and my Family to your own home, (when there was no place to receive su) and entertained us there for days and months, untill such time as Marquis Picatro. of glorious memory, had made other provisions for me. And having over conserved it. thoughts hereof in my mind, I carried great respect to every thing wherein you were concerned; for though I had sufficient information, that Diego Centeno was concealed within your possession, and though I knew the very Cave it self where he was hid, and nourilhed la your Indians, yet I winked at it, and took no notice thereof, that I might not give you trouble nor bring you under a prejudice or ill notion with my Lord the Governour. I might then eafily (if I had pleased) sent some Files of Musquetiers and have brought Diego Centeno to me; but for your sake I forbore to persecute him, notwithstanding the mortal enmits between 14. Nor indeed did I much value him; for he who could fubmit to take his refuse in a Cave was not much to be feared; not doubting but whenfoever he should adventuragain abroad, and dare to take up Arms against my Lord the Governour, I should drive him into another Caue, as I have done since his flight from Huarina, where by the blessing of God, and affiftence of Friends, I gained a signal Victory. And now, since for your sake I took not vengeance on an enemy whom I had within my power, how much more should I respect your person, and those whom you own for your friends and acquaintance? and to as fure you of these my real intentions, I give you free leave to return unto your home, and there repose and rest with as much freedom and security as you can desire. And also was may assure all the Inhabitants of this City, and all such as were taken and brought back in Jour company, that for your fake they are pardoned and exempted from that punishment which their offences have deserved. And herewith he acquitted and dilinissed Mignel Cornejo, and freed the City of the fears and apprehensions they were in for having with zeal and affection shewed themselves active in his Majesty's Service, and for the affiftance they had given to Diego Centeno. This Story I learned, not onely by common report, but from the particular relation of Gonçalo Silvestre, who was a professed enemy to Francisco de Carvajal, as he was a fast and faithfull friend to Diego Centeno, having adhered to him and accompanied him in all his advertities and misfortunes till the day of his death, as will appear hereafter. And on this occasion I produce this authentick Witness to confirm the truth of what I have spoke; for I pretend to flatter no man, but really and truly to lay down matters of fact according as they have paffed.

Carvajal, having gathered what Arms and Horses he could find in Arequepa, returned to Picarro, who was still on his march to Cozco: for by reason of the many fick and wounded in the Camp, he was forced to continue longer at Huarina than was intended. And here it is very observable, that those of Piçarro's Patty who were rich took care and compassion of the wounded men belonging to Centeno, and dividing them amongst themselves carried them to their own Tents, where they provided for their maintenance and cure. It was my Father's lot to have twelve affigned to him, of which fix dyed on the march, and fix happened to live and recover. I knew two of them, one was called Diego de Papia, a Gentleman of good Quality, and a person of vertue, who made many gratefull acknowledgments for the care which was taken of him. When I came for Spain I left him in the House of Diego de Silvia, who was Godsather to me at my Confirmation. The other was called Francisco de Penna, whose name agreed well with his nature, which fignifies a Rock, and indeed so hardy was he, that though he had received three great flashes on the Crown of his Head, from the first to the last of which there was about three fingers distance; and though his Skull was so broke that the Chirurgeon was forced to take out some Bones; and having no better Instruments to trepan his Head, he made use of a Smith's Pincers in this operation, yet had he the fortune and strength to recover. And this farther shewed the soundness and hardiness of his complexion, that, notwithstanding all these wounds, and the unsitness of the Instruments that he recovered without Fever, or any other accident; and yet kept no rule or regimen in his Diet, but ate what soever was set before him The which indeed was very strange, and never heard or seen before; and so might well be called Francisco Penna rather than de Penna, which is Francis Rock, and not Francis of the Rock. And having said thus much, it will be now time for us to return to the President.

#### XXVI. CHAP.

How the President and his Army received the ill news of the Victory of Picarro; and what new Orders he made.

How vain and flort are the prosperities and successes of this life may appear by what happened in the Valley of Stuffs, where we left the President and his Army full of joy and contentment upon the good news which Francisco Fosso lately brought concerning the flourithing condition of Centeno's Army, which was much superiour to Picarro's both in Men, Arms and Horse. In confidence of which the President, and those who were of his Council, resolved to raise no more men, but to disband the Army which they had already formed, and difinifs the Souldiers who were come from fuch diffant Countries and Provinces: for that it feemed an unneceffary and fruitless expence to keep so many men in pay in expedation of an Enemy already prefumed to be overcome and defeated. And this course was so far resolved, that (as Augustine Carate saith in the fourth Chapter of his feventh Book) the Army was just upon the point of being disbanded; the which he expresses in these words: At this time came intelligence to the President of the Defeat given to Diego Centeno, which he took much to heart, though he expressed not so much publickly, but seemed to carry it outwardly without much concernment: all which happened fo contrary to the common expectation of the Army, that many of the Officers were of opinion, that the Prelident had no need to raile an Army, for that Diego Centeno had a sufficient force to overthrow

Picarro, &c. Thus far Carate.

But as it was the good fortune of the President, so it was the missortune of his Enemies that this determination was not put in execution; nor was it so much as known that this matter was ever deliberated or defigned to be made publick; for if the Army had been disbanded, it had certainly been very difficult to have railed another of the like nature, or fo well provided with Men and Ammunition as this was. As matters were in this agitation the Bishop of Cozco arrived at San-14, with the ill news of the Rout and Defeat of Diego Centeno, of all which he having been an eye-witness was best able to give a relation. The President, and other Inhabitants of that Countrey, who had Baronies and commands over the Indians, were greatly surprised and troubled at the news; finding that the heat of War, which they confidered lately as extinguished, was now again inflamed, with such advantage to the Enemy, that their cause seemed almost desperate, and the Rebels in a flate not to be reduced. Howfoever the Captains and Souldiers, who live by War, were not in the least disturbed at this news; for War is their livelihood and trade, from whence they derive their Honours and Estates, and especially in the Empire of Peru, where the reward of Souldiers and Adventurers is Command, and divition of Lands, and a Barony over *Indiana*. The Prefident being defirous to hold up the hearts of his people, which he found drooping, put the best countenance he could upon the matter, and made them a short Speech in this manner: That Succeffes of this nature were usual and common over all the world, and were incident to War; and that these things were intended for the good of God's People, who were to give thanks to his Divine Majesty for having granted to Picarro a Victory, with intent to bring greater mischiefs on his head, and that having filled up the measure of his iniquity, his ruine and downfall would be the greater. And to obtain this great bleffing, he advised every Officer to be vigilant and diligent in his station, and to order and dispose all things in such a method and dispose and the station. readiness as might enable them to contend with such an Enemy. He added farther, that there was no need for him to move and incite Cavaliers so well experienced in War as they were to actions of bravery and to martial exploits; for that he was to follow their example, and take their counsel and advice in matters of greatest importance: In fine, he told them, that he was well affured that they would direct every thing in the best manner to the Service of his Majesty, who would gratifie their fidelity with rewards agreeable to their merits, and make them ... Lords of that whole Empire. L1111 2

CHAP

Having

Having ended this Discourse, he ordered the Mareschal Alonso de Alvarado to go to Rimae, to bring thence the Forces which remained there, as also the Guns from the Ships, and other Ammunition, which came from Spain, together with what Money, Arms and Horses, and other provisions for War which he could find at that place. He farther ordered, that all Artificers and other Workmen should act and labour with all diligence in their several employments; namely in making Musquets and Fire-arms, Gun-powder, Bullets, Pikes, Helmets, Croslets, &c. all which the Indians made of Copper with great ingenuity; and the Artificers applied themselves thereunto with great alacrity and Art, being chief Martiners and excellent Workmen in their respective Trades. Likewise Captain Monson of Morcadillo was dispatched away to Huamanca, and after him Martin Lope Lustanowith fifty men to seise the passage towards Cozco, and succour such of Contents men who were wandring and dispersed in those parts. And here we shall leave the President in his preparations to speak of Gonzalo Pigarro, whom we lest in the stield of Huarima, where that samous Battel happened.

# CHAP. XXVII.

Licenciado Cepeda and others advise Pisarro to make an Agreement and Peace mith the President. His Answer thereunto. The death of Hernando Bachicao. Pisarro makes his entry into Cozco.

Oncalo Picarro, having performed the last office to the dead, he resolved to march towards Costo, but he was forced to defer it for several days by reason of the wounded men, who were not in a condition to travel; and at length they marched very easie and short Journies: whilst they were thus on their way Licenciado Cepeda put Piçarro in mind of a promise he had made him some days past, to enter into a Treaty with the President Gasca whensoever any seasonable and convenient opportunity should happen, which might induce the President to admit of some fair and moderate terms: of this opinion with Cepeda there being divers others, the matter was debated at a general Council of Officers, who for the greatest part were inclinable to peace and accommodation, and urged Picarro to earnestly thereunto, that he became very angry and displeased with their importunities 3 as is confirmed by Gomara, Chap. 183. in these words: In Pucaran some hard words paffed between Pigarro and Cepeda touching a Treaty with Gafca; for Cepeda urged that it was very feafonable to enter into Articles, and put him in mind of his promise given him at Arequepa: but Picarro being carried away with the opinion of others and the air of his late fortune; denied that the time was convenient, for that propositions for peace would argue weakness and fear, which would cause many to leave their Colours and fly to the Enemy, and discourage those Friends who were then actually with Gasea: of those who were of the opinion of Cepeda, Garcilasso de Vega was one. Thus far Gomara. But Picarro rejected this Counsel which was good and wholsome, and took that which was given him by young and rash men, such as John de Acosta, Hernando Bachicao, John de la Torre, and others, who being puffed up with their late fuccess at the Battel of Huarina, thought themselves invincible, and would hearken to no Proposals or Articles less than an entire surrender to them of the whole Empire of Pern. Two days after this Consultation, the Lieutenant-General Francisco de Carvajal returned from his Journey to Arequepa; and two days afterwards he hanged up Hernando Bachicao, for having at the Battel of Huarina paffed over to the Enemy's fide. And though Carvinjal was not ignorant of this fact on the fame day when it was done, yet he deferred this punishment untill a fitter feason, not thinking it fit to intero rupt the joy of that fignal Victory by the fadness which the death of so ancient a Captain, and so zealous for the cause, as was Hernando Bachicao would cause. At

length, after a long Journey, caused by short marches for the sake of those who

were wounded, Pigarro and his Souldiers arrived at Cozco. Captain John de la Torre had prepared to make for him a folemn entry under rimphal Arches which he had erected over the Streets, and adorned them with Flowers of various colours after the *Indian* manner in the times of their *Incaes*. The first that led the way were the Infantry with their Banners displayed, marching three by three in a Rank, every Captain at the head of his Company then followed the Horse in the like order; after which, and that the Souldiers were lodged in their quarters, followed Picarro himself attended onely by his own Servants and the Inhabitants who accompanied him; for he thought it not convenient to be introduced by his Souldiers, left it should feem as if he gloried in an entire Victory over his Enemies, and made a Triumph before Conqueft. As he entred, all the Bells of the Cathedral and Convents were rang out, and the *Indians* of the City, being drawn up in the Streets and publick places of the City, gave loud acclamations as he passed, calling him Inca, and giving him those other titles of Majesty which they used to bestow on their own natural Kings in days of triumph, the which was performed by order and direction of John de la Torre. The Trimpets also founded, with Violins and other Instruments of Musick in which Pigarro much delighted, and had excellent good of that kind. The first place he entred was the Church of our Lady of the Merceds, where he adored the most Holy Sacrament, and the Image of the Virgin his Mother and our Lady. From thence he walked on foot to his Lodging, which was provided for him at the House of one of his chief Officers called Alonfo de Toro, which is situate over against the Convent of the Merceds. I my self accompanied them into the City, having gone out the day before to meet my Father as fair as *Questicancha* being three leagues distant from Cozco; part of the way I walked on foot, and I was carried part of it by two *Indians*, who by turns took me on their Shoulders: but at my return a person leading a Horse gave me leave to ride, so that I saw every thing which I have here related, and fuch particular observations did I take thereof. that I could affign the very Houses and Chambers, where every Captain was quartered, for I knew them all; and though it be fixty years ago fince that time yet Iremember the very places and Houses where they lodged, for we conserve things better in our memory which we faw in our youth than what we have observed in our riper years. Goncalo Picarro and his Souldiers being thus entred into Cozco, Francisco de Carvajal attended to give out necessary Orders, and make such provisions as were requifite to carry the War forwards: he repaired the Arms which were broken, or become defective in the late Battel of Huarina, he caused Powder and Bullets to be made, and new fixed fuch Arms as were not used, and omitted nothing in order to carry on the War. Of Arms he had great stores; for he had gathered all those which Centeno's Souldiers had lest in the Field, and those which belonged to the men flain on both fides, and of those who had been deferters; all which he repaired and re-fixed with great care and curiofity: and of all forts of offensive Arms he most esteemed of Fire-arms, saying that the Gentiles had wisely armed their God Impiter with Thunder and Lightning, which was an Engin that killed at a diftance as well as near. He caused also Pikes to be made, and though they had no Ash in that Countrey out of which to frame them, yet they had another fort of Wood, as strong and proper as that; He also provided great quantities of Cotten for making Matches; and, in fine, he omitted not the least matter which might be requifite or usefull in its time and season: in all which matters he applied himself with that diligence, that he was never idle, and seemed not to allow himself time either to eat or drink.

His cultome was always to ride upon a Mule of a pyed colour, I never faw him on any other Beath during the time he continued at Cozco, and before the Battel of Sacfahnana; (to earneft was he at his work, that day and night, whenfoever he was mer by his Souldiers, they always found him employed: And because he knew that they would murmur to see him so buse, he would always, when he passed by them, with his Hat in his hand, salute them, and instead of saying, I sifs your hands, he would say, What you can perform to day defer not till to morrow, and this saying he constantly had in his mouth. And when they asked him what time he took to eat? and what time to sleep? he would make answer, That those who had a mind to work had time for every thing. Amongst all these exercises and contrivances, Carvand could not conceal his own fierce nature, which shewed it

telt

812

felf it felf in a piece of cruelty acted at Cozco, upon a noble Lady belonging to Arequeps, whom he strangled in Cozco: for she, like a Woman; after the Battel of Huarina, vented many opprobrious speeches against Pigarro; saying, that the time would come when his tyrannies would have their end, like those of more powerfull Governments, such as the Greeks and Romans, which were all brought to destruction: and so violently would she express her self without any discretion, fear or wit, that Carvajal caused her to be strangled; and afterwards hanged out at a Window looking to the Street.

# CHAP. XXVIII.

The Imprisonment and Death of Pedro de Bustincia. Captains are chosen and made by the President. Of his departure from Sausa and arrival at Antahuaylla.

N revenge of this murther it feems as if God had fuffered another of the like ■ nature to be committed about that time in the Royal Army, that so Francisco de Carvajal might not have cause without some cross accident to please himself in so detestable an action as the murther of a simple Woman: Gonçalo Piçarro was greatly troubled at it, and expressed his resentments of it in secret to certain Friends, though he did not make known fo much of his mind to Carvajal, who was well acquainted with the tender heart of Picarro, and knew that he would have prevented him in the execution of his ill delign, in case he had been acquainted with his intended cruelty; and for that reason he privately strangled her in his Chamber, and afterwards hanged her out at the Window. Now in return of this murther another followed by the death of Pedro Bustincia, who being sent to make provisions for the Army in Antahuaylla and the parts thereabouts, as hath been mentioned before; Alonso Mercadillo and Lope Martin, who were two Captains of the contrary party, and fent upon the fame defign, having notice thereof, refolved to beat up Buffincia's Quarters in the night, and take him, if it were poffible, by whom they might be certainly informed of the condition and state of the Enemy. Lope Adartin fo well managed his business, that though he was inferiour in number to Pedro Bustincia, yet he so surprised him in the night, that he took him prisoner: to which action twelve of Centeno's Souldiers contributed very much; for though they promifed to joyn with Pigarro yet their hearts failed them when they came to fight in his cause, for they being pleased with any ill success which could befall him, made no relistance; so that Lope Martin took Bustincia and all his men, of which they killed three; one of which being of Picarro's Souldiers to shew himfelf more brave than the rest, dyed in the conflict, though there was very little or no opposition; the other two, who were Levanines, (or people of the Eastern Countries, called the Levant) availing themselves much on their bravery, boasted that they had killed ten men at the Battel of Huarina, by which vain words they brought death upon themselves; for it was believed that they were not men of fuch gallantry, but some of those who had been taken lately or wounded. Lope Martin fet the twelve Souldiers of Centeno at liberty, but Pigarro's men with Buffincis he carried away prifoners, being greatly pleafed and proud of fo good a prize. The Prefident received Martin very kindly, and by means of Centeno's men he became informed of the true state and condition of Pigarro's Army, as far as he could defire to know. Pedro de Bustincia was not contented quietly to remain a prisoner in the hands of the President, but he must needs be talking, thinking it a piece of gallantry amidst his Enemies, to praise the great actions and exploits of Pigarro, and extoll them to the skies; which he so boldly affected that he incurred the same sate with Donna Maria Calderon, as before mentioned; for as there was the fame fimilitude in their indifcreet and passionate words, so it was thought fit that they should be equalled in the punishment, and accordingly he was strangled, and his Body publickly exposed.

Book V. Royal Commentaries.

Pedro de la Gascu, President of his Imperial Majesty, having summoned all the Captains and Souldiers who were in Quitu, Cassamarea, Rimae and other parts; and who accordingly appeared at the Rendezvous, and having ordered the Mareschal Alonso de Atvarado (as we have hinted before) to goe to the City of Los Ross to raise Men and to provide Horse and Arms and Money and Spanish Cloth for the use of the Army, and to bring the Guns from the Ships; all which being accomplished, and sufficient Ammunition and Victuals provided; it was determined that the Gamp should remove from Sausa to meet Gonzalo Piçarro; and Osficers were appointed for better Government of the Army; as the three Historians agree, and particularly Carate in the sourch Chapter of his seventh Book hath

The Camp was ordered, faith he, in this manner: Pedro Alonso de Hinojosa continued in the Office of General, as was agreed when he first surrendred up the Fleet at Panama. The Mareschal Alonso Alvarado was made Lieutenant General. Literniado Benito de Carvajal, Standard Bearer General, and Pedro de Villa-vicentio was made Serjeant Major. The Captains of Horse were Don Pedro Cabrera, Gomus de Alvarado, John de Saavedra, Diego de Mora, Francisco Hernandez, Rodrigo de Salazar and Alonso de Mendoça. Captains of Foot were Don Baltasar de Castilla, Paulo de Meneses, Hernando Mexia de Guzman, John Alonso Palomino, Gomez de Solis, Francisco Mosquera, Don Hernando de Cardenas, Admiral Andagoya, Francilco de Olmos, Gomez, Darias, Captain Porcel, Captain Pardavel and Captain Serna. Captain Graviel de Rojus was made Master of the Ordnance. In company with the President were the Arch-bishop of Los Reges, the Bishops of Cozco and Quitu, and Father Thomas de San Martin, Provincial of St. Dominick's Order, with many other Friars and Priefts. At the last Muster there were listed seven hundred Musquetiers, five hundred Pike-men and four hundred Horsemen: the which number increased to a thousand nine hundred by that time that they arrived at Xaquix aguava: and so the Camp removed from Xauxa on the twenty ninth of December, in the year 1547. and marched in good order towards the City of Cozco. and endeavoured to find some shallow place, where they might with the least danger foard over the River of Avancay. Thus far Augustine Carate: so that besides the four principal Officers, viz. the General, Lieutenant General, Standardbearer and Serieant Major; there were feven Captains of Horse, and thirteen of Foot, befides the Master of the Ordnance, who were all Noble, and persons of Quality (most of which I knew) and with these Officers and Forces the President removed his Camp from Saufa, to find the Enemy, and came to Huamanca, where being great want of Provisions, they were forced to proceed forward in all halle to the Province of Anahuaylla with intention to winter there; being a Countrey (as we have faid before) abounding with all forts of Provisions. At this place the President with his whole Army made some stay in expectation of the coming of the Mareschal Alonso de Alvarado, who brought new Rectuits commanded by their own Captains, and were (as Augustine Carate reports) about three hundred men, of whom we shall speak more in the following Chapter.

# CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Captains and principal Men of Quality, and Souldiers who came to Antahuaylla to serve his Majesty. And the great joy there was at their Arrival.

THE Prefident quartered his Army in Antabnaylla for above the space of three months; during which time the People flocked in to him from all parts; amongst them was Alons de Mendosa, who escaped from the Battel of Historia, (whom we forgot to mention in the dute place) and was preferred to the Command of Captain of Horse. About a month and a half after, the Prefident entered into Antabnaylla, the Mateschal Alons de Alvarado came thither with a hun-

dred Souldiers, bringing the Cannon with him, with part of the Money, Arms and Spanish Cloths: the remainder he left behind, and was afterwards brought by the Accountant John de Carceres, by which the necessities of the Souldiers were abundantly supplied. In like manner the Licenciado Pedro Ramirez, Judge of the Court at Nicaragua, came thither with about twelve Horsemen in his company, having lest about a hundred and twenty Foot-souldiers on their march thither, who came in about eight days after. The Admiral Belaszaear came in thither also with about twenty Horse in his Company, having travelled four hundred leagues. Captain Diego Centeno brought in thirty Horse of those who had escaped from the Battel of Huarina and met together on the road, one of which was his dear Companion Gonçalo Silvesser, and Partner in all his missortunes: Besides those here named were many other Souldiers of less note and same, who in all made up a Body of three hundred men. The President rejoiced much to see his Army so much increased, and courageous, and to consist of men who came from far Countries to serve his Majesty; and particularly he was pleased to see Diego Centeno who was a person of loyal Principles, and endued with excellent parts both of body and mind, for he was much a Gentleman, and a most comely Person.

The last who came to the Army was *Pedro de Valdivia*, Governour of *Chile*, with about eight men on Horse-back: In praise of whom *Palentino* hath spoken very fine things. And *Carate*, in the fifth Chapter of his seventh Book useth these

The President having removed his Camp from the Valley of Sausa; Pedro de Valdivia, who was Governour in the Province of Chile came in to his affiltence. This Valdivia came by Sea to Los Reges, with intention to furnish himself there with men and ammunition, cloathing and other necessaries for the total subjection of that Countrey: but being landed there, and understanding the state of the troubles then in transaction; both he and his men resolved to employ themselves in this War; and accordingly, with great quantities of Money which they brought with them, they took the direct way towards the President, to whom the person of Valdivia was of great use and reputation; for though many rich Men and other principal Captains had followed the President before Valdivia appeared, yet no person was esteemed so experienced in War as he; and whose Art and Skilfulness in Military discipline might be opposed to the Strategems and Contrivances of Francifco de Carvajal, to whose Government and Industry Gonçalo Piçarro had been beholding for many of his Successes, and more particularly in the late Battel of Huarina against Diego Centeno: so that the President's whole Army was affrighted and remained in apprehension of this person, untill they recovered their spirits and courage by the coming of Valdivia. Thus far Augustine de Carate: who after he had praised Pedro de Valdivia very much, he extols Francisco de Carvajal much more, and with very good reason, for certainly he was far the best Souldier of any. that was come into the new World. Diego Fernandez the Historian having confirmed what is before related of Pedro de Valdivia, adds farther in his fecond Book, Chap. 85. as follows verbatim. And in regard fome curious Reader may delire to know the cause and reasons which might move Pedro de Valdivia to undertake this voyage, I shall, for better understanding of this History, deliver the causes and reasons which might excite him thereunto.

The Governour Pedro de Valdivia being in his Provinces of Chile, received intelligence, that Gonçalo Piçarro was in Arms againft his Majefty. And some say that Letters and Correspondences passed between them, which if so, 'tis certain Valdivia Concealed them, as if no such thing had ever been. His chief business was to borrow Gold of those men, whom he knew to be monied men; upon pretence that he might therewith send Francisco de Villagra to Peru to raise men, to make an entire Conquest of that Countrey; but notwithstanding all his importunities, he could not find a man who would lend him a farthing. Whereupon Pedro de Valdivia summoned them all together, and told them, that since they resolved not to lend him the Gold he would borrow of them; he gave free licence to as many as pleased to go to Peru; where shewing the quantities of Gold they brought with them, it would bring their Countrey into reputation, and be a means to invite people to come and plant there. Hereupon many prepared for the voyage, and intended to embark in the Port of Valparasso (which is about ten leagues distant from the City of Saniago) and with them Francisco de Villagra was to goe also, be-

ing the person designed to bring people from Peru: Valdivia remained in the Cirv of Santiago: And when all people were in a readiness and prepared for their Vovage, he came privately out in the night, just at the time when all people were embriked, and were at the mouth of the harbour. Pedro de Valdivia over-taking them there, caused great store of Meat to be dressed, and invited them all ashoar to dinner to the number of about twenty perfons; all which came willingly to rereive the favour of his invitation: fo foon as the dinner was done, and the table taken away, he earnestly recommended Francisco de Villagra to them (whom he efteemed as his own Son) and defired them, that fince he went with them on the fame design, to bring people to inhabit and increase their Countrey; they would land rithgra forme Gold in case his occasions should require it, the which every one promised to doe with great readiness. After which Valdivia walked out of the Arbour where they fate, and as if he intended to look towards the Sea; he on a fudden leaped into a Boat, and rowed aboard a Ship, where he feized on all the Gold which imported above eighty thousand pieces of eight; howsoever he noted the quantity and paffed to every man's credit the fums which concerned him. The persons he took with him for his companions were Teronimo de Alderete, Gafour de Villaroel, John de Cepedu, Captain Jofre, Lewis de Toledo, Don Antonio Beltran. Digo Garcio de Corceret, Vincenti de Monte, and Digo Oro his Secretary: Before whom he declared that he went to ferve his Majesty against the Rebels under the command of Picarro. And leaving those ashoar to whom the Gold belonged. he appointed Francisco de Villagra to be his deputy Governour, and therewith immediately fet fail. Being arrived in Pern, they received intelligence that the Prefident was on his march towards Cozco ; whereupon they made the beft of their way to Lima; where having supplied themselves with all things necessary, they went to Andiguaylus, where they understood that all the Army was quartered and remained untill the rains were pass'd, and the Summer season entred, which was fit for action. Thus far Diego Fernandez Palentino, who wrote this particular Act agreeable to the many Tricks which are now practifed in the World; and to which the Devil gives colour and reputation under the guise and appearance of Reason of State.

The coming of Pedro de Valdivia with the Captains and Souldiers with him, who were perfons of Noble Families, did much encourage and give life to the Souldiers of Centeno, whose spirits were become low and drooping by reason of the late Deseat; so that there was great joy and triumph over the whole Camp, which they testified by their sports of Running at the Ring and other Pastimes of that kind. But Sports and Mirth have the same operation as Musick hath on the spirits of men, for those who are merry, it rejoices; and those that are sad, it makes more melancholy. The President with all his Army made his Winter quarters in Antahuaysla; the Winter was very severe by reason of their bad lodging, and unaccustomed to the climate, fell sick and infirm; but such was the care of the President, that he provided an Hospital for them; the chief Chirurgeon and Physician of which being Father Francisco de la Rocha, born at Badajoz, a Fri-

ar of the Order of the Holy Trinity, very few died or miscarried.

Mmmmm CHAP.

Royal Commentaries.

The Army leaves Antahuaylla, and passes the River Amancay. The dissinculties they found in passing the River of Apurimac, over which they design to make four Bridges, Carvajal's Counsel is rejected by Gonçalo Piçarro.

THE extremity of the Winter feafon being paft, the Prefident refolved to leave Antabuayllat, and goe in quest of Gonçalo Piçarro, who was in Cozco: and accordingly he marched with his Army to the River of Amancay, which the Spaniards Call Avancay, and is about twenty leagues distant from that City. When they came thither, they found that the Bridge had been burnt, for (as we have faid before) all the Bridges of that Countrey were made of Twifts of Offiers. whereupon they determined to repair it again, which was eafily effected, the River being narrow, and some of the old work remaining: having passed this River the most difficult task was how to pass the River of Apprimac: it seemed impossible for them to go over by the Banks of the high Road, because the change is there very broad; it was yet more narrow at the place where the \* Pofts were fixed on each fide, and yet from the one to the other 'tis above two hundred man ces wide: besides which there was a greater difficulty to overcome; and that was in case they took that way, they were to travel over a desolate and an unpeopled Countrey where few *Indians* inhabited, and those so very poor, that they had fcarce Bread or Provisions to sustain themselves. At length they resolved to make the Army over one of the three Bridges, which they intended to make over the River above, where the chanel is contracted by the mountains on each fide. One of these places was called Cotapampa, the other, which is higher, Huacachaca, and the uppermost Accha. And though the access to any of these places by reason of the high and cragged Mountains feems impossible for an Army, and for any to conceive who hath not feen them; yet they refolved to overcome the difficulties by reason that there was no other way besides that. And to amuse the Enemy, they seemed as if they intended to make four Bridges, at four feveral places; and to make them believe so, they caused about fifteen or twenty loads of Osiers to be carried to every of the four places; whereas to make one of those Bridges, at least four thousand loads of Ofiers and Rufhes are required, befides great quantities of Ropes and Cables, all which were provided at the charge and pains of the poor Indians. The places where these Bridges were to be formed were to be surveyed by some particular persons, whose care it was to provide materials for the same; as Palentino confirms, Chap. 86. Pedro Alonfo Carafco was appointed to goe to the place near the common road, Lorenço Martin to Cotapampa, Don Pedro Puerto Currero and Themas Infjuez to Accha, Antonio de Limonez and John Julio de Hojeda to Guacachaca. I was acquainted with all these Gentlemen, when they lived at Cozco, and four of them were of the first Conquerours: And having surveyed all these sour places, they concluded that the most easie passage might be made at Companyla, which they put in execution with great secrecy, that the report thereof might not come to the knowledge of the Enemy. The persons applied themselves to their respective stations, as was ordered; and in the mean time the President marched his Army with invincible difficulty over craggy Rocks and Mountains covered with Snow; which, as divers Authours report, is so white and glittering, that with looking thereupon many people lofe their fight; though it is probable, as we have faid in another place, that the whiteness thereof dazles the eyes, and the force of the object weakens the optick nerve, which may to continue for three or four days, and not longer. And here we shall leave them for some time, labouring under the great difficulties of their march, to relate the Contrivances of Francisco de Carvajal, who was folicitous to fultain and augment the greatness of Pigarro Soon after the Prefident had removed his Camp from Anahu.ylla, and was on his march towards Cozco, Gongalo Pigarro received intelligence thereof; for from time

to time he had advices of whatfoever was acted in the Enemies Camp: In the to time of War, Indians were not perfons to keep a Secret, for they served for Spies on both sides; because being doubtfull to which the Victory would incline, they endeavoured to gratifie both parties; that fo the Conquerour might not return them ill for the good Offices they had done him. And though we have in another place touched on the Treachery of the Indians in this particular, yet here more effecially we are concerned again to repeat it, because the Secret which the President on this occasion committed as well to the Indians as to the Spaniards was (according to the opinion of Historians) of high concernment. And though Goncalo Pigarro received certain intelligence that the Prelident was marching towards him, and was ignorant of none of his proceedings, yet he thought not fit to postruct him in his march or defend the difficult passes ( of which there were very many ) but onely to keep his own ground, and expect the coming of Gafea; for having been flushed with many Victories, he did not doubt of the constant fuccess of fortune. On the other fide Francisco de Carvajal, who day and night applied his thoughts to military Affairs, that he might promote Pigarro to the Government of that Empire, observing in him a strange negligence of his Affairs, and without other Countels than onely to give the Enemy battel; he went to him, and defired his confideration of some matters which he had to impart to him. Sir, faid he, confidering the late Successes, and the present state of your Affairs, and the dubious fortune of War, I would not advise you to hazard your whole stake on the uncertainties of a Battel, but rather endeavour to avoid fighting, and prolong the War untill fuch time as some happy conjuncture happens to fecure your Affairs. To which end I will lay before you what may be faid concerning the state of both Armies, that so I may acquit my self in all points relating unto your felf, and to that cause in which we are so deeply engaged.

Now, Sir, in order to obtain victory over your Enemies, it is in the first place necessary for you to abandon this City and leave it wholly dispeopled; the Mills must be broken down, all Provisions taken away, the Inhabitants forced to take refuge in other places, and all their Goods, and what else is not portable or to be carried with them, consumed and burnt; so that there may remain nothing which may be of use and relief for the Enemy. There are two thousand men marching against us, half of which are Seamen and a fort of raw Souldiers who are almost naked, without Hose or Shoes to their Feet, and half starved; and live onely in hope of coming to this City, where they may satisfie their hunger, and be clothed: in which when they shall find themselves disappointed, and nothing but mitery and desolation, they will be totally discouraged, and the President will be forced to disband them, having no possibility to support and sustain them.

In the next place I would have all Cemen's Souldiers difinift; for knowing themselves to be a conquered people, they can never be good friends: You have at least five hundred men, who fince the Battel of Huarina are come in to you, to parake of the benefits of your Victory, all which are choice men, who will never leave you, or forfake their Colours in the greatest extremities. I would have two parties of Musquetiers, of fifty men each, detached from the main Body, and lent to the right-hand of the way, and to the left; with orders to march twenty or thirty leagues distant from the Army, and to seize all Cattle and other Provisions they can meet; and bring them to us, and what cannot be carried with them, to burn and deftroy, that nothing thereof may remain for sublistence of the Enemy. In this manner your Camp will be supplied and fed with Kids and Sheep and other Provisions of the Countrey, and with whatfoever the fielh Provinces, through which we are to pass, do afford: whilst the Enemy pursuing us with two thousand men, half of which are useless, will find themselves in great wants and necessities; and then the other half, which are Souldiers and men experienced in War, will be starved for want of Provisions, which they must be forced to fetch from parts above a hundred leagues diftant from them; for all the Victuals which the Countreys afforded through which they paffed are already confuned, and they must daily leave those parts at a farther distance in case they pursue after us.

But indeed fuch a purfuit with a thousand men will be almost in possible, so that they must be constrained to divide their Forces into two bodies, against any one of which fingly your men will have the advantage. And in case you shall be willing to decline fighting, you may march from one Province to another, and M m m m m 2 protract

\* To which the Bridge of Offers was faffned.

protract the War<sub>3</sub> and fo tyre the Enemy, as to force them to yield to you, or elfe to grant you fuch advantageous termes as you shall require.

But Goncalo Picarro rejected this Counfel, as in no manner agreeable to his ho. nour; for that it argued cowardife to fly from the Enemy, and that a retreat of this nature would calt a blemith and shadow upon the lustre and glory of all the brave actions he had performed. To which Carvajal replyed, that this was not to lofe Honour but to improve that which was already acquired; for it was the part of great Captains and men experienced in War, to know how to program it, and with military Strategems to weaken and destroy an Enemy, without adventuring on the hazards of a Battel, which is fo doubtfull, that neither Party can up. on the greatest advantages remain affured of Victory: hereof many inflances might be produced in the World; but we shall need no other than that of the Battel of Huaring; of Victory in which, the Enemy remained so confident, that we are informed, they gave order to their Servants to provide a double allowance of meat at their tables, for entertainment of fuch prifoners as they fhould take in the Fight. And, Sir, confider farther, that this Victory was a particular mercy and favour of God Almighty towards you, and was not obtained by force of Arms or humane Policy; nor is it reason to tempt God again or expect the like miracles from him. To which *Pigarre* replied, that he knew nor how to turn his back upon his Enemy, and therefore resolved to live in hope, and make trial once more of his fortune: having great confidence, that he who had given him fo many Victories, would not leave him at laft, or fuffer him to be overcome. Thus ended the Discourse, without approbation by Pigarro. Palentino in Chap. 88. relates part thereof, and that Carvajal concluded, faying, Sir. be pleased to doe, as I advise you; and as for Centeno's men, dismiss them all, for being conquered men, they will never be true friends; for if you refolve upon a Retreat, you will be better without them.

All these particulars are wrote by Diego Fernandez, and agree very well with the Genius of Francisco de Carvajal, who was a man of great parts and abilities, though never fufficiently known or fathomed by his own people, nor yet by flrangers; Now if we would know the true ground and cause why Picarro did not approve of this nor other Countels which were given him by Carvajat; no other reason can be affigned than that from the very day that a Confultation was held at Los Reyes, whether the Prefident Gafea was to be received or not, and that Carvaial was of opinion that the terms were good which were offered, and that they should enter into a Treaty, and examine the Power and Instructions which Gasca brought: from that very time he loft his Credit with Pigarro, who ever afterwards suspected the reality of all the Counfels he proposed, which did not exactly square with his own advice and reason; and indeed Pigarro was of an humour not to admit of any advice but what proceeded from himfelf, affecting always to have the reputation of a Governour and Manager of all affairs. And as it is natural for mankind to hate and deteft a Partner in Government and Rule; fo did Picarro more easily admit of a prejudice against Carvajal; which though grounded on a false imagination, yet so deeply did it take place with him, and possess that all the suture Services which Carvajal performed and the Miracles he acted at the Battel of Huarina could not avail to root out that suspicion he had conceived of him. And indeed this proved fatal to Picarro, for those who are acquainted with these Secrets attribute his more speedy destruction and downfall to this

Jealousie and Suspicion which he had conceived against Carvajal.

CHAP.

### CHAP. XXXI.

Lope Martin layes three Strannes of the Bridge over the River. The Spies of Gonçalo Piçarro cut two of them off. The great diffurbance which this occasioned in the Royal Camp. Carvajal gives order to John de Acosta to defend the pass of the River.

THE Gentlemen before mentioned, to whose care it was committed to make the Bridges, had provided all the materials required thereunto. Lope Martin the Portugues, to whom it belonged to erect that at Coropampa, expecting the Army in a day's time; laid the first three Strannes on the Waters, which are the soundation of the Bridge; though he had received orders not to lay any untill the coming of the President.

Howfoever Martin, to shew his diligence and to anticipate a day, adventured to lay them, which proved a matter of great trouble and inconvenience to the Prelident, Officers, and to the whole Army: for the Spies of Pigarro, being three Seguiards and eight Indians, tracing along the banks of the River, perceived the here Strannes which were cast over to their fide, and the little care there was to defend them, adventured the night following to cut them with hatchets and to fethem on fire; and proceeded fo far in their defign, that they cut two of hem before the guards could come from the other fide: but what they most aprehended, was, that the Enemy would hereby receive intelligence of their defign; and before they could pass the Army over, they would have time to hunder and durb them in their passage; so that they should be constrained either to force heir way with great danger and hazard; or otherwife to make their paffage at Accha, which would be both incommodious to the Army, and a discouagement and a loss of reputation; and on the other fide it would raise much the spirits of the Enemy, who might also give them the like interruption at Acthat Having confidered these matters, it was concluded, that the onely secure remedy and prevention was expedition; and accordingly it was ordered, that immediately after Valdivia and Captain Palomino, the General should march with the Companies of Pablo de Meneses and Hernan Mexia, (which were Musquetiers) and endeavour, if it were possible, to reach the Bridge that night; and to pass over upon Floats to the other fide, both to defend the Bridge, and to give affiflence to the workmen employed in stretching the Strannes and fastning the Ropes. Graviel de Rojas was also appointed with his Cannon to hasten to the River, that his Indians which belonged to the Artillery might also lend a helping hand to the Work. Orders were also given to the other Companies to follow the General, with whom the President seeming to entertain discourse, he accompanied him so far, until he came to the Banks of the River, the Bishops soon followed after, whilst the Mareschal remained to command the Camp, &c. Thus far Palentino.

And here we will leave the Prefident and his Captains on their way, and employed in repairing and making their Bridge; to relate what Gongalo Piçarro and his Officers were contriving at the fame time, and what Francife de Carvajal was projecting to countermine his Enemies, with the Strategems of War in which he was chiefly practifed. So foon as the Spies brought advice of what was doing at the River of Apurimac, Gongalo Piçarro called a Council of War, and communicated to them the News which was brought to him, defiring their opinion of what was to be done for defence of the Pais, and what advantage might be taken on the Enemy in this prefent Conjuncture. Carvajal, who was the most audient and principal Captain, first answered and said, Sir, This day it is my turn to act, nor doth it belong to any person to go upon this exploit but my self. No, sather, replied Piçarro, for I have need of your person and counsel to be always near me on all emergencies which may happen, we have young and stout Captains with us, any of which will be ready and lit for this Work. Carvajal replied again; This Enterprise, Sir, belongs to me, and I befeech your Lordship not to

deny me the benefit of this good fortune which now offers it felf in these latter days of my life, whereby I may confummate the last of my atchievements with a glorious and final Victory over all your Enemies; which petition if you are pleased to grant me. I dare promise and affure you on the faith of a good Soul. dier, within the space of four days to plant the Imperial Crown of this Empire upon your head. And fince your Lordthip hath by good experience proved the extraordinary zeal and paffion I have conceived to fee you exalted to a degree of Majefly (of which I have given fufficient testimonies) I beseech your Lordship again and again not to deny me the favour of this request, which I onely beg for the greater exaltation of your Lordship, my own honour, and welfare of your party and well-withers.

Royal Commentaries.

Picarro repeated the fame words again, and told him that he was well enough affured of his good will and affection towards him, and would never forget the fignal actions he had performed, which had maintained and supported him in that flation wherein he at present moved: And for that reason he could not easily spare him, or see him removed at a distance from him, who was his Father and his Parent. Upon this denial, it being put to the question who should command the Party fent upon this exploit, John de Acofta was the person who by general confent was chosen; for he was not onely a favourite to Picarro, but one, as Hiftorians fay, employed on fuch like actions as this, and perhaps on greater, as often as occasion offered; for he was esteemed to be stout and brave, and indeed he was fo: But Courage is not the onely endowment required in a Caprain, but there must also be Prudence and Conduct, which were greatly wanting in this Person: and though Carvajal was endued with both, yet these Counsellours, obferving the inclinations of Picarro towards him, complied rather with the affections of their Prince than with fuch measures as agreed best with the necessity of

Francisco Carvajal seeing that John de Acosta was the person appointed for that exploit, he turned towards him and faid; Captain, Since you are so happy as to be employed on this glorious action, and to take from me the honour and fame which I should win, be pleased to receive these instructions from me, which if well observed and executed, you will certainly be victorious, and return with the Crown of this Empire, which I have fo often promited to our Lord the Governour. The Rules which I would give you are these; I would have you depart from hence about nine a Clock in the morning; the Bridge I reckon to be about nine leagues from this City; and so on a moderate march, neither too fast nor too flow, you may by two a Clock in the afternoon travel four leagues, where you may stay an hour, and eat, and refresh your selves and your Horses; and from thence fetting out about three a Clock, upon a flow and eafie march, you may get to the top of the Hill, which borders upon the River, by nine a Clock at night; for I would not have you be there fooner than about that time; a little below the top, at a league and half distance from the Bridge, there is a pleasant Fountain of clear Water; at this place eat your Supper, and take your repose, causing your Bed to be made with four good Quilts, and a clean pair of Holland Sheets, lay your self thereupon, and put a dozen Musquets under your Pillow charged with Powder, and without Bullets, for you will have no need of shot. The President and his Souldiers, let them make what haste they can, will not be able to reach the Bridge untill fuch an hour the next day; and though all the Devils in Hell affift them they will not be able to lay the first Stranne untill the evening, and the fecond they will endeavour to lay in the night. After which they will begin to pass about nine a Clock at night, and such as are got over will begin to climb the Hill without Rank or Order, having no jealousse or fulpicion of an enemy, believing it impossible for us to have made so speedy a march thither as we have done. Such as have been the first to pass will imme diately make to this Fountain, with defire to quench their thirst with this pleafant Water, and may be come near your Bed about twelve a Clock at night, at which time cause the Musquets to be fired which you laid under your Pillow, which having done, without other delay, or so much as seeing the enemy, I would have you return to the City, and then we will immediately plant the Crown on the Head of our Lord the Governour. These Instructions and Rules Carvajal, who was wife and experienced in the War, gave to Captain John de Accfra, who acted so contrary thereunto that he not onely missed of the Crown

but loft the lives of all those who belonged to their Party, as we shall see here-

Royal Commentaries.

To perform this action two hundred choice Souldiers were detached and mounred on Horse-back, and with them thirty Lances; and to march with the less inted on Flore-Dack, and with their thirty Lances; and to march with the lets in-cumbrance, they were to carry no Baggage but fuch as was necessary for the Men, and Horse, and Mules. And as to the saying of Carvajal, that he should make his Bed with four Quilts and a pair of Holland Sheets, and that the Musquets his Bed with four Quits and a pair of Fronand Sneets, and that the Munquets thould be charged with Powder onely and without Shot, his meaning was, that he should make all hafte possible, and that onely by giving the Enemy a true alarm, without farther action they flould overcome and defeat them. And as to his faving, that though all the Devils in Hell should help them, &c, it was to exhis laying, that change and expedition the Enemy would use in framing the Bridge 3 the which was the usual form and manner which this great Captain used in expreffing his mind.

# CHAP. XXXII.

The President comes to the River of Apurimac. The difficulties and dangers they find in the passage. John de Acosta defends the Pass. The little care and ill Conduct be thewed in all this action.

 ${f N}^{
m O}$ twithstanding all the haste and diligence the President and his Captains could make they could not reach the Bridge that night, but were forced to flop two leagues short, by reason that it was dark; but so toon as the Moon arose they began their Journey again, being forced to walk a great part thereof on foot, by reason of the ruggedness of the way. About eight a Clock in the morning they arrived at the Bridge, and with all the diligence they could use they could not lay the first Stranne before noon. The second was sixted and laid about seven a Clock in the evening, over which they cast boughs and thin boards sastured together with fplit Canes. About ten a Clock at night the first Ranks began to pass; and some sew Souldiers were serried over in a float hewed out of a piece of Wood which they call Magney, which is very light, and something like those Goards or Calabaças which grow in those Countries, and may be as thick as a man's Leg: these Boats are drawn with Cords from one fide of the River to the other. The Horses swam over with great danger of being drowned; for on the sides of the River there being no place made for them to enter in gently, they forced and plunged them in from the fide of the Bank, where the stream was so rapid that it carried them down and cast them against the Rocks, where, meeting with whirlepools, they were turned quite round, and therein (as Carate reports, Book the fecond Chapter the fifth) above fixty Horse were drowned, and many others were lamed. And though that Countrey was not a place for Horles to fight in by reason of the Rocks and mountainous ways, yet they hastned over with all diligence possible, left the Enemy should surprise them before they had finished their paffage. And indeed there was good ground to apprehend the coming of the Enemy, for the paffage was very dangerous in the time of War, which Carvajal so well knew that he defired no other advantage over the Enemy than that. And indeed the difficulties of that River are such, and the Mountains on each side are so rocky and high, that they are at least two leagues perpendicular in height, the which I can attest, having seen them my self. And therefore it was not without reason that Carvajal demanded this employment for himself, and when he was denied, that he complained of his hard fortune; being well affured, in case they would have intrufted the management of this action unto him, to have returned with Victory; for he knew and was acquainted with the difficulty of the paffage at Cotapampa.

By means of the great diligence which was used half the Army was passed outer by midnight: The first that were over, putting themselves into the best order they could, began to climb the Mountain, being desirous to possess themselves of the top before the Enemies were come (which was the greatest danger they fee red) for having feiled that Pafs, they might fecure the way, and facilitate the afcent of the whole Army. Those in the Van having gotten half way up the Mountain, a falle alarm was given, no man knows how nor from whence, which caufed fuch a general confternation and confusion, that many of those who were not as yet passed over, both Horse and Foot ran away as if they had been pursued. and so general was the affrightment and terrour, that the Captains Porcel and Pardane, and Gabriel Rojas Captain of the Ordnance, and divers other Souldiers of note, who were in the Rere Guards and in the main Body, feeing with what confusion and disorder the Souldiers were put into slight, said one to another, if this alarm be true we shall all be lost and deseated this night. But as good fortune would have it, the alarm proving false, the disturbance and noise was quieted, and those that fled rallied again, and every one made the best of his way that he could Those who were in the Van, and were the first to climb the Mountain were likewise struck with the same terrour, and ran away with their Arms: but the alarm appearing to be falle, they proceeded on their way, and came to the Fountain before break of day; which was the place where John de Acosta was to have lain in wait for them, had he observed the Orders of Francisco de Carvajal, in performance of which the whole fortune and fuccess of that day depended. Those who came to the Fontain, having quenched their thirft with those pleafant Waters, proceeded on their way, and having got to the top of the Mountain, they put themselves into a Body; but they were so sew, and those without any Commander, that fifty men might easily have defeated them; howsoever in a short mander, that fifty men might early have deteated their townever in a most time after their numbers increased, for the General Pedro de Hinojosa, and the Governour Pedro de Valdivia, who had passed the Bridge, and remained at the soot of the Mountain, animated the Men, and encouraged them to make good their ascent: The other half of the Army, being affrighted with the late alarm, did not pass the Bridge with their Ordnance untill nine a Clock in the morning; which having done, they marched after their companions with all diligence imaginable; and here we will leave them to see what was become of John de Acosta, who was departed from Cozco to hinder the Enemy from paffing the River.

This Captain having received his Instructions and Dispatches from the Lieutenant-General, departed from the City with two hundred Musquetiers mounted on Horse-back, and thirty Lances, all choice men; and having marched the first four leagues, he there staid and lodged all night, contrary to the orders and directions which had been given him; and so negligent and careless he seemed to be, that two of his Souldiers took an opportunity to leave him, and give advice unto the Enemy of his coming: The next morning about feven a Clock he began his march again, and that day another of his Souldiers ran away, called John Nunnee de Prado a Native of Badajoz, who gave intelligence of the distance, the Enemy was from them, and of the Orders given by Carvajal, which were so exact and regular that every thing was measured by hours and leagues; which gave the President and his Captains fome thoughts and apprehension of matters which were to fucceed: for when they understood, that an alarm was to be given at such an hour in the night, they were extremely fearfull left it thould cause some great diforder; for if the late false alarm had put them into the confusion before mentioned, what could they imagine would be the effects of a true alarm, caused by a furprise in the night? but by the negligence and unactive spirit of John de Acosta none of these matters were put in action, but all the methods and rules failed; which was objected to Gonçalo Pigarro as a failure in his conduct, as Augustine Carate, Book the seventh Chapter the fourth, intimates, where speaking of the Squadron which the Prefident formed of Indians and Negroes, he adds farther,

That when John de Acosta sent his Spyes to survey the number of the Enemy's Camp, and receiving a report that they were very numerous, he durft not engage with them, but returned again for a greater force; by which over-fight and default the President gained time to finish his Bridge, and transport his Souldiers. And here it is that Picarro was much blamed for his conduct, for had he placed onely a hundred men at each of these Passes, it had been impossible for the Enemy to have made good their way over the Water: with which saying Carrae ends that

Chapter. And indeed he had much reason for this Assertion; for certainly that passage is so distincult and horrid as cannot be expressed or described. When John the design understood by his Scouts that he was not far from the descent of that ill way, he advanced with fix Horsemen to take a view of the Enemy, and finding that they had already possessed themselves of the top of the Mountain, and were so very numerous, he durst not engage with them: the truth is, they deceived him much in their numbers, and made him believe they were many more than in reality they were; for, as Hiltorians say, they mounted their Indians and Negroes on Horses and Mules, and put Lances and Partisans into their hands, and drew them up into a martial posture; and that the Enemy might not discover the quality of this Rabble, they placed three or four Files of Spaniards in the Front well appointed and armed, to cover the Negress and Indians in their disguise; and then of the Insanty they formed another Squadron of the like condition. The Historians add farther, that Acosta, to amuse Pigarro and make him believe that he would doe something, sent for a recruit of three hundred Musquetiers; but he having not acted according to any of those Rules which Carvajal had given him, the design was lost; and when the Recruits came to him, finding himself unable to engage with the President, he retreated to Cocco without any action, to give an account to Picarro of what had passed, and that the President approached near unso the City.

# CHAP. XXXIII.

Gonçalo Piçarro publishes his Orders for the Army to march out of Cozco. Carvajal dissuades him from it, and puts him in mind of a Prophecy relating to his life. The President marches towards Cozco. The Enemy goes forth to meet him.

THE defign of John de Acofta failing, Picarro refolved to march forth and meet the Enemy, and give him Battel; for having formerly had fuccets against Indians and Spaniards, he took the greater confidence to adventure all his fortunes on the hazard of War. In order hereunto he made Proclamation that in four days time every man should put himself in a readiness to march to Sacfabnana, being four leagues from the City; but Picarro having made this publication without the knowledge or privity of his Lieutenant-General, Carvajal was much troubled at it, and told him, that it was by no means proper, or agreeable to the welfare of his affairs to go forth to meet the Enemy; for that was to ease the Enemy of a trouble and take it upon himself; I beseech you, Sir, faid he, to believe me in this matter, and leave the conduct of it to me. To which Picarro auswered, that at Sacsabuana he had made choice of a spot of Land very advantageous for him, and where the Enemy could onely attack him in the Front, and that he doubted not to gain a Victory with his Cannon onely. Sir, replied Carvajal, in this Countrey we cannot miss every where of strong and fast places, and I know particularly, (if you will be pleased to leave it unto me) to chuse you such a place where you may be assured of Victory. My meaning is, that whereas you defign to march four leagues to meet the Enemy, that you rather change your course to the contrary way, and expect their coming at Oreot, about five leagues from hence on the other fide; which if you are pleafed to doe, you thall then fee the trouble and confusion this farther march of five leagues will cause amongst the Enemy, and the difficulties they will have to pursue you: And then having leifure to furvey the ground, you may make choice of the most advantageous situation to give Battel. And I do again and again beseech you to retreat back, rather than proceed forward to meet the Enemy, the which I would perfuade you unto though there were nothing more in it than merely what some judicial Astrologers have prognosticated concerning your life; namely, Nnnnn

that fuch a year you shall run a great hazard to lose it, but in case you then escape you shall live long in great happines and prosperity. The year which threatens your life according to their presages is almost expired; for not many months, or weeks remain before that time determines, which I would therefore advise you to protract by a handsome retreat from the Enemy: this I say, that you may neither have cause to complain of your own rashness, nor your Friends and well-wishers to lament your want of confideration in making too flight an account of fuch predictions: for though there be no certainty in judicial Aftrology, yet at least it will be good to spend out the time, if possible, to see whether such presages prove true or falle. I am well affured that the Enemy cannot force you to fight; and perhaps there may be many reasons which may persuade you to avoid it, untill some greater advantage offers than at prefent appears. Why should we adventure than which we may eafily avoid, in case we intend to travel from one Countrey to another with pleasure and ease, whilst the Enemy in pursuit of us endure all the inconveniences of a long march and hardfhips which famine and want must bring upon them; and in this manner we may fpin out the time untill the bad influences are past which threaten you, and till the days return which the Astrologers as fure you will be more propitious. *Piçarro* answered in few words, that he was resolved not to make a retreat either far or near, it not being consistent with his honour and reputation; but to follow his fortune, and expect the Enemy at Sac-Calmana, and be his destiny what it would, he determined to give the Enemy Bar. tel at that place, without regard either to the Moon or Stars. Herewith the dif. courfe ended, at which Carvajal was greatly troubled and complained amonest his friends and familiar acquaintance, that his Lord the Governour refolved upon a most pernicious course, especially in this critical time of his life, which was more dangerous than any other: in this opinion all others did concur, and were much afflicted to fee him thus resolute and without regard to his safety or condition to deliver up himfelf (as it were) into the hands of his Enemies: there was no doubt but he was a man of great understanding; and therefore we may attribute this violent transport to the influence of the Stars, which carried him beyond his reafon, and caused him (as it were) to offer the Knise to his own Throat, and reiect the reasonable counsel of his Major General.

But we must return again to the President, and often change our hands from one party to the other. The passage being now made free and open by the retreat of John de Acosta, the Royal Army had liberty to march without sear or danger of an Enemy; but by reason of the great incumbrances of Cannon, Ammunition and Provisions, four days were spent before they could clear themselves out of that uneasse passage, of which three days were required to march from the River to the top of the Mountain, where the Army was drawn up: from which place the President gave command to march the Army with great order; howsoever the ways were so narrow and rugged, and the Baggage so great that the Officer could not observe that rule they desired; and notwithstanding all their endeavours, the longest march they could make in a day was not above two leagues, and sometimes but one, and then perhaps they were forced to stay a day or two until the

In the mean time Gonçalo Piçarro hastned his Men out of Cozco, and to march unto Sacsalaman, where he defigned to expect the Enemy and give them Battel. His Captains were all young and stout, and such as depended most upon their own bravery and courage, in confidence of which they chearfully hastned out of Cozco, to anticipate the day which should make them Lords and Masters of all Peru. But Carvajal and those of his opinion, who were the most sober and considerate, were very unwilling to meet the Enemy, not having men in whom they could put any confidence; for amongst their own Party were three hundred of those Souldiers which belonged to Diego Centeno, who had been lately overcome, and many of them as yet not cured of their wounds: and therefore in reason ought to be esteemed for such who desired their overthrow and destruction; or at least would run away in the day of Battel, and discourage those who were faithfull Friends to Piçarro.

These considerations administred just cause of sear and danger; to divert which Carvajat often turned to dissuade Pigarro from that satal Counsel, which would inevitably betray him to a loss of his life, estate, honour and every thing that was dear unto him. But so God ordained it (as those of the contrary party said)

that Picarro having completed the meature of his iniquity was blindly carried to native the punithment he deferved. The which obstinacy so displeased several of his people, that they purpoted to have left him if possibly they could: and I can moreoner, that after the Battel of Suefabrums, and when all things were quileed; I have heard tome principal Officers who belonged to Picarro lay, that if he had followed the advice and countel of his Major General, they would never have left him, but have died with him: for they efteemed Carvajal as an Oracle, and entertained fuch an effecting of his knowledge and experience in War, that they and chieffanker then an electrifying his knowledge and experience in year, that they doubted not of the fuccets in all matters where his counfel was followed. But Picore perlifting in his fatal refolution, marched out of Cozco towards the latter end of March in the year 1548, and in two days came to Sacfahuana, being greatly himded by his Carriages, Artillery and Baggage, for he was well furnished with all growthous for War, to as not to want any thing in case the Enemy should stay or linger in their coming. And though (as we have faid) this action was contrary to the fense and opinion of most men; yet, finding Pigarro fixed and resolute in his determination, none durft to diffuade or endeavour to alter his mind: and in regard these men evidently saw that he went positively to sacrifice himself and them to manifest destruction, every man began to provide for his own inteterest and safety; and to abandon Pigarro whom they saw plainly offering up himefto death in the most flourishing station of his life, being in the two and fourtith year of his age, during which time he had been victorious in all the Battels he fought either against Indians or Spaniards, and had not above fix months before obtained that famous Victory at Huarina, which gave him a character above ay in this new World: all which fortunes and fuccesses were changed, and buried in the Valley of Sacfahnana.

# CHAP. XXXIV.

The two Armies meet in Sacfahuana. Gonçalo Piçarro shews a dissidence of those Souldiers which belonged to Diego Centeno; and the expectation the President had, that those men should revolt to his side. The Ossers and Protestations which were made by Piçarro. The Answer given by Gasca. It is resolved to decide the Difference by Battel. The Order of the Royal Army.

Oscalo Picarro drew up his Army in a certain place of that Valley, having a G River behind not very broad, and a craggy Mountain, and both to met together, that the fituation was naturally frong, and covered the Army on all quarters in fuch manner that it could not be attacked in the rere nor on either fide, but on the front onely. This River, towards the Mountain, is fortified with great Water-gails, caufed by the ftreams which fall from above: between which and the River Pigare pitched his Tents, leaving the Plain between the Water-galls and Mountain free and open for drawing up the Army. The Prefident (as we have faid) making short marches, arrived in this Valley three days after Pigarro; and three days partied with finall skirmithes and piqueering between finall parties; which were of no great moment; by which time all the Imperial Army was come up. The Armies faced one the other for two days afterwards, without engaging; all which time Pigarro and his Captains kept a ftrict eye and watch on their Souldies, that none of them thould run over to the Prefident. And now one would think, that a Commander, who voluntarily marched to meet his Enemy, should have great confidence in the fidelity of his Souldiers; and not doe as Pigarro, who too late began to diftruft Centen's men, of which there were no less than three hundred in the Army; and began to approve the Counsel of Carvajal, who N n n n n 2 persuaded

perfuaded him long fince to difinifs those men, of whom there being no affurance, they were unfit to be entrusted with so great a concernment, wherein Estate, Life and Honour did confist. This particular is also noted by Lopez do Gomara, Chap. 186. in these words:

Picarro, fays he, marched out with above a thousand Spaniards, of which two hundred were Horse, and five hundred and fifty Musquetiers; but he was very doubtfull of four hundred who had served under the command of Contens, which caused him to keep a strict guard over them; and to kill some of them with Lances who attempted to make an escape, e.e. Thus far this Authour.

But on the contrary, The Prelident remained with affurance of the faithfulness of those who revolted over to his Party: particularly (as that Authour reports in the same Chapter, which is very long) he was well satisfied in the Promise which Licenciado Cepeda sent him by Friar Anonio de Castro of the Order of Preachers, who was Prior at that time of Arequepa, that in case Piçarro came not to terms of agreement with him, he was resolved upon breaking off the Treaty, to mise

over to the Emperour's Service.

With this affurance the President held a Consultation with his Captains, whether it were best immediately to engage or decline Fighting for some time: And though they were all of opinion, that to avoid the effusion of bloud it were better to forbear; yet, considering the necessities they should be speedily forced into for want of Provisions and of Wood, and more especially of Water, which they brought from far, whilst the Enemy was abundantly supplied therewish; it was resolved to engage the next day; lest these inconveniences happening by such delays, the Souldiers being enforced by hunger should run to the Enemy: but on the same Pizarro sent some Articles and Protests to the President, as the same Authoric expresses.

Picarro fent two Priests one after another, to require Gasca to shew to him in writing. his Commission and Command of the Emperour: and that in case it did appear in the original writing that his Majesty did enjoin him to leave the Government, he was ready to yield all obedience thereunto, to refign up his Power and to abandon the Countrey. But in case he resused so to doe, he then declared, that he was refolved to give him battel, protetting against him for all the bloud and miferies which should thence ensue. Gasea being informed that these Priefts had been dealing with *Himopfa* and others, to fubveit them from their duty, he caused them to be deteined, and fent word to *Picarro*, that he was ready to grant free Pardon to him and all his Followers; adding how great honour he had gained in being the principal instrument to procure a revocation of the late Ordinances which would now be completed in case he would accept of the grace and savour of his Majefty, and enter into the number of his faithfull Servants: that all those who were engaged on his fide would have eternal obligations to him for obtaining a Pardon for them, and putting them into a condition of fafety and riches. without the hazard of Battel, wherein they may be flain or be taken Priloners, to receive the punishment of their Rebellion. But all these words were wind, and they might as well be preached in the Defart to the Woods and Rocks as to minds to obstinately inclined, or to desperate men, and such as believed themfelves invincible; and the truth is, their Camp was well fortified by the fituation of the place, and was well furnished with all Provisions, and attended by the fervices of Indians. Thus far are the very words of Gomara. And whereas he fays, that the Indians were very serviceable to them is most true; for generally the Indians ferved Gonçalo Pigarro with more affection than others: by reason that he was one of the first Conquerours whom they called Children of the Sun, and Brothers to their Kings the Inca's; and therefore gave them the title of Inca's; and particularly they bore a fingular love and respect to Gonçalo Pigarro for being the Brother of the Marquis Francisco Picarro; they bewailed his death with much tenderness and compassion.

The night before it was refolved to give the Enemy Battel, John de Acoffa was appointed to attack them with a body of four hundred men, in which he was the more feaward, in hopes to recover the Credit he had loft in the late Defign; by his miscartiage in which, he was taxed of negligence and want of knowledge in War: and it was well known how much Carvajal lamented his misfortune, by being denyed the conduct of that Affair whereby he hoped to have crowned all his former Actions, and confimmated the glorious exploits of his old age. But whill

from de Acosta was just ready to make an Attempt of Surprise upon the Enemy, news was brought, that one of Centeno's Souldiers was fled to the other Party, whereby searing that the design was discovered, that resolution was laid asside, much to the satisfaction of Picarre, who was of opinion that his advantage was greater in a sull engagement with the whole Body, than to skirmish and fight in small parties: and thus much Gomara confirms, and says, that Picarre told Acosta, that there was no need to adventure his person where the Victory was secure and already certain. And indeed the confidence of Picarre and his Officers was grounded on a behief, that every individual Souldier would fight as valiantly as themselves, which certainly, if they had, it would have gained them the Victory: but their errour soon appeared; for neither did those who were reputed valiant, fight like such nor men of less efteem show themselves cowards.

The Advice which the Souldier brought who fled from Piçarro, that John de Acoffa was designing to surprize them and beat up their quarters; caused the President to draw out his men and put them into array, in which posture they continued the whole night, and endured so much cold, (as the Historians Gomara and Carate write) that they were not able to hold their weapons in their hands. But so soon as it was day, being the ninth of April 1548. the King's Army drew sarther out into the open field, and into a larger quarter than the night before. The Insantry were all joined in a Body conducted by their respective Captains, and supported on each hand with wings of Musquetiers; and slanked on the lest with two hundred Horse, whose Captains were Diego de Mora, John de Saavedra, Rodrigo de Salazar and Francisco Hernandez Giron, whom Carate calls Aldana: on the right were the Captains Gomez de Alvarado, Don Pedro Cabrera, and Alonso Mercadillo, with other two hundred Horse appointed to desend the Royal Standard, which was carried by the Licenciado Carvajal, in the same rank with these Captains.

On the right hand of these (at some distance from them) Captain Alonso de Mendoça and Diego de Centeno were ranked with fixty Horse under their command. all which, or the greatest part of them, consisted of those who escaped from the Battel of Huarina; who would have no other Captain than Mendoca, because he had been their Companion and fellow Souldier in all their travels and fufferings: and these drew up near the River to succour and receive such as should revolt over to their Party; for they expected many to fly over to them from all quarters of the Army; and on this quarter especially there appeared most difficulty and danger. Captain Graviel de Rojas was industriously employed in planting his Cannon in the field, which he with much labour performed by reason of the Rocks and ruggedness of the way. The General Pedro de Hinojosa, the Lieutenant General Alonfo de Alvarado, and the Serjeant Major Pedro de Villa-vicencio. and the Governour Pedro de Valdivia, disposed the other Troops and Companies in their due Places. In the Rere of all was the Prefident with three Bishops, vice of Cosco, of Quieu and Los Reges, with the principal persons of the Order of Preachers, and Friars of the Order of our Lady of Merced, with a very great number of Church-men and Friars, who followed the Camp; for guard of whom a Party of fifty Horse were appointed, and to defend them in case any missortune should happen.

# CHAP. XXXV.

The Success of the Battel of Sacksahuana, to the time of the total defeat of Gonçalo Piçarro.

So foon as it was day Gonçalo Piçarro commanded them to beat a march, and drew out his men into the Plain which lyes between the River and the Mountain: he also commanded a Plat-form to be raised and the Cannon mounted. It is said also, by Gomara, that he committed the charge of drawing up the Army to Licenciado Cepeda, because that Carvajal was so angry and displeated that

830

his Counfel was not followed; that giving all for loft he refused to take any charge of the Army, but entered himself into the ranks of the Infantry, to fight like a private Captain: for which reason Historians make no mention of Carvajal in all this action.

Whilft the Officers were thus bufily employed in disposing the Army in their feveral Stations, Garcilaffo, my Lord, came out from amongst them, and upon pretence that his Indian had neglected to bring him his Lance, he defeeded down towards the River, calling out with a loud voice to his bidien; and fo foon as he was got below the Clifts of the Water-galls, he haftned with all freed poffible towards the Royal Camp, and having paffed the wet ground which was between the two Armies, and which drains it telf in the River, he then accended into the upper grounds, and in the view of both Armies, he prefented himself before the Prefident, who received and embraced him with open Arms; and faid to him Seigniour Garcilaffo, I have long expected that you should render this service to his Majesty: To which Garcilasso replied, That he had long been a prisoner with out liberty, and restrained from making this oven demonstration, but still had a heart and good will thereunto. Pigarro was much troubled at the departure and lofs of Garcilaffo; yet, not to discourage his own men, he seemed to make light of it; and meeting with a Cofin German of my Father's called Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, he faid, Garçilasso hath left us, and do not you think now, that he will be in a fine condition, in case we should get the Victory? and thus did he still flatter himself with hopes of success, which in a short time after failed, and he undeceived. My Father's escape was, as now related, though the Historians tell us first of the slight of Licenciaao Cepeda, and then of my Father and others, as if they had all gon away together, but their information was not fo particular as mine: but there is another Writer, who relates the matter as I have done, and names my Father in the full place, and then a Cofin of mine, and others, and that Goncalo Picarro was greatly afflicted and troubled for it: And then proceeding on with his Story, he fays that Licenciado Cepeda foon followed after them. The truth is , Gargilaffo de la Vega fled fingly without other company , and that he contrived his escape in those three days that Pigarro was in the field before the Enemy was come up, during which time he furveyed the ground and places over which he might pass with most safety; and then it was that he plotted, that his Indian should not bring his Lance, that he might have an excuse to depart from his company; and that he paffed under covert of the Clifts, by the River fide; the which Particulars I heard from himfelf, together with the feveral paffages and fucceffes of that great action, when he had leifure freely to discourse thereof in the times of peace and fettlement. I have also heard Garcilasso, my Lord, say, that after Govgalo Pigarro had taken away his horse Salinillus at the Battel of Huarina, as is before mentioned, that he purposely omitted to buy himself another, that so Pigarro obferving him on foot, might be moved either to return his horse to him again, or fupply him with some other: and accordingly it happened, for that four days before Picarro marched out of Cocco, to fight the Battel at Sacfahawa, he returned him his horse Salinillas, which was so welcome to him, that when he saw him in his Stable, he thought that fome Angel from Heaven had brought him thither. I have not repeated these Particulars to excuse my Father, for all those matters are already past, but to relate the truth of things, with the circumstances of days, hours and moments; for I intend neither to accuse nor reflect on any man, but like a plain Hiltorian to lay down matter of Fact. And to accordingly let us return to the fuccess of that Battel.

Picarro Forces were drawn up according to the direction of Licentiado Cepeda: and by the fide of the Mountain a Party of Mufquetiers were detached to skirmish with the Enemy: to oppofe which the Captains Hernan Mexia de Gusman and John Alonfo Palomino were commanded out with their Companies, and caused them to retreat without loss or hurt on either fide. In the mean time the Cannon plaid on both fides: but that of Picarro's did no execution, because the President's Forces being drawn up in a low ground, they shot over: but the President's Cannon being planted to more advantage, commanded the Enemy's Camp on all fides, fo that two men were killed with the great shot, one of which was Page to Picar 70. Whilst Licenciado Cepeda was drawing up the Forces his eyes were still towards the way where he might best escape to the Enemy; and seigning, as if he looked for a more advantageous ground, so soon as he found himself at some convenient.

diffance off he fet fours to his Horfe, which was a very comely Beaft of a dark Chefuut colour, having his neck, breaft and hinder parts covered with a thick Ball's Hide dyed black, that it looked very handfomely, and was a new fort of ornament and covering which I never remember to have feen before, nor fince to the day that I left that Countrey: but this new fort of hoofing was at that time very dangerous to the Matter, being particularly noted and known thereby; for he no fooner began to run towards the Enemy but he was known and purfued by Pedro Martin de Don Benito, mounted upon a large Horse thin and lean, but in good breath, and as I remember he was of a bayifh colour, and to fwift that he can three foor for the other's one, and fo fetched upon him that he came up with Cepeda just as he entred upon the wet ground, which was near the Prefident's Camp, and there he gave his Horse such a stroke with his Lance on the hinder parts that he hore him down into the mire, and gave another wound to Cepeda in the right Thigh, and had certainly killed him, had not four Cavaliers under the command of Alonfo de Mendoca, placed there on fuch occasions, come in to his rescue. Had not the Horse been overcharged with the weight of his Bull's Leather, he had cerminly out-run and escaped the Lance of Pedro Martin de Don Benito, who was mounred on an old lean Jade; and having performed this piece of bravery he returned again to the main Body of his Forces; but Licenciado Cepeda being relieved by the timely fuccours which came to his affiftence, he was taken out of the mire into which he was fallen, and conducted to kils the Prefident's Hand, who received him with great joy, and, as *Gomara* faith, kiffed him on the Cheek; looking up-on him for fo confiderable a perfon, as that by his defertion *Pigarro* was overcome.

Thus far Gomara.

Воок V.

After his example many other Souldiers both Horse and Foot came flocking in from all fides; amongst them was Martin de Arvieto, of whom we formerly made mention in the Battel of Huarina, and promifed to relate several things of him, of which this particular shall serve for one. He was well mounted on an excellent Horse, carrying his Lance in his Wrest, which fort of Weapon began to be out of use in those days; this Martin Arvicto was accompanied by a Souldier called Pedro de Arenas, born at Colmenar de Arenas, he was little of stature, but a near nimble fellow, and esteemed honest, and a good Souldier; he was mounted on a pretty dapper Mare of a brown Bay, with white streaks, but small and fit for the Mafter, and was more proper to ride about the streets than for an engagement in Battel; and because Arrieso had taken him under his protection, he held his Horse in with a stiff hand, that he might not leave his Companion; which Pedro Martin observing, who had already run four or five Footmen thorough with his Lance, immediately purfued after them: Martin de Arvieto who led the way, paffed eafily over the moorish ground, but Pedro de Arenas's Mare floundred in it, and after two or three plunges the threw her Rider into the mire and dirt, and the girts of the Saddle broke. Arvieto turning about and feeing his Comrade in the dirt, interposed between him and Martin de Don Benito, which when Benito faw, and that Arviero intended to fight him, he flopped his Horse and stood still: whereupon Martin de Arvicto called upon him, and faid, Advance Rafcal, and let us try which of us hath fucked the better milk: but Benito accepted not the challenge, but returned again to his companions. Pedro Martin made many of these fallies, and at last a shot took him on the right hand, with which his Lance falling, he came to Picarro without it, and told him, Sir, I am now disabled, and unfit farther for your fervice, and thereupon he retired into the Rere of the Horfe. During which time all the Souldiers that could, as well Horse as Foot, fled over to the Royal Camp; which when Francisco de Carvajal faw, and that, by reason of Pigarro's obstinacy, who perfifted ftill in his own humour, all was brought to destruction and ruine, he began to fing with a loud voice; Thus, Mother, doth the wind carry away my hairs two by two, and in this manner continued finging, and jesting upon those who rejected his countel, untill there was not one man remaining. At length the right Wing of Musquetiers, pretending unto great Faith and Loyalty, defired leave to be detached from the rest of the Body to skirmish with the Enemy, which being admitted, and they drawn out, so soon as they found themselves at some distance off, they all fet to running, and came over to the Prefident; which when he and his Officers observed, they resolved to decline fighting, in expectation that in a very short time all the Forces of Pigarro would come over to them; the which accordingly succeeded; for a party of thirty Horse being drawn out to pursue the

Foot, followed the same example, and surrendred themselves likewise to the President; in like manner forty Musquetiers of the left Wing took the same way without any purfuit made after them; for marching off in a Body they often faced abour intending to defend themselves in case they should meet any opposition: And more over by this time Alonso de Mendoça and Diego Centeno, with a party of fixty Horse had placed themselves between the Enemy and the Bog, to succour such as should make their escape. Carvajal all this time continued his Song, roaring it out aloud as he faw the parties run away. The Pike men, finding themselves naked and as he have the parties run away. The time and, mixing them to make for faken on both fides by their Musquetiers, and no possibility for them to make their flight, upon pretence of skirmish with the Enemy, all on a sudden threw down their Arms and fled by feveral ways, which put an end to all Pigarro's Forces This was the fuccels of the Battel of Satfahnana, if fo it may be called a Battel: in which there was neither blow with a Sword, nor push with a Lance, nor Mod quet thot of Enemy against Enemy, nor nothing more than what is before relatedand fo fudden was the destruction of *Picarro*, that if we should enlarge thereupon it would take up more time in the reading than there was in the transaction there. of. On Picarro's fide, as Gomera reports, ten or twelve were killed; all which dved by the hand of Pedro Martin de Don Benito, and other Officers in purfuit of the Fugitives, but by the Forces of the Prelident not a man was flain: though Historians say both Parties were within shot of each other, and whole Vollies were interchanged; vet it is certain they were above five hundred paces diffant each from the other: On the other fide but one was unluckily killed by the mifchance of a thot from his Companion.

# CHAP. XXXVI.

Gonçalo Picarro furrenders himself, judging it less dishonourable so to doe than to turn his back and sly. The discourse which passed between the President and him. The imprisonment of Francisco de Carvajal.

THE Pikemen having thrown down their Arms, Gonçalo Piçarro and his Captains were furprifed with a strange astronithment, being an Act contrary to all expectation: And then Picarro, turning his face to John de Acofta, faid, Brother John what shall we doe? Acofta, prefuming on his valour more than on his own discretion, answered, Sir, let us fight and dye like old Romans. No, said Pigarro, it is better to dye like Christians. *Gomara*, upon this occasion, Chap. 186, faith, that his words were like a good Christian and a valiant Man, for he judged it more honourable to surrender than to dye, for that he had never turned his back to his Enemy, &c. And he adds farther, that Picarro still kept himself in a very excellent garb, mounted on a brave Horse of a Chesnut colour; he was armed with a Coat of Mail, and over it a Wastcoat of Sattin well beaten with many doubles, and on his Head he wore a Helmet and Bever of Gold, &c. Angustine Carate fays, that the Coat which he wore over his Arms was of an incarnation Velvet, covered almost all over with bosses of Gold; and that he said to John de Acofla, fince all people are going over to the King, I also am going likewise, c.c. Having faid this, he proceeded to the Royal Camp, with those Captains who were contented to follow him; namely John de Aosta, Maldonado, John Velez de Guevara; and as he was going in this manner, he met with Pedro de Villavicencio; whom he observing to be well attended, asked who he was, and understanding that he was the Serjeant-Major; he faid to him, I am Gonçalo Piçarro and am going to render my felf to the Emperour: having faid this, he yielded up to him his Dagger which he carried in his hand, for that (as Carate faith) he had broken and spent his Lance upon his own people which fled from him. Fillavicencio was very proud of this his good fortune, and with many fair words returned him thanks for the great favour

# Book V. Royal Commentaries.

he had done him; and therefore in complement would neither require his Sword nor his Dagger which was girt about him, which was of confiderable value, the Hilt being all of beaten Gold: proceeding a little farther, he met with Diego Conwho faid, my Lord, I am heartily forrow to fee your Lordship in this condition. time, who laid, my Lord, I am heartly forlow to fee your Lordinip in this condition.

Gonçalo Piçarro smiled hereat a little, and replied, Captain Centeno, there is nothing to be said more upon this matter, my business is finished to day, to morrow you your selves will lament my sall; and without interchanging more words, he was carried directly to the President's Quarters, who received him in such manner as the three Authours agree; whose words we will faithfully repeat. Carate, Book the feventh Chapter the feventh, faith; And to he was carried before the Prefident, between whom some speeches passing which were judged to be bold and seditious, he was committed to the cultody of Diego Centeno, &c. Gomara, Chapter 186, faith, Villavicencio, being proud of fuch a Prisoner, conducted him forthwith to the presence of Gasea; who, amongst many other questions, asked of him, whether he thought he had done well in raifing War against the Emperour? to which Picarro replied, Sir, I and my Brothers gained this Countrey at our own coft and expence, and therefore I thought it no crime to aspire unto the Government, hawing his Majefty's word and Commission for it. Gasa in anger twice commanded that he should be taken from his presence, and the custody of him was committed to the charge of Diego Conteno, who petitioned for the fame. Palentino, Chap. 90th. relates the discourse which passed on this occasion, as follows; Gorgalo Pigarro, faith he, was carried before the Prefident, and being alighted from his Horse, he made his humble obeisance to him: the President laid his faults before him, and would have comforted him, but Picarro continuing still inflexible and obstinate; answered. That it was he who had gained that Countrey, and purting a smooth gloss on his actions, endeavoured to justifie whatsoever he had done which so provoked the President that he retorted very severely upon him in prefence of many standers-by, and told him plainly that whatsoever he could pretend had not fufficient force to cause him to swerve from the duty he owed to his Prince. much less to become ungratefull and obdurate; for granting that his Maiesty had conferred the favour and honour on his Brother the Marquis to govern this Countrey, yet confidering that thereby he had raifed both him and his Brothers from a mean and poor to a rich and high condition, and advanced him from the dunghill to a confiderable degree, it ought to be fo owned and acknowledged; effectively cially fince in the discovery of that Countrey there was nothing due to him: it is true his Brother might pretend to some merit therein, but he understood so well the favours his Majesty had conferred upon him as to esteem himself obliged for ever to continue loyal and within the terms of duty and respect: Picarro would have made some reply, but the President commanded the Marshal to take him away, and deliver him into the custody of Diego Comeno. Thus sar Palentino, and with him the other two Authours agree; but all of them are so short in the relation they give of this matter, that we think it necessary to recount the story more particularly as it paffed, which was this;

When Gonçalo Pigarro came to the place where the Prefident was, he found him alone with the Marthall; for the other Commanders, ashamed to fee him whom they had denied and fold, retired at some distance from them: the ceremonies of respect which were made passed on Horseback, for Pigarro did not alight seeing that every man kept himself on his Saddle, as did also the President; and the first thing he asked him was, Whether he thought he had done well in raising the Countrey against the Emperour, and making himself Governour thereof contrary to his Majesty's will and pleasure, and in killing his Vice-king in a pitch'd Battel: To which he made answer, that he had never made himself Governour, but was raifed thereunto by the Judges, who, at the request and defire of all the Cities of the Kingdom, had given him a Commission in pursuance and confirmation of that Act of Grace which his Majesty had conferred on his Brother the Marquis, impowering him to nominate a person to succeed him after his life; and that it was manifelt and notoriously known to all the world that he was the person nominated by his Brother: and that having gained the Kingdom. it was but just that he should be made Governour of it. And as to the Viceking, he was advifed by the Judges, as a thing lawfull and tending to the quiet-nels and peace of the Empire, and to his Majefty's fervice, to drive out a person from amongst them who was so little fit and qualified for Government: and as to

00000

his

his death he was not concerned in it; but he having oppreffed the people, and but many to death without either Reason or Law, was in revenge thereof killed by those whose Kindred, Friends and Relations were murthered by him. If those Messengers and Ministers he sent to his Majesty to render him an account of the flate of his Affairs here (who were the Men who fold and betrayed him) had been admitted and impartially heard, no doubt but his Majeffy would have accepted his fervices, and taken other counfels and measures than what now appear for whatfoever he acted then was at the perfuafion and with the concurrence of the Inhabitants and Representatives of the several Cities: and was made to believe by Judges and learned Counfellours, that what he acted was agreeable to

Law and Equity.

To which the Prefident made answer, That he had shewed himself very ungratefull and undeferving the gratious favour of his Majefty towards his Brother the Marquis, whom he had enriched, and, with all his Relations, had raifed from the dust to eminent degrees of Wealth and Honour; and that as to the discovery of the Countrey, he himself had contributed nothing thereunto. Well, replied Picarro, then let my Brother have the fole honour of this Discovery, yet it cannot be denied but that he had need of the help and affiftance of all the four Brothers, together with the aid of all our Family, and of fuch as were allied to it. The favour which his Majefty shewed to my Brother consisted onely in a bare Title without Estate or Revenue thereunto belonging: and if any one shall sav the contrary, I defire them to affign the place where fuch Estate or Revenue remains. And to fay that we were raifed from the duft, feems something hardh and frange, for it is well known that we entred Spain with the Goths, and have been Gentlemen for many Ages of an eminent and ancient Family. His Maielty according to his will and pleafure may beftow Offices and places of Truft on men of obscure originals, and raise them from the dust who were born in it: And if we were poor we fought our fortune through the world, and by our industry we acquired this Empire, which we have prefented to his Majesty, though we might have appropriated the same unto our felves, as others have done who have been the Discoverers of new and unknown Countries.

The President, angred at these sayings, cried out twice with a loud voice. Take him away, take him away, This Tyrant is the fame to day as he was yesterday; then Diego Centeno came and took him into his custody, having (as we have said) then Diego Centeno came and took him into his cultony, having (as we have laid) defined that Office of the Prefident. The other Captains were fent to different places, to be kept under fafe Guards', but Francifeo de Carvajal, though an aged man of eighty four years, out of a natural define to prolong life, made his escape and fled: he was mounted on a Horse of a light Chefinut colour, and something old; I knew him, and that he was called Boscavillo; he was a well-shaped Horse. and had been excellently good in his time: and being now to pass over a narrow Stream or Brook (as there are many in that Countrey) he haftily plunged down a Bank of eight Foot deep to the Water, and on the other fide it was as high to get up, and very rocky, to that having paffed over he laboured much to aftend the Bank: Carvajal, being old and corpulent, could give no help to his Horfe; for if he had onely held by his Main he had got over, but fwaying too much upon one fide, he pulled the Horse upon him, and both of them fell together into the Brook, and he under his Horse; in which condition his own Souldiers seised and took him and carried him away prisoner to the President, in hopes by such a

present and piece of service to obtain their own Pardons.

CHAP

#### XXXVII. CHAP.

What paffed between Francisco de Carvajal, Diego Centeno and the President. The imprisonment of the other Captains.

UPON the rumour that Carvajal was taken prisoner, the Souldiers came slocking to see a person so famous as was this Francisco de Carvajal, and instead of comforting him in this affliction, they put lighted Matches to his Neck, and endeayoured to thrust them down between his Shirt and his Skin; and going in this manner he espied Captain Diego Centeno, who had newly placed Gonçalo Piçarro in his Tent under a fafe Guard, and committed him to the charge of fix faithfull and trusty Friends; and being come out into the Field, Carvajal feeing him, cried out aloud, Captain Diego Centeno, you ought to esteem it as a particular service that I come to render my felf into your hands: the meaning of which was, that he having been the Lieutenant-General of an Army, and one who had often overthrown him in fight, and particularly at *Huarina*, did now in respect to him yield himself his Prisoner rather than to any other; which, according to the ceremonies of War amongst Captains and Souldiers, is esteemed a high complement; and that now he might fatisfie his revenge upon him, and triumph over his Enemy. Diego Centeno turning his face about, and feeing that it was Carvajal who called upon him; Sir, said he, I am forry to see you in this distress: I believe you, said Carvajal, to be a Christian and a Gentleman, and that you will deal with me accordingly, and that you will command these Gentlemen here not to treat me as they have done, meaning the lighted Matches; which when Conteno understood, and that the Rabble was not ashamed to persist and own the sact in his presence, thinking to please him by this usage of his Enemy, he bastanadoed them with his Cane, being a fort of Seamen and Clowns who followed the Camp, and acted according to their breeding. Centeno, having freed him from that vile fort of people, delivered him into the cultody of two Souldiers, who were to guard him, and not fuffer any injury or affront to be done him; and as they were carrying him away they met with the Governour Pedro de Valdivia, who defired of Centeno to grant him the honour of conducting the Prisoner before the President; which was affented unto, conditionally that he should afterwards send him to his Tent, being desirous to be his keeper, because he believed that in what place soever else he should be committed, he would be ill treated and subjected to many insolences and affronts, in revenge of the former cruelties he had done to others. And being brought by Valdivia before the President, he reproached him with the tyrannies and cruelties he had committed upon his Majesty's Subjects against the publick peace, and the allegeance he owed unto his Sovereign. To all which Carvajal answered not one word, nor submitted himself, nor seemed to give any attention to what was faid to him; but turned his eyes on each fide of him, with a grave and majestick look, as if he had been Lord Paramount of all those people who were about him; which when the Prefident perceived, he commanded him to be taken and carried to Diego Centeno, who placed him in a Tent apart from Pigarro, where they might have no fociety or converse together, nor see each other any more.

All the other Captains and Officers were likewise taken, some the same day, and others afterwards, so that not one of them escaped, excepting Captain John de la Torre, who lay concealed four months at Cozco in a poor straw Cottage of an Indian Servant of his, without any knowledge or tidings of him, as if he had been funk under ground, untill fuch time as a Spaniard unluckily made a discovery of him, not knowing that it was he, and then he was taken and hanged, though a

long time after the others.

826

Of the many Visits which were made to Carvajal in Prison. and the Discourse which passed between him and those who went to make their Triumphs over him:

A LL the Particulars which we have related concerning the Battel of Sufficient humans were acted and performed by ten a clock in the morning upon the ninth of April 1348. for matters beginning very early, all was ended and quieted by that hour: immediately hereupon the Prefident dispatched away two Captains to Cozeo, both to apprehend and feife those who were fled, and to prevent the Disorders of such who intended to plunder and sack the City. In the Evening many principal Persons and Captains went to make their Visits to the Prisoners some out of friendship to them, others because of their relation and alliance, and others for the fake of their Countrey: fome went to comfort them, and others out of interest and design to discover their Estates and Riches which they might inherit: onely those who made their Visits to Carvajal, could have none of these Confiderations, for he had neither Friend, nor Kinfinan, nor Countrey-man; and indeed it was no time then for any man to make known his friendthip towards him. Howfoever many Gentlemen of quality made their Visits to him, especial by young men who were free, and aiery, and curious, and went rather to triumph over him than to condole with him. But Carvajal was too wife and knowing of the World to regard them, but scorned and contemned them; as we shall shortly relate, when we come to repeat his feveral apt fayings, which I heard from those who were present that day, of which the Historians make mention of some; but in a different manner; and I shall add some others which they have omitted.

Carvajal being in prison, a certain Merchant came to him, and with much concernment told him, that some Souldiers under his command, had at such a place robbed and taken from him the value of many thousands of Ducats in merchandife; and I exfect, faid he, to receive fatisfaction from you who was their Captain and Commander, and fince you are shortly to dye, I charge this debt upon your Conscience. Carvajal looking about him, and seeing the Scabbard remaining in the Belt after they had taken away his Sword, he took it, and gave it to the Merchant; Here, Brother, faid he, take this in earnest and in part of what I owe you, for there is nothing more left me: the which he faid to convince the man of his simplicity and folly in demanding the restitution of thousands of Ducats from him, who had nothing remaining belides the Scabbard of a Sword: fo foon as this fellow was gon out, in comes another with the like demand: and having not wherewith to fatisfie him; he answered, that he did not remember he owed any man a farthing, unless it were three pence to a Tripe-woman, who lived near the Gate of Arenall at Sevile: And thus he answered one folly with another, to convince Fools who came to demand restitution of vast Sums from him, whom they faw without Hat or Cloak, and almost quite stripped by those who had taken him Prisoner: And indeed Carvajal himself was the richest Prize of any that was taken that day; for he always carried his wealth with him, which was in Gold, and not in Silver, for the better convenience of its carriage: we might add divers other fayings which passed that day between him and men of mean condition, but we shall leave them, to recount other Stories between him and persons of of greater quality: Amongst which there came in one who was a man of fashion and a Captain, very chearfull and brisk, and a great Courtier, and very quick in his Repartees; and amongst the rest of his vertues, he was much addicted to whoring and drinking, and made open profession of them. And having difcoursed some time with Carvajal, at the conclusion of all he told him, that he had managed many weighty things wherewith he had defiled his confcience; and that fince he was speedily to dye, he exhorted him to examine himself, to repent of his Sins, to confess them, and ask pardon of God. Sir, answered Carvijal, you have spoken like a Christian and a Gentleman as you are: and pray also ap

ply the same Counsel to your self, which will be as wholsome for you as for me: And now pray do me the favour to reach me a cup of that liquor which the Indians are drinking: the Gentleman prefently arose from his Sear, and with out other reply, went and fetched a Diffi of that liquor, and brought it to Carvaid; who received it; and to show his compliance with the Gentleman's kindness. drank it. and threw the dith from him: And thus this Spark was repaid for his good Counfel; by which he was put fo out of countenance, that when he afterwards jefted with any of his friends, and that any of them found him too nimble in his Repartees; they would fay, Away, away, Let us goe to Carvajal, and he will his tepatices, they would be a supported by the support of the sup publish and boast of them; began to preach to Carvajal in the same manner as the other had done, feeming very zealous for his Repentance, being shortly to dve. To which Carvajal made this answer, You have spoken, Sir, like a Saint, but we have this Proverb, A young Saint, and an old Devil: with which this young Gentleman was put to filence. But another Gentleman received severer language from him, being known to come with intention to fcorn and triumph over him. rather than to admonish or comfort him: for his Salutation was this; I kis your Worship's hands, Good Seignior Lieutenant General: For though your Worship's hands, Good Seignior Lieutenant General: For though your Worship would have hanged me at such a place; yet, (having now forgotten it) I come to know wherein I may serve you, which I shall readily perform without remembrance of my late ill usage. Sir, replied Carvajat, What is it you can doe for me, which you offer with such mighty oftentation and gravity? Can you save my life? If you cannot doe that, you can doe nothing; When, as you say, I would have hanged you, I could have done it if I had pleased: but perhaps you were so much a Rafcal, that I did not think you worth the hanging; and now, forfooth, you would fell me what you have not. Go your ways, in the Name of God, before I fay worfe to you. In this manner did he foom and triumph over his Enemies, and never did he carry himfelf with that constancy of mind, authority, gravity and steadiness as he did that day when he was taken. I was acquainted with all those three Gentlemen whom I have here mentioned, but it is not reason to name any man, but on occasion of some great action: but they all afterwards became Citizens of Cozco, and had the best quarters of that City assigned to them,

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Captains who were executed, and how their Heads were fent into divers parts of that Kingdom.

To the preceding Discourses we shall add this one of a different nature to all the rest. There was a certain Souldier called Diego de Tapia whom I knew, and of whom I have made mention in our History of Florida, lib. 6. chap. 18. and who had been one of Carvajal's Souldiers, and much esteemed by him, because he was a good Souldier, active and fit for business. He was of little stature, but well shaped and had revolted over to Carvajal before the Battel of Huarina; this poor fellow, coming to Carvajal, wept, and shed many tears with great tenderness: alas, Sir, said he, Father, how much am I troubled to see you in this distress; I wish to God, that my life might satisfie for yours, for it could never be better offered than for you. Alas, Sir, how much am I grieved for you! had you fled, and made your escape with me, it had fared otherwise with you. To which Carvajal replied, I do not doubt of the forrow and sense you have of my condition; and I am much obliged to you for the expressions you have made of your good will to me, offering to exchange your life, to purchase mine. But tell me, Brother Diego, since we were such great and intimate Friends, why thou didst not tell me of thy intention to be gone, that we might have fled away together? With which Answer the Standers by were much pleased.

828

pleafed, and laughed, wondering to fee fuch prefence of mind and readiness of spirit in a man of his condition to reply so aptly on every thing that was said to him. All this and much more passed between Carvajal and others, on the very day of this Battel, or rather a Defeat without a Battel: But as to Gonçalo Picare, he remained alone, and no company admitted to see him, because he so defined it: unless Diego Centeno and six or seven principal Souldiers more, who were set over him for his guard.

The day following Gongalo Picarro and his Lieutenant General, with all the Captains taken, were brought to Execution, as Gomara relates, chap, 187, and particularly nominates John de Acosta, Francisco Maldonndo, John Velex de Guevara, Dionifio de Bovadilla, Gonçalo de Los Nidos; and fays, that of the last of them, they drew his Tongue out at the Nape of his Neck; but he alledges no reason for its onely we may believe, it was for treasonable words spoken against his Imperial Majefty: all these and many others were hanged; and though they were Gentlemen, yet they loft their privilege by becoming Trayters and Rebels to their King: After they were executed, their Heads were cut off, and fent into divers parts and Cities of the Countrey: The Heads of John de Acoft and Francisco Maldonado were pitched upon Iron Spikes in the Market place of Cozco, which I faw there, though Palentino, chap. 92. faith, that Acoffa's Head was fet up at Los Reyes: the Head of Dionifio de Bovadilla, and another with his, was carried to Arequepa; and thereby that which the good Lady Joan de Leyton prefaged of this Bovadilla, was accomplished; faying, when he carried the Head of Lope de Mendo catobe fet up in that City, that they should in a short time take that Head down, and fet up his in the place thereof. The several Authours write, that they hastned the execution of Gonçalo Pigarro and of his Officers concerned with him, with all expedition possible; for they conceived that the Countrey could not be fafe and in peace whilst they were living. Picarro received sentence to have his Head cut off for a Traytor, his houses in Coxco demolished, and the ground sowed with Salt, and thereon a Pillar raised with this Inscription; These are the

Dwellings of that Traytor Gonçalo Piçarro, &c. All which I my felf have feen performed and acted, and those very houses razed to the ground, which were once the lot of Gonçalo Piçarro and his Brothers, when the Countrey was divided: that place in the Indian Tongue was called Coracora, which is as much as to fay, The Herb-garden. Picarro, as we have faid, was deteined a Prisoner in the Tent of Captain Diego Centeno, where they used him with the same respect as had been given him in the time of his greatest Prosperity: all that day he would eat nothing, though invited to it, but walked up and down the whole day very penfive and full of thoughts. After some hours in the night he called to Centeno, and asked him whether he was fecure for that night; his meaning was, whether they would kill him that night, or let him live until the next day; for he was not ignorant that his Enemies thirsted after his bloud in fuch a manner that every hour feemed a year to them untill he was dispatched out of this World. Centeno answered, that he might reft secure as to that, howsever his mind was unquiet; he lay down after Mid-night and flept for about the space of an hour, and then arifing again, he walked untill break of day; and fo foon as it was light, he defired to have a Confessour, with whom he remained until Noon: where we will leave him for awhile to entertain our felves with a Narrative of the manner how Carvajal behaved himself that day, which in reality was not fo wild and extravagant as one of our Authours reports it to have been; but in a far different manner, as I shall relate with great truth and impartiality: Nor am I moved to speak favourably of him in respect to former benefits and engagements which I have received from him; but rather the contrary, for he defigned to have killed my Father after the Battel of Huarina, and fought for some pretences for it, arifing from jealoufie and his own vain fulpicions. Howfeever an Historian ought to lay aside all prejudice and malice against any person, nor speak out of favour or affection, but clearly to relate matter of fact for information of posterity in after-Ages: And accordingly I protest as a Christian, that I have a breviated many particulars, and omitted divers circumstances of things that I might not feem biaffed towards any person, or plainly to contradict the allegations of the aforesaid Authours, and particularly Palentino, who came late into this Countrey; and took up many Fables which the common People reported for Truths, according to the feveral Factions and Parties which they followed. The

The things which I have faid already, and what I shall hereafter add more distinctly, I took up at first in the time of my youth, as I heard them accidentally discoursed amongst men: for indeed about that time, and for some years afterwards, there was scarce any meeting of Persons of Quality but where these pathages were the common entertainment: Afterwards, in my more ripe years, I received a farther information thereof from those who had been Guards to the persons of Carvajal and Gongalo Pigarre: for the Tents wherein these two persons were lodged were near to each other; so that the Souldiers who were appointed to be their Guards, being Persons of Note; did often change their stations, and pass from one Tent to another: and upon their Testimonies who have seen and

Royal Commentaries.

heard these Matters I ground my Relation.

And now to their the difference between the particulars related by this Authour touching the behaviours of Carvajat and Picarro after their imprisonment: and that which we have written and shall write hereafter, we shall extract some few favings of them, which indeed are nothing but vulgar talk and ffreet-news. and not received by Persons of Quality and understanding. That which Palentino faith, Chap, the 90th, is this: Then they carried Francisco de Carrojal before the Prefident; who was taken in the purfuit as he was fallen in a Bog; and as he was conducted by Pedro de Valdivia, the Commonalty was fo incenfed against him, that they would have killed him; which Carvinal perceiving, defired the Prefident not to hinder them, but fuffer them to kill him in that very place. It happened at that time, that the Bithop of Cozco came to him, and faid, wherefore was it, Carmial, that thou killedft my Brother? for he had hanged his Brother Nineues, after the Battel of Guarina: To which he answered, that he had not killed him: Who was it then, faid the Bithop? His own deftiny, faid Carvajal: with which the Bifloo growing angry, and laying before him the crime he committed in the murther of his Brother, he bore up to him, and gave him three or four blows over the Face with his Fift.

In like manner much People flocked in upon him, giving him opprobrious language, reviling him for the many ill and cruel actions that he had done; to all which Carvajal was filent, and made no reply; At that time Diego Centeno coming in, reproved the people for their rude treatment of him; which canfed Carnaid to look earneftly upon him; and ask him, who he was, that dealt fo civily with him: Conteno replyed, Sir, do not you know Diego Conteno? In truth, Sir, faid Caranial, I have feen your back parts to often, that coming now to fee your face: I fearce knew you; meaning the purfuits he had made after him: Howfoever Conteno was fo little offended at this reply, that he followed him into the Tent, where he was detained prisoner, and still continued to offer him all the services which were in his power to doe for him, though he was well affured, that if he were in his condition, he would not thew the like to him; which when Carvajal heard, he made a little paufe and ftop, and faid, Seignior Diego Centeno, I am no fuch Child or Fool, as with the fear and apprehenfion of death, to be moved unto fo much folly and vain hopes, as to request of you any kindness or good Office; nor do I remember at any time, in the best days of my life, that ever such a ridiculous proposal was made to me as this formal offer of service which you make me; which having faid, they carried him into the Tent.

In all the Royal Army there was but one man killed, of *Pigarro's* there were fifteen, which happened according to the difforition of Divine Providence; that his Majefly might have occation thereby to exercife his mercy and clemency towards *Pigarro's* and his Souldiers. And thus did God out of his infinite compaffion put an end to thefe troubles, with fo little effution of bloud as this which happened: which indeed was very frange, in cafe we confider, that on both fides there were fourteen hundred Mufquetiers, feventeen pieces of Cannon, above fix hundred Horfe, with a great number of Piques and Lances: for when the King's party perceived in what manner their Enemies were loft and defeated, they had nothing to doe, but to receive them, and give them quarter when they furren-

dred. ở~c.

In the following Chapter, which is the ninety first, having related the sentence which was passed upon Gongalo Pigarro; he there adds, that when several gave their Votes to have his quarters set up in the publick places of the City, the President, out of respect to the Marquis, his Brother, resused to give his consent there unto: and that at his death he shewed himself very penitent for the fins he had committed

committed against God, the King and his neighbours. The same day Francisco A. Carnaid was executed: he was drawn and quartered; and his quarters diffuoled of in divers places about the City of Cozco: but his Head with that of Picarro's was and carried to Lima: and Pigarro's house likewise in that City was demolished, and the ground strewed with Salt, with a Motto or Inscription set thereupon. This Carvaial, from the time that he was taken, to the time that he was executed shewed as little fear and apprehension, and was as little concerned at the approach of death, as he had been at any time of his greatest prosperity: for when the sentence was declared to him, he received it without any alteration or change in his tence was declared to him, the received it without any anteration of change in his countenance; and faid, 'Tis no matter, I can but dye. That day in the morning Carvajal asked how many had been executed; and when it was told him, that none had been as yet; he faid, your Lord Prefident is a very merciful Prince, for if the fortune of the day had been ours, I should at one fitting have disposed of the quarters of nine hundred men. He was hardly perfuaded to come to confect fion, for he told them, that he had confessed lately; and when they talked to him of reftitution, he laughed aloud; faying, that he had nothing to fay as to that point; and swore that he owed nothing to any person, unless half a Royal to a Tripe-woman who lives at the Gate of Arenal in Sevile, which debt he made at the time when he remained there in expectation of a paffage into the Indie; being on the hurdle to be drawn and crouded into a Hamper instead of a large Flaf ket; he faid, Children and Old men are put into Cradles: and being come to the place of execution, the people crouded fo to fee him, that the Hang-man had the piace of execution, the people trouded to to fee him, that the riang-man had not room to doe his duty; and thereupon he called to them, and faid, Gentlemen, pray give the Officer place to doe Justice. In fine, he died more I'ke a brave Roman than a good Christian. Thus far *Palentino*, whose relation seem to be grounded on the report of some persons who hated Carvajal for the evil had done them, and not being able to wreak their anger on his person, would satisfie their revenge upon his fame and reputation.

## CHAP. XL.

What Francisco de Carvajal said and did on the day of his death, and what account Authours give of his condition and skilfulness in War.

DUT now to return to what this Authour faid. It is not to be believed, that B a Bishop so religious as he of Cozco was, should either in publick or in secret strike an old man of eighty four years of age ; nor is it probable that Diego Centeno who was a discreet and judicious person should offer his service with so much complement as is reported, to a man whom he knew would be executed in a few hours. Nor can we think that Francisco de Carvajal, of whom all Writers give the character of a fober, discreet person; and in testimony thereof publish many of his wife and fententious fayings, should utter fuch vile and unseemly expressions as are before related: Nor yet are these stories to be fathered on the Authour, who no doubt heard and received them in the City, where they were framed and vented, and may properly pass for Shams, which are lyes formed and coloured to pass for truths. For Francisco de Carvajal did not dissemble his knowledge of Cemeno, but discoursed with him, as is mentioned; and I am well assured thereof from the testimony of those who that very day were present at the meeting of these persons. And though Gomara, in Chap. 187. confirms almost the same, yet it is with so little difference, that 'tis probable Palentino took it from his Narrative. For fo it was, that a Souldier of principal rank amongst those of Pern, coming into Spain, soon after Gemara's History was published, accidentally met with this Authour in the Streets, and having some discourse with him upon several passages, he asked him, how he durst adventure to print so manifest a lye, when no such thing passed; and thereunto

thereinto added several other affrontive words, not convenient to be reported here. For which Gonara could make no other excuse, than that he did not frame the Story himself, but received it from others whose passion might cause them to meakmalitiously: to which the Souldier replied, that it was the part of a different Historian not to take up reports upon common hearlay, but to weigh every thing with mature deliberation, so as neither to praise men who are worthy of commendation, nor vet defame fuch who deferve honour and high efteem; and heremon Gomara departed from the Souldier greatly troubled, that he should sav in his History, that Carvajal did not know to Centeno. And as false it is that Garraial should fay, that he would have dispersed the quarters of nine hundred men through those fields, for certainly he never was so vain and inconsiderate to uner such matters. And now I shall tell what I heard from those who were in company with him all that day; and I much depend upon their Relation, having ben educated with them from nine years of age untill I came to be twenty. when I left my own Countrey, and went into Spain: The truth of which Story is this; So foon as it was day, Francisco de Carvajal sent to call to him Pedro de Lovez. de Caçalla, Secretary to the Prelident Gasea; and after he had discoursed with him for some time in private, he drew out three very fine Emeralds, with a hole dilled through them to hang on a string; two of them were of an oval form, and the other round, which he tied upon his left Arme: and taking the biggeft of them anart from the rest, he said, Mr. Secretary, this belongs to the Heirs of Antonio Altamarino, and is valued at five thousand vieces of Eight, which make fix thousand Ducats: I defire the favour of you, to fee it restored to the true Proprietor: the other belongs to fuch an one (whose name I have forgot) which is valued at four thousand pieces of Eight; and in like manner I defire you to see it given to the right Owner. This, which is the leaft, is my own; which I defire you to fell for me, and whatever it produces, to employ it in Maffes, to be faid for my Soul, that God may accept thereof, and pardon my Offences. The Secretary, not pleafed with this offer, told him, that he expected from him some larger offers of restitution, and that if he were disposed so to doe; he would add ten thousand pieces of Eight of his own, to make up his a greater sum, and that he would bestow it, as he should direct. Sir, said Carvajal, I never raised this War, nor was I the cause of it; and that I might vavoid all Engagements therein, I was upon my Voyage into Spain, and advanced several leagues on the way: but being disappointed of means to escape; I took the side which fell to my Lot, as Souldiers of fortune use to doe; and as I did when I served the Emperour in quality of Serjeant Major, under Vaca de Castro, who was Governour of this Kingdom. If there have been Robberies and Plunderings on either fide committed, we must attribute them to the natural effects of War: for my own part. Itook nothing from any man, but contented my felf with what was given me out of free will: and at the conclusion of all, they have taken every thing from me, Imean, what was given me, and what I possesse before the beginning of this War. All which I refer to the infinite mercy of God our Lord, whose pardon Ibeg for all my Offences, and that he would profper and preferve you, and repay you the charity you have offered me; for the Good-will ought to be effeemed for the Deed. And thus ended this Discourse with the Secretary. In the afternoon the Secretary fent him a Confession, as he desired, whom he entertained with his Confession untill towards the Evening; and in the mean time the Officers of Justice sent two or three times to hasten his dispatch, that the sentence might be executed: but Carvajal was defirous to protract the time till night, that he might fuffer in the dark. But it was not granted him, for the Judge Cianca and the Major General Alonfo de Alvarado, who had passed sentence upon him were very importunate to have him dispatched, untill which time every moment seemed weeks and years. Atlength being brought out of the door of the Tent, he was crouded into a fort of Basket in nature of a hurdle, drawn by two great Mules which had not gone above three or four paces before he was overturned, with his face on the ground; and lifting up his head, as well as he was able, he called out to those who followed him, Gentlemen, consider, that I am a Christian, which was no sooner said, than he was raised up again by at least thirty of the Prime Souldiers belonging to Diego Centeno: and one of them particularly told me, that when he came to the Basket, he thought it had been one of the largest fize, but when he came to put his hand under it, he found that he was so thrust and crou-Ppppp

Royal Commentaries.

ded into it, that he could not get out one of his Armes, he was fo penned within. to that they were forced to carry him to the foot of the Gallows, which was erected on this occation. All the way he went he faid his prayers in Latin, which the Souldier, who gave me this relation, did not understand; the two Priests who went along with him did ever and anon put him in mind to recommend his Soul unto God; to which Carvajal made answer, So I do, Sir, and said no more; in this manner being come to the place of execution, he submitted with all hamili ty to his death, without speaking a word, or shewing any misdemeanour. Thus dved the brave Francisco de Carvajal, of whom at his death Gomara, Chap. 182 gives this Character:

He was eighty four years of age when he died, he had been an Enfign at the Battel of Ravenna, and Souldier under a very great Captain; he was the most famous Warriour of all the Spaniards, who had passed into the Indies, though he had no great parts, nor great experience. But I know not what Gomera means in fo faving; for what greater testimonies can a chief Officer give of his abilities and experience than to overcome in Battel, and know how to gain Victories over his enemies. Some Historians say of him, that he was born in a certain Village of Arevalo, called Ragama; it is not known of what Family he was, onely that he had been a Souldier all his life, and was an Enfign at the Battel of Ravenna; and as hath been faid, he was prefent when the King of France was taken prifoner at Pavia: he was also at the sacking of Rome, but got nothing there, it happening to him, as to other good Souldiers, that whilft they are fighting the Cowards run away with the booty. Three or four days after the Town was taken and facked Carvaial finding that no share of the prey fell to him, he entred into a Notary's or Scrivener's Shop, where he found great numbers of Writings, Bills, and Bonds, and Conveyances of Estates, all which Carvajal scised upon, and carried away four or five Mules lading thereof, and lodged them at his own Quarters: fo foon as the fury of the plunder was over, and that things began to be quiet, the Scrivener returning to his House perceived that all his Writings were carried away, and confidering that no man could make any benefit thereby, he hunted up and down all the Town for them, and at length finding them in Carvajal's hands, he agreed for a thousand Ducats to have them restored; which enabled him to make a Voyage to Mexico; with his Wife Donna Catalina Leyton; though some, as we have faid, will not allow her to be his Wife: howfoever it is certain he was married to her. and the was generally effeemed for his Wife over all Peru, and for a vertuous Woman of noble extraction; for the Family of the Legions is very ancient in the Kingdom of Portugal. From Mexico (as we have faid) Carvajal passed to Peru; and in all the course of his life the War was his delight, and the thing which he loved and adored, availing himfelf more on the reputation of a Souldier than of a good Chriftian: and this is the character which all Authours give of him; though generally speaking, he was not so bad as is reported, for he esteemed it the principle of a good Souldier to be a man of his word, and he was very gratefull for any benefit, gratuity, or kindness given or shewn to him. Augustine Carate, speaking of

Carvajal, Book 5. Chap. 14. hath these words;
He was a man of a middle stature, very corpulent, and of a ruddy and sanguine complexion; he was very skilfull in military affairs, having always been practifed in War: he was very patient of labour and hardfhip, much more than was agreeable to his age: for it is strange to consider, that neither day nor night he put off his Arms, nor did he lie on a Bed when it was necessary for him to take his natural rest, but onely reposed himself on a Chair with his Arm under his Head, He was fo great a lover of Wine, that when he found no Spanish Wine he would drink of that Liquor which the Indians use, which never any Spaniard, that I have feen, did ever delight in. He was very cruel in his nature; for he put many people to death upon very flight causes, and some without any fault or cause at all; onely for reasons of State, or conservation of the military Discipline: and when he put them to death he did it without any remorfe or compassion, passing upon them jeers and farcasms, and shewing himself pleasant and facetious at that unseasonable time. In short, he was a very bad Christian, as he shewed both by

his words and actions. Thus far Angustine Carate.

## CHAP. XLI.

Of the Cloaths which Francisco de Carvajal wore, and of some of his quaint Sentences and Sayings.

Rancifeo de Carvajal did much value himself on the trade and formalities of a Souldier; he commonly wore, instead of a Cloak, a Moorish Bornoz or Plad of a brown Colour, with a Fringe and a Cape to it; in which habit I have of ten feen him. On his Head he wore a Hat, having the brims lined with black Taffaty, and a plain Silk Hatband, with a plume of white and black Feathers taken from the Wings and Tails of common Cocks or Hens, twined one within the other in form of an X, the which piece of gallantry he affected, that his Souldiers might follow his example, and wear any Feathers whatfoever; for he would often lay, that Feathers were the proper badge of a Souldier and not of a Citizen, for that which was the drefs of one was a fign of fantaftical lightness in the other: and that he that wore this Device did thereby promife great valour and bravery; that is, That he would fight with one fingly and kill him, flay for two, and not fly from three: and though this was not Carvajat's faying, but an old Proverb amongst the Souldiery relating to their Feathers, yet he was a man who, on all occasions, uttered many quaint Sayings and Sentences full of wit and pleafantness: I wish I could remember them all for divertifement of the Reader, but fuch as I can call to mind, and are modeft and civil, I shall repeat; for he used much liberty in his freech, and fome undecencies which are not fit to be mentioned.

Carvajal meeting upon a certain time with a Souldier who was crooked in his Body, and very ill inaped, asked him, Sir, What is your name? to which he made answer, that it was — Hurtado, which is as much as a thing stoln. I for my part, said Carvajal, should be troubled to find you, much more to steal. Carvajal marching one day with his Troops, chanced to meet with a Friar, who was a Lay-brother, and as there were no Lay-Friars at that time in the Countrey, and I know not whether any of them are come thither fince, he suspected that he was a Spie, and would have hanged him; but to be the better affured thereof, he invited him to dinner; and then to make an experiment whether he was a Friar or not, he ordered his Servants to give him drink in a Cup fomething bigger than ordinary, to try if he took it with both hands, or with one; and feeing that he took it with both hands, he became affured that he was a Friar, and fo called to him, Drink it up, Father, drink it up, for it will give you life: meaning that if he had not drank it in that manner he should have been confirmed in his supposition, and would most

certainly have hanged him.

Carvajad having one of his greatest enemies in his power, and intending to hang him; the Prisoner asked him in a kind of menacing way what reason he had to put him to death, and faid, Sir, Pray tell me plainly what reason you have to kill me? Oh, said Carvajal, I understand you well, you are desirous to be esteemed a Martyr, and lay your death at my door: Know then that I hang you for being a loyal Servant to his Majesty; go your ways then, and take your reward for your faithfulness and al-

legiance, and with that he fent him to the Gallows.

Caronial travelling in Collao met with a Merchant who had employed about fourteen or fifteen thouland pieces of Eight in Merchandise, which he had brought from Spain to Panama, and faid to him, Brother, according to the custome of War, all these goods belong properly to me. The Merchant, who was a cunning sellow, fitted and ready for fuch replies as fuited best with Souldiers and his humour, answered him chearfully, Sir, Whether War or Peace this Merchandife is yours, for we are Partners, and in the name of both of us I traded at Panama, and intended to have divided the gains between us; and in token thereof I have brought with me from Panama two Barrels of red Wine, and two dozen of Iron Shoes, and Nails for your Mules; for in those times (as we have before mentioned) every Shoe for Horse or Mule was worth a Mark in Silver; which having said, he sent for the Wine and Horse shoes, and in the mean time produced the Writing of Partnership between them. Carvajal received the Wine and the Horfe-shoes very kindly, and Ppppp 2

to thew how well he accepted them, he gave him Commission to be a Captain. with a Warrant requiring the *Indians* to ferve him upon the way, and to furnish with a Warrant requiring the Indian's to lerve into upon the way, and to turnish him with necessaries for his Journey; and farther commanded, that no Merchant in Potocs should open his Shop or sell any thing until his Partner had cleared his hands of all his Merchandise. The Merchant, proud of these favours, went his way and sold his Goods at the rates he pleased; and having gained above thirty thousand pieces of Eight, he returned to Carvajal, and to secure himself of his sa your, he told him, that he had gained eight thousand pieces of Eight in Partner. thin with him, and that four thousand, which was the moiety thereof belonged to him: Carvajal, to make his Souldiers merry, began to speak in the Merchant's phrase and style; and told him that he could not be satisfied with a general account until he faw his Book. The Merchant readily drew it out, and read the feveral parcels, as, Imprimis, for so many pieces of Cloth of Gold; Item, so many pieces of Sartin, so many of Velvet, so many of Damask, so many fine Cloarlis of Signuia Wool, fo many pieces of fine Holland and Cambrick, and fo feveral of them with their prices, which he brought from Spain; the last parcel of all was three dozen of Combs, which amounted to fo much. Carvayal was filent until he came to this parcel; and then he cried out, hold, hold, reade that parcel once again: which when he had done, he turned about to his Souldiers, and faid,  $D_0$ not you think, Gentlemen, that he charges me over much in this parcel of Combs? The Souldiers laughed heartily to hear him frop at this matter of the Combs, and to pass by all the groffer sums preceding. Thus was the Partnership dissolved, and Carvajal, having taken his share of the gains, dispatched away his Partner well treated and favoured by him; as he did all those who brought him any benefit.

This paffage, or some other very like it, a certain Authour relates in a different manner, which was this: Carvajal, purfuing after Diego Conteno, happened one day to take three of his Souldiers, two of which being the most considerable. he hanged up prefently; and coming to the third, he found him to be a stranger and a native of Greece, called Master Francisco, and pretended to be a Chinggeon, though in reality he knew nothing of that Profession; and this fellow, as the greatest Miscreant of the three, he ordered should be hanged on the highest Gibbet: Francife, hearing this Sentence, faid to him, Sir, Why will you trouble your felf to hang fuch a pitifull Rascal as I am, who am not worth the hanging, and who have never given you any cause of offence; and, Sir, I may be usefull to you in curing your wounds, being a Chirurgeon by my profession: well, said he, go thy mays, and I pardon thee for whatfoever thou haft already done or shalt doe for the fu-Ture, on condition that thou cave my Mules, for I am five thou art more a Farrier than a Dottonr. Mafter Francisco, having got free by these means, in a sew months time afterwards he made his escape, and served Diego Centeno, and after the Battel of Huarina being again taken, Carvajal ordered that he should be hanged; but Mafter Francisco desired his Worship's excuse, for that at such a time he had pardoned him both for what was past and what should be hereafter: and hereof I challenge your paroll, as becomes the honour of a Souldier, which I know you highly esteem. The Devil take thee, said Carvajal, and dost thou remember this now? I'll keep my Promife, go, look after my Mules, and run away as often as thou wilt; if all the enemles of my Lord the Governour were like thee we should soon be Friends. The story of Master Francisco is told of a certain Priest in the same manner onely with change

In his pursuit after Diego Centeno he took three persons of those which he called Weavers or Trimmers; who, as their necessities urged them, ran from one side to another; and of this fort of people he pardoned none, but hanged as many of them as he could catch: and having hanged two of them, the third thinking to plead something for his pardon, told him, that he had been his Servant, and had eaten often of his Bread; his meaning was, that often times, as a Souldier, he had eaten with him at his Table. Cursed, said Carvajal, be that Bread which bath been so ill employed: and eurning to the Executioner, take me this Gentleman, and have him up on the highest branch of sonder Tree, having had the bonour to eat of my Bread. And left this Chapter should be over long we have thought fit to divide it into two parts.

#### CHAP. XLII.

Of other passages like the others; and what happened by a Boy who touched one of the Quarters of Carvaial.

HEN he marched out of Cozco to go to Collato with three hundred Souldiers after him, all drawn up in form of Battel; for he was much pleafed to fee his men well exercifed and marching in good order. A little more than a league from the City, he observed one of his Souldiers to feparate from the rest of the Company, and to retire behind a Rock in the way for his natural easement:

Carvajal, who remained always in the Rere, the better to observe the march of his Troops, seemed very angry and much displeased with the Souldier for leaving his Rank; the Souldier excused himself, being urged by his natural necessities.

How, said Carvajal, a good Souldier of Peru, who is the best Souldier in the world, ought to eat his Loas of Bread at Cozco, and east it out again at Chuquisaca, which are two hundred leagues distant each from the other.

At another time Carvajal travelling with five or fix Companions, they brought him a roafted Leg of Mutton of that large kind of Sheep which are in that Countrey, and which are half as big more as those are in Spain: One of those in the company called Hernan Perex Tablero, who was a familiar Friend of Carvajal, offered to be Carver, and as a bad Husband in his Office cut out large flices: What doft thom mean, said he, to cut out such great pieces? I give every man, answered he, his proportion; it is well done, said Carvajal, for the Devil is in his Gut who comes so

When Carvajal was returned victorious from the pursuit he had made after Diego Cemeno, he made a Banquet at Cozco, and invited all his Captains and chief Officers thereunto: and though Wine was dear at that time, and worth three hundred pieces of Eight the Arobe, or twenty five pounds weight, being about fix Gallons English measure, yet the Guests drank freely of it, and not being accustomed to drink Wine, they were all so disordered that some fell a-sleep in their Chairs, others on the Floor, some tumbled down, and every one was ill accommodated and in disguise; which when Donna Catalina Leyton, coming forth from her Chamber, saw, she, in a scorning manner, said, alas for poor Pern, that thou shoulds have the missortune to be governed by such people as these; which when Carvajal heard, Peace, said he, you old Jade, and let them sleep but two hours, for there is not one of these sellows but is able to govern half a world.

At another time, having imprisoned a rich man for some words which he was accused to have said against him, and having detained him in prison for want of due evidence and proof of matters against him, though he seldom stood upon those niceties to dispatch his Enemies: The poor man finding that his Execution was delayed, he imagined, that the onely way to fave his life was to ransome himself with money; for it was well known that Carvajal had on the like occasion taken the present and been reconciled: upon this supposition, he sent for a Friend of his and desired to bring him two Ingots of Gold, which he had laid in such a place, which being brought to him, he sent them to Carvajal, desiring him to hear his Cause, and his Answers to the Accusations of his enemies: Carvajal having received the Gold, went to visit the Prisoner, whose lodging was in his House: And the Prisoner pleading that he was fallly accused, defired him to be satisfied with the mifery he had already fuffered, and that he would pardon him for God's fake, promifing for the future to become a true, faithfull and a loyal Servant to him, as he would find in time. Carvajal, taking his Ingots of Gold, faid with a loud voice (that the Souldiers in the yard below might hear him) why, sir, having so authentick Writings and Papers to shew as you have, did not you produce them before: Go your ways in God's name in peace, and live securely, for though we are against the

King, it is not reason that we should likewise be enemies to the Church of God.

We have formerly in another place related how Carvajal strangled Donna Maria Calderon, and hanged her out at a Window of her Lodgings; we were then very brief in this narrative, and did not plainly specific the particular words and reasons,

not to interrupt, by a long digreffion, the proper current of the History, we shall now supply that defect in this place. Donna Maria Calderon, though residing in her enemies quarters, and in their power, yet made it her common difcourse in all companies, to speak openly against Gonçalo Piçarro, and notwithstanding Carvajal, to whom the informations were brought, did twice or thrice admonish her to be less liberal in her language, and to be more prudent and cautious in her speeches, as did other Friends who wished her well; howsoever she made no use of this good counsel, but vented her passion with more liberty and indicretion than before: whereupon Carvajal went one day to her Lodging, and told her (Lady Goffip) 1 am come to cure you of your too much prating, and I know no other remedy for it than to chook you: but the, following her pleasant humour, and thinking that Carvajal was in jeft; away, faid the, you drunken Fool in the Devil's name, for though you jeft, I will ftop my ears to you, and not hear: in earneft, faid he, I do not jeft; for I come to cure you of too much loquacity: for that you may not prate as you have done, I come to freighten the wideness of your Throat; and to shew you that I am in earnest, behold here are my Ethiopian Souldiers at hand who are to doe you this fervice; for he always carried three or four Negroes with him for such Offices as this: hereupon he went his way, and his Mymidons immediately ftrangled her, and hanged her Body out at a Window looking to the Street; and as he was under, he cast up his eyes and said, Upon my life, Lady Gossip, if this be not a remedy to affright you from too much talking, I know not what other

Royal Commentaries.

Carvajal being at a certain City where his Souldiers were quartered upon the Inmeans to ufe. habitants, and having occasion to march from thence, two months afterwards he returned again to the same City; where an Officer of the Town, fearing that they would quarter the same Souldier upon him which formerly had been with him, went to Carvajal and defired him that that Souldier might not be put upon him: Carvajal understanding him, gave him a nod instead of other answer: And coming to the place where quarters were to be affigued to the Souldiers, he faid to every one of them particularly; Go you to such a place, and you to such a place, and so disposed of every one of them as if he had carried a list of the Inhabitants names in writing; at length coming to the Souldier before mentioned; and you, Sir, faid he, go to such a House, which was far from the Chamber where he for merly quartered: Sir, replied the Souldier, I defire to go to my old Landlord, where I am well known; No, faid Carvajal, I would have you go to the place which I affign you: but the Souldier would not be fo answered, faying, that he had no need to change his quarters, where he was so well entertained before; and then Carvajal, moving his head with great gravity, I would have your Worship go, faid he, to the place I have appointed for you, where you will be very well treated; and if you want any thing more, my Lady Catalina Leyton will be near at hand to serve you: and then the Souldier, understanding that he should be well provided for,

accepted his offer, and faid no more. The Head of Francisco de Carvajal being cut off, was carried to the City of Los Reser, and there fixed upon the Gallows in the Market place, in company with the Head of Gonçalo Piçarro; his Quarters, with those of other Captains concerned in the same condemnation were set up in the four great Roads which lead to the City of Cozco. And in regard that in Chap. 33. of the fourth Book, we have promifed to give an account of the poison with which the Indians of the Island of Barlovento did usually infect their Arrows, by sticking them in the stesh of dead men: I shall, in confirmation thereof, relate what I saw experienced on one of the Quarters of Carvajal, which was hanged up in the High-way which leads to Collision, which is to the South-ward of Cozco. The thing was this:
One day, being Sunday, ten or twelve Boys of the fame School with me, whose

Fathers were Spaniards and Mothers Indians, all of us under the age of twelve years, walking abroad to play, we espied the Quarters of Carvajul in the Field, at which we all cried, let us go and fee Carvajal; and being come to the place, we perceived that the Quarter hanging there was his Thigh, very fat, stinking and green with corruption. Hereupon one of the Boys faid, that none of them durft go and touch him: Some faid yes, some faid no; with which they divided into two parties, but none durft come near it, untill one Boy, called Bartholomew Monedero, more bold and unlucky than the rest, How, said he, dare not I? and with that ran and thrust his middle Finger clear through the Quarter; upon which we all ran from

him, and cried, Oh the stinking Rascal, Oh the stinking Rogue, Carvajal is coming to kill you for being so bold with him; but the Boy ran down to the water, washed his finger very well, and rubbed it with dirt, and so returned home: the next day, being Monday, he came to the School with his Finger very much swelled, and looked as if he wore the Thumb of a Glove upon it; towards the evening his whole hand was swelled up to his very Wrist; and next day, being Tuesday, the swelling was come up to his very Elbow, so that he was then forced to tell his Father of it, and confess how it came: for remedy of which, Phyficians being called, they bound a ftring very ftrait above the fivelling, and fcarrified his Hand and Arm, applying other Antidotes and Remedies thereunto; notwithflanding which, and all the care they could use, the Boy was very near death: and though at length he recovered, yet it was four months afterwards before he could take a Pen in his hand to write. And thus as the temper of Carvajal was virulent and malitious in his life-time, fo was his flesh noxious after his death, and gives us an experiment in what manner the Indians empoisoned their Arrows.

Royal Commentaries.

### CHAP. XLIII.

In what manner Picarro was executed. Of the Alms he defired might be given for his Soul after his death, with some account of his disposition and natural parts.

A ND now in the last place we are to give a relation of the dolefull end of Gonçalo Piçarro, whom we left in confession all that day, and until noon of the next day, untill the Officers were called to dinner, but he refuted to eat, and remained alone untill the Confession returned, and so continued in confession untill it was very late: in the mean time the Officers of Justice being impatient of delay, were still going and coming to hasten the dispatch; and one of the most grave and severe amongst them, being troubled to see the time thus pass away, cried out with a loud voice; what will they never have done, and bring forth this man? at which faying all the Souldiers were much offended, and uttered many fcandalous and reviling words against him, most of which, though I well remember, yet I am too modest to repeat them here, or name the person: for he retired without replying one word, lest he should provoke the Souldiers to farther anger, whose displeasure he much seared for what he had already expressed : but presently afterwards Gonçalo Picarro came forth and was fet upon a Mule purposely provided for him; he had his Cloak on, and his hands loote, though tome Authours write, that his hands were bound; yet about the Mule's neck, a halter was tied to comply with the formality of the Sentence: in his hands he carried the Image of our Lady (to whom he was greatly devoted) praying her to intercede for his Soul. Being come half way to the place of Execution, he defired a Crucifix (which one of the Priefts who attended him, of which there being about ten or twelve) gave into his hands 5 which he exchanged for the Image of our Lady, kiffing first with great humility the hem of her Garment: upon the Crucifix he fixed his eyes to fleadily that he did not remove them from that object untill he came to the Scaffold, which was purposely erected for his execution; and being mounted thereupon, he went to one fide of it, and from thence made his Speech to the Souldiers and Inhabitants of Peru, who flocked from all parts thither, few being absent, unless those who had been of his party, and were revolted from him; and of them also some were present in disguises, and not to be known, and then he spake with a loud voice in this manner;

Ye know, Gentlemen, that my Brothers and I have gained this Fragire, and that many of you are possessed of Lands and Baronies, which my Brother the Marquis conferred upon 104; and many of you here prefem have received them from me. Aloreover many of you owe me money, which I have freely lent to you, and others have received them as a gift and not

847

as a debt. I for my part dye poor and without any thing, that not fo much as the cloaths upon my back are my own, but the fees belonging to the Executioner, for the fervice he doth in cutting off my Head; fo that I have nothing to give for the good and benefit of my Soul. It herefore, I before he feelenen, as many of you as ove me moner, to before the fame in Maffes to be faid for my Soul; having full affurance in God, through the meritorious in Maffes to be faid for my Soul; having full affurance in God, through the meritorious blond and puffin of our Lord Jefus Christ his Son, and with the affifence of your charity, that he will pardon my Offences and receive me to Mercy. And so Farewell.

Scarce had he ended his request for Charity, before the Sighs and Groans of the People were loudly heard 3 and many Tears were shed by all those who heard those dolefull and fad expressions. Then Pigarro kneeled down before the Crucifix which was placed on a Table fet upon the Scaffold. Then came the Executioner, John Enriquez, to bind a Handkirchief about his Eyes: but Pigarro dest red him to forbear, faying, that there was no need of it: and when he faw him draw his Hanger to cut off his Head; he faid, Honest Fack, doe thy Office handformely; meaning that he should doe his business at one blow, and not in a mangling manner, as some have done: then said the Executioner, I promise your Lordhip that it shall be so done as you defire: and having so said, he listed up his Beard with his left hand, being above a Span long, and cut round, as they need to wear them in those days; and with a back-froak cut off his Head at one blow, as if he had fliced a leaf of Lettice; and holding his Head in his hand, the body remained fome time before it fell. And this was the end of this great Man. The Executioner would afterwards have stripped him, but that Diego Centeno, who was come to lay him in his Coffin, redeemed his Cloaths by promifing a recompense for them to the Executioner: so his Corpse were carried to be interred at Corpse in his own Cloaths, for want of a winding Sheet, which none would bestow, and were buried in a Convent of our Lady of the Merceds, and in the same Chapel where lay the bodies of the two Diegoes de Almagro, Father and Son, whose Fates had been the fame 3 for they had been equally concerned in gaining the Countrey; and all three were put to death and buried upon Charity; and after all this, as if there had wanted Earth or Land in the Countrey, they were all three buried in the fame Grave: And that none of them might have cause to boast of his fortune above the other; all their conditions were made equal; and all three may be compared with that of Francisco Picarro, who was Brother of one and Companion of the other who was put to death (as before related) and buried afterwards upon Charity: and thus may these four Brothers and Companions be compared and made equal in every thing. So that now, If a man foberly and impartially confiders the course of this World, he will see how well and in what manner it rewards those who serve in their generation; fince this was the recompence of those who gained and conquered the Empire called Peru. None of the three Authoris make mention of the Charity which Pigarro begged at his death; perhaps because they would not grieve the Readers with so melancholy a Story, but, for my part, I write all things plainly and without any difguite

The fury of the War being over, the Inhabitants of the Empire caused Mafest obe said in their respective Cities for the Soul of Gonçalo Piçarro, both in second in the second with what he requested of them at his death, as also from a Principle of gratitude to him who had saved their liberties, and laid down his life for the publick welfare. His Head with that also of Francisco de Carvajal was carried to the City of Los Reges, (which was built and founded by his Brother the Marquis.) And here, being pitched upon Iron Spikes, they were set upon a Gallows in the publick Market-place.

Gonçalo Piçarro and his four Brothers (who have supplied us with matter for a long Discourse in this History) were born in the City of Truxillo, which is in the Province of Estremadura, which we mention in honour thereunto, for having Province of the fremadura, which we mention in honour thereunto, for having produced such Heroick Sons, who conquered the two Empires of the new World, namely, Mexico and Peru3 for Don Hernando Corret, Marquis Del Valle, who subdued Mexico, was also born at Medell, which is a Town in Estremadura. Also Micho Numez de Valvoa, who was the first Spaniard that discovered the South-Sea, was a Native of Xerez de Badajoz; and Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, after the Conwas a Native of Xerez de Badajoz; and Don Pedro de Alvarado, who, after the Conwas a Native of Mexico, passed into Peru with eight hundred men, of which Garciasse de la Vega was one of the Captains, and Gomez de Tordoja, were Natives of Badajoz; to which we may add Pedro Alvarez Holguin, Hernando de Soro, and Pedro del

Barco his Companion, with many other Gentlemen of the Families of Alvarado, and Chaver, and other persons of Quality engaged in the Conquest of those Kingdoms, who were all, or the most of them, Natives of Estremadara; and for that reason many Souldiers born in that Province, sollowing their Countrey-men of note, were employed in that Enterprize: wherefore, in honour thereunto, we ought not to cover the names of such Sons in obscurity, who have signalized themselves to the World by such Heroick Actions. Gongalo Pigarro was of the name of the Pigarro's, which is a Family of ancient bloud, illustrious and well known over all Spain; Don Hernando Cortes, who was Marquis Del Valle, was by the Mother-side of that Family, called Donna Catalina Pigarro; so that this Lineage is worthy of honour, being entitled to the Conquest of two Empires.

Royal Commentaries.

Belides the Antiquity of this Family, Gonçalo Piçarro and his Brothers were the Sons of Gonçalo Piçarro, a Captain of the Guards in the Kingdom of Navarre; which is an Office of great reputation in that Countrey, for that all the Souldiers thereof are to be Gentlemen of ancient Families, or fuch as have obtained this Honour by fome great and heroick Action: the which Office is of fo great efteems that, to my knowledge, a Grandee of Spain, called Don Alonfo Fernandee de Cordona, and Figueroa, Marquis De Priego, Chief of the House of Aguilar, availed himself much on the Honour of being Captain of Horse in the Kingdom of Navarre, which Office he continued until the day of his death, and was much

honoured by all the Souldiers of those parts.

Book V.

Goncalo Picarro was a very comely person in the shape of his Body, of a pleasing countenance, of a confirmed health, and one who could endure all hardthips, as hath been proved by this Hiftory: He was an excellent Horseman in both Saddles, either riding short, or with long Stirrups; he was an excellent Marketman, either with Gun or Cross-bow: with a black-lead Pencil he could draw any thing in the Wall which he defired; and was the most dexterous with his Lance of any man that ever passed into the new World, of which many famous men of those times give testimony. He was a great lover of good Horses, and kept many of them in his Stables. At the beginning of the Conquest he had two of a Chest-nut colour, one of which he called the Clown, because he was not well shaped, but very good for service, the other he called Zamillo. Some Gentlemen of that time being in conversation together, one of them who had been a Companion with Gongalo Pigarro gave this Character of him, which I heard from his own mouth. When Gonçalo Picarro, faid he, was mounted on his Zamillo, he no more valued a Squadron of Indians, than if they had been a swarm of Flies: he was of a noble nature, clear and fincere, without malice, fraud or deligns: he was a man of truth, confident of his friend and of those whom he thought to be so. which proved his ruine. And because he was a man without cheats or fraud, he was judged by Writers to be weak in his understanding: but they doe him wrong. for certainly he was of a clear head, and naturally inclined to vertue and honour. he was of an affable disposition, and generally beloved both by friends and enemies; and, in short, was endued with all the noble Qualities, which become a great Person. As to tiches gained by his own industry; we may properly say, that he was Master of all the wealth of *Peru*, which he possessed and governed for a long time, and with so much justice and equity, that the President did him the right to praise and commend his Government, as we have before declared. He conferred upon others great and large proportions of Land, and jurisdiction over Indians, that many of them amounted unto ten, others to twenty and thirty thousand pieces of Eight of yearly revenue: he was a very good Christian, and zealoully devoted to our Lady the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, as the President gave tellimony in the Letter which he wrote. He never denyed any thing which was asked for the fake of our Lady, though of never fo great an importance: which being known to Francisco de Carvajal and his Officers; when they had a mind to put any man to death, they would never fuffer his Petition to come to the ears of Pigarro, left they should ask a thing in the name of our Lady, for whose sake he was refolved to deny nothing. He was much beloved for his moral Vertues and military Exploits: And though it was convenient for the Service of his Malefty to take away his life, yet generally his death was lamented for the many Extellencies with which he was endued; fo that I never heard any that spake ill of him, but all well and with great respect, as became a Superiour. And whereas Palentino faith, that many gave their opinion, and did earnestly insist, that he Qqqqq

should be quartered, and his Limbs hanged up in the common high-ways leading to Cozco, is a most false relation: for never was any such thing either imagined or contrived: for if ever any such thing had been intended, it would certainly have been discoursed of in the times of peace and settlement, as many other things were, which were at first great Secrets, and afterwards made known and divulged to all the World: Nor indeed can it be believed that such a thing could be, for all those of the Council (excepting the President himself) had many and great obligations to Gonzalo Picarro, having received signal honours and benefits from his hands: and therefore it was not likely they would pass an insamous sentence against him, though it was necessary for the service of his Majesty and the peace and quietness of the Empire, that they should give their affent unto his death.

The End of the Fifth Book.

Royal

# Royal Commentaries.

## BOOK VI.

### CHAP. I.

New Orders published by the President for suppressing Rebels.

The Ossences which the Indians took to see Spaniards whipped. The great Trouble the President had to answer the Demands of Pretenders; and how he went from the City to make a Division of Lands.

OR did the Troubles end here in this Empire called *Peru*, nor were all the Infurrections suppressed by the Deseat of *Gongalo Pigarro* and his Captains, but rather were the Spirits of men more suriously inflamed than before, as will appear by the sequel of this History: for we must know that after the Victory obtained at Sacfahuana, the President dispatched that very day to Coèco two of his Captains, Hernando Mexia de Guzman and Martin de Robles, with some Souldiers in whom they most consided, to seise those of the Enemies Party who were fled thither after the Defeat, and to prevent their own Souldiers from plundering or doing spoil in the City, and from taking private revenge by bloud or otherwise, under the pretence of Liberty of War, as it was said some designed to doe. The day following, after the execution of Gongalo Picarro, and his Associates, the President raised his Camp from that famed field, garro, and his Ahociates, the Prendent raned his Camp from that fathed field, and marched towards the City, which though but four leagues from thence, yet he was two days on the way; and in that time he detached a Party of trufty Souldiers under the command of Captain Alonso de Mendoça, with Instructions to march into the Charcau and Potoess, and to seise and take the Captains which Gonzalo Piçarro. had fent into those parts, namely, Francisco de Espinosa, and Diego Carvajal, the Gallant, of whom we have formerly made mention; and Licenciado Polo Hondegarde received a Commission to be Captain General of those Provinces; with Orders to punish those who had favoured the Cause of Pigarro, and likewise those who did not engage themselves in the service of his Majesty, but stood neuters, neither acting as Traytors, nor profeffing themselves loyal; and therefore were severely fined for their cowardife and want of duty. With Licenciado Polo Captain Gravel de Rojas was also dispatched in quality of Treasurer for his Majesty, to collect the Fifths and Tribute of the Royal revenue, with the Fines which the Governour should inslict on Traytors and Neuters. Out of which, as Augustine Carate faith, Book the seventh, Chapter the eighth. Licentiado Polo in a short time raifed a million and two thousand pieces of Eight, for that Graviel de Roja dyling on his journey to the Charcas, Polo was forced to execute the Office of Treasurer in his stead: And in the mean time, whilst these things were acting in the Qqqqq 2

Charcas, the Prefident remained in Cozco, entertained with fumptuous Bananers and Sports, to testifie the Joy they conceived for the late Successes; and to see the Feaft of Bulls and other Divertisements of like nature, he had a Seat ereched in the Court yard of my Father's house; on which occasion I had an opportunity to fee his person, as I have before mentioned. And, moreover, he gave a Commission to Judge Andres de Cianea and to Major General Alonso de Alvarado to Dil. nish Rebels according to Law. Many Souldiers of note, who had been of Picarro's Party were hanged, many quartered, and above a hundred Spanish Souldiers whipped by four and fix in company; of which I was an eye-witness my self. when being a Boy I went amongst the rest to see this punishment. At which the Indians were greatly offended, and wondred to see Spaniards inflict a chaffile. ment so infamous as that on their own Nation, for though they had seen many of them hanged, yet they had feen none whipped untill that time. And for the greater difgrace they caused them to ride upon Sheep, which are Beasts of burthen in that Countrey, and not on Horses or Mules; and in that manner take their whipping; after which they were condemned to the Gallies. At that time the President caused a general Pardon to be proclaimed, clearing and acquitting all fuch from fault and punishment who had come in and revolted to the Royal Standard at the Battel of Sacfahuana; and absolved of all Crimes during the Rebellion of Gonçalo Picarro, though they had been guilty of the death of the Viceking Blasco Nunnez Vela, and other Ministers of his Majesty: which Pardon did extend onely as to Life and criminal Matters; referving still a right unto the King to fine them as to Goods, and to proceed against them in civil Cases: for that Carate faith, Book 7. Chap. 8. that Gonçalo Picarro had made fatisfaction for them by his own death. And now, fince the Victory was gained, and things reduced to peace and quietness, the President sound himself in much more trouble, and with a greater weight of business on his Shoulders than in the time of War, for that then the Officers concurred with him to support part of the Burthen; but now in Peace, he was fingly engaged to fulfain the Importunities and folicitations of above two thousand men, who challenged Pay and Rewards for their past Services; in which every one of the meanest fort pretended to so much merit that he thought he deserved the best Plantation in all Peru. And as to those perfons who had really been ferviceable and usefull to the President in the Was, they became infinitely troublesome and importunate in their Petitions, so that the Prefident, to ease himself a little of these urgent addresses, resolved to take a journey of about twelve leagues to the Valley of Apurimac, to have more leifure at that distance to make the Divisions which were required of him; and with him he took the Arch-bishop of Los Reyes for his Companion, and also Pedro Lopez de Caçalla his Secretary; and that he might not be interrupted in this business, he commanded, that neither Citizen nor Souldier, nor any other person whatsoever should attend or follow him to that place. Moreover he commanded, That no Inhabitant of all Peru should return to his own home until he had set out and allotted unto every man his Division; by which continuance of the people in Coxco, he imagined that he should secure the Commonalty from making any Mutinies or Infurrections: but his chief defign and care was to disperse the Souldiers in divers parts of the Kingdom, and to employ them in new Conquests, as had been the Maxim and Policy of those who first conquered this Empire: but the President being obliged in haste to leave those Kingdoms, had not time to disperse his Souldiers, as was defigned; by which means new Troubles arose from Male-contents, who thought they had reason to complain.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. II.

The President, having made the several Assuments of Land went privately to the City of Los Reves: And writes a Letter to those for whom no Provisions were made, which caused great Disturbances amongst them.

THE Prefident being retired into the Valley of Apurimae was employed there for the space of three months and more, about dividing to every man his proportion of Lands, during which time he received Addresses and Petitions from many persons, setting forth their services and sufferings; of which little or no notice was taken, because that the scheme of all matters was already drawn and a repartition of the Lands was refolved upon and made amongst the principal Officers under the command of Pedro de Hinojosa, as was capitulated and agreed when the Fleet belonging to Gongalo Pigarro was furrendred to the Prefident, as is confirmed by the Historians of that time. The President having made the Division on no better grounds, nor with other measures than those which he and the Archbishop Don Jeronimo de Loaysa, (who were both Strangers to the Countrey) had contrived, he went to the City of Los Reyes, and ordered the Arch-bifbon within ten or twelve days afterwards to repair to Cozco, and then to publish the Distributions which he had gratiously made: and in regard some were so unforunate as to have no provisions made for them, he wrote them a confolatory Letter, fignifying his hearty defires and his real intentions to gratify them as occasion should offer. The Letter which he wrote to them was this; extracted verbation from the History of Palentino; the Superscription whereof was this;

To the Right-noble and Right-worshipfull Lords and Gentlemen and Sons of Gentlemen who are Servants to his Majesty in Cozco.

Right-noble and Right-worshipfull SIRS,

WHERE AS it often happens that men are so blinded with affection and love to their own Affairs, that they overfee all others, and cannot make free use of their reason to render thanks to those who have highly merited their gratefull acknowledgments; I have refolved to write thefe lines to you, whereby to justifie my felf; befeeching you to conlerve them as a memorial in my behalf; and to let them remain with you as a testimony of that efteem which I have already gained with you, and which I promife to improve by the sirvices I design for every one of you, so long at I shall live in Peru, or in any other parts whatsoever. But not to insist on any private or particular service which I have rendred to eny single person amongst your, I shall onely say in general, that I have not omitted any thing wherein I might have been instrumental to promote that service. For I dare boldly sa), that in all the Wars made in Peru, or out of it, 'twas never heard or feen that ever such vast charges were made in so short a time, and expended on so few people; and what Lands were vacant or without Proprietors, I have divided amongst you with as much juflice and equality as I have been able; with consideration both day and night of every man's merit, which hath been the measure and standard upon which I have proceeded; and which shall ever be my rule to long as I stay in Peru; and I shall be carefull to divide and disstufe amongst you onely his Majesty's loyal Subjects, according to your services and loyalty to the Crown, what soever remains undisposed with exclusion of all others, untill you are fully latisfied. And that you may enjoy the fole benefit of this rich Countrey to your selves. I will not onely endeavour to banish those out of it who have been actually in rebellion, but such also who have stood Neuters, and have not afted as you have done: and that untill you are sully repaired and made easie in your fortunes, I will not suffer any new Guests either out of Spain, or the Continent, or from Nicaragua, Guatimala or New-spain, to enter into this Countrey, or to possess any part or share thereof to your prejudice or disadvantage.

And since I protest that all which I say is true, and that I have not been able to doe more

854

for your fervice and advantage, than what I have already done, I carneftly entreat you to follow the example of God himself herein, that is, to accept of the real endeavours and good-will of the person: and on this consideration let every one satisfic himself with his lawhich though not so large perhaps as he expected, yet it is as great as the division and thing would hear, and less than the Distributor desired, and which he will increase when enabled by any fortunate opportunity. And now after all my travels and labours both by Sea and Land which I have sustained in this last period of my life, I pretend to no other reward than the satisfaction of baving acted according to that Talent which God hath given me, by which I have discharged mr conscience towards God as a Christian, towards the King as a faithfull Subject, and towards your selves as became a good neighbour and a true servant. And indeed, if you take not things, and understand them in the same manner, you ill requite the love and affection I bear you, and the care and labours I have fustained for your interest. considering that on my part there hath been no failure or omission to advance the same. And lines, for the better settlement of the Courts of Indicature and the Affairs of Lima, it is neceffary for me to be there present, I have desired the most Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop to supplymy presence with you in the City, and in my name to offer to you what I can doe at present, and what I shall be able to doe for the future. And having not farther to add; I befeech God, that I may live to fee you all in great profperity and plenty, and employed in his holy service as fully and as happily as you your selves desire.

Given at Guaynarima, on the 18th day of Angult, 1548. Subscribed.

Your Servant.

the Licenciado Gasca.

Besides this Letter and Instructions given to the Archbishop, he gave it in charge to the Father Provincial, Frier Thomas de San Martin, that he should make a Sermon on the day of the Publication, and therein exhort the Pretenders to be contented every man with his portion allotted; and to deal with them in private; and persuade them thereunto. All which Hernandez Palentino writes more at large, which we have abbreviated, to avoid prolixity and tediousness to the Reader; and is as followeth:

When it was known in Cozeo that the President was retired privately to avoid the troublesome importunities of the People; one Captain Pardane, being in discourse with other Captains; on my Conscience said he, this Madalena de la Cruz is retired fome where privately to put an Harana upon us, for in Peru they call that Harana, when a man who hath loft his money at gaming plays fome Trick or Sham to avoid payment. And amongst other Nick-names given the President, they called him Madalena de la Cruz, which was as much as Cheater or Sorcerer, and was the name of that Woman who was punsshed by the Officers of the Inquisition in Cordona: And the truth is, the President, not to hear such insolent Speeches as these, retired from Cozco that he might have liberty to make the Distributions, and removed farther from it when they were published, as Palentino faith in the second Part, and Chapter the first of his History, in these words:

It was well known that the President absented himself from Cozco, that he might not be present at the time when the Distribution of Lands was published; for he was prudent and fubtile, and understood by good experience the nature of the Countrey; and feared much the Infolences of the Souldiers, and to hear their Complaints, Oaths and Curses: And indeed herein he was not deceived; for when the Arch-bishop was arrived at Cozco, where almost all the Inhabitants and Souldiers were affembled, expecting to receive great proportions of Lands and Government: they appeared quiet and orderly: but so soon as the publication was made, on the 24th of August, being the Festival of Saint Bartholomen, whereby finding themselves much disappointed of their hopes, they began to curse and fivear, and to utter many feditious expressions against the President and his Government, to that high degree, that all things feemed to tend to mutiny and a new rebellion. Hereupon they began to enter into Cabals and fecret Confultations, how in the first place they might kill the Judge Andres de Cianca, and the Arch-bishop, whom they esteemed the Authours of the Distributions. The cause and ground of their sury and rage they alledged to be the allotment made of principal Places and Lands to those who had been the Followers and Abettors of Goncalo Picarro, and who had favoured that party which had been in Arms against the King: but the relation of these matters is more fully made by Francisco

against the Ring. Out the chandred of these matters is more tuny made by Prancifed Lapez de Gomara, Chap. 138. in these words:

The President, said he, went to Aparima twelve leagues distant from Cozco, where he consulted with the Archbishop of Los Reyes, and his Secretary Pero Lopez about the division of Lands, which were to be made and distributed amongst several persons, to the value of a million and a half of yearly rent, with a hundred and fifty thousand Ducats in Gold, which he had raised from divers who were in prefent possession: he married many rich Widows to such as had well served the King: he increased the Revenue and Estate of others who were already possessed of Lands, fo that some had a yearly Revenue made up to them of a hundred thouand Ducats; which was an Estate for a Prince, if the Inheritance had been theirs; but the Emperour would allow no other Estate but for life: but he who had the greatest Estate assigned to him was Hinoiosa.

Galca himself went to Los Reyes to avoid the complaints, curses and damning of the Souldiers, and perhaps for fear of worfe: And to make publication of the Lands allotted and divided, the Archbishop was fent to Cozeo; and to take those off to whom nothing was given, a smooth Letter was wrote to nourish them with suture hopes and expectations; but the surious Souldiers were neither appearance. fed with the air of smooth words, nor the gentle exhortation of the Archbishop. Some complained of Galca for giving them nothing; some because they had less alorted than what was expected; and others, because those who had differved the King had the greatest proportion; swearing that they would accuse him before the Council of the Indies: of which number were the Mareschal Alonso de Alvarado and Melchior de Verdugo, who afterwards drew up a formal accufation against him, and presented it to the chief Baron of the Exchequer. In short, their whole discourse tended to Mutiny and Sedition: the Archbishop and Judge Cianca, Hinojosa, Centeno and Alvarado were to be apprehended and imprisoned; and a Petition was to be made to the Prefident Gasca, that he would be pleased once again to revise the allotments that were made, and to divide them into leffer parcels, or to grant Penfions to fuch as wanted them; and in case their expectations were not answeted, they then resolved to take them by force. But the Plot being discovered before it came to maturity, Cianca the Judge apprehended the chief Leaders, and punished them; wherewith the troubles were appealed. Thus far Gomara.

#### CHAP. III.

Some Marriages were made up between rich Widows and the Pretenders. The allotments affigned to Pedro de Hinoiofa and his Companions. The novelty which thefe things caused amongst themselves.

THIS Authour makes a large discourse concerning the Widows of those times; for we must know, that in the late Wars many Husbands being killed who had great Estates in Land, and commands over *Indians*, their Estates sell to their Widows: and lest these Women should marry with those who had been Rebels to the King, the Governour thought fit to make matches for them, and to appoint them Husbands with whom they should marry; many of which lived happily with them; but others, who had the ill fortune to be joyned with old men. were not so well contented as they had been with those they had lost. The Wife of Alonso de Toro, who was Major-General to Gonçalo Pigarro, and had great Poslessions, was married to Pedro Lopez Caçalla, Secretary to the President Gasca. The Wise of Martin de Bustincia, who was the Daughter of Huayna Capac, who held the Estate in her own right, and not of her Husband, was married to a good Souldier and a very honest man, called Diego Hernandez, of whom it was reported, but falfly, that in his younger days he had been a Taylor; which being known

to the Infanta or Princess, the refused the marriage, faying, that it was not reason nable to marry the Daughter of Huayna Capac Inca with a Ciracamayo, that is, in the Indian Tongue, a Taylor; and though the Bithop of Cozco, and Captain Disco. Centeno, and other persons of Quality pressed the marriage, they could not prevail. wherefore they engaged her Brother Don Christoval Paullu to use his interest, and perfuade her to it, who accordingly, taking her afide into a corner of the Roomtold her, that it was not convenient for her to refuse that marriage; for that the would so disoblige the Spaniards that for ever after they would become morral would to ditablige the spanaras that for ever after they would become mortal enemies to their Royal Family and Lineage and never more be reconciled to them. At length the, affenting to the advice of her Brother, though with a very ill will, was brought before the Bishop, who was pleased to honour the marriage by celebrating the Office himself: and, asking the Bride by an Indian Interpreter, when ther the would marry that man; the Interpreter asked her whether the would be the Woman of that Man, for in the Indian Tongue they have no word for Marriage or Wife; to which the Bride made answer in her own Language, Tchach Munani, Tohach Manamunani; which is, Perhaps I will have him, and perhaps I will not have him: howfoever the marriage went forward, and was celebrated in the House of Diego de los Rios a Citizen of Cozco, and both the Husband and Wife were alive, and cohabited together when I left Cozco. Many other Marriages like this, were contracted all over the Empire, being defigned to give Estates to Pretenders, and to satisfie them with the goods of other men: and yet this way could not give full contentment, for some esteemed the Estates that came by their Wives to be too small and inconsiderable; and others whose luck it was to have ugly Women loathed them, and complained of their fortune; and thus it fared with these men as with others in this world, wherein is no entire satisfaction. The unequal division of the Land, as Authours say, was the cause and ground of all the enfuing troubles and mutinies; for unto Pedro de Hinojosa they gave all the Indians which belonged to Gonçalo Piçarro in the Charcas, which yielded an hundred thousand pieces of Eight every year, besides a rich Mine of Silver, which made the Revenue of this Gentleman to amount unto two hundred thousand pieces of Eight a year: for it is incredible to think the vast quantities of Silver that are every year digged out of the Mines of Power, which were so great, that Iron was become more valuable than Silver. Tupaeri sell to the lot of Gomez de Solie, which was worth forty thousand Crownsyearly; and Martin de Robles had an Estate of the like value given him. But Diego Centeno, though he had sustained all the labours, and performed the services before related, yet having not been concerned in the furrender of the Fleet at Panama, he was excluded from all other Estate than that onely with which he had formerly been invefted, called Pucuna; nor were others of his Companions in the least considered: but Lorenço de Aldana had an addition granted to his former Estate in the City of Arequepa, which both together were valued at fifty thousand pieces of Eight yearly rent. To Don Pedro de Cabrera a division was made of some Lands in the City of Cozco called Corapampa, the Revenue of which was reckoned at fifty thousand pieces of Eight yearly rent. Another to the value of forty thousand in Gold was conferred on Don Baltasar de Castilla in the Province of Parihuanacocha, which yields most Gold. John Alonfo Palomino received an additional increase to his former Estate, which both together might make up a rent of forty thousand Crowns. Licenciado Carvajal had a like Estate given him, though he enjoyed it but for a fhort time; for being Recorder of Cocco, he was unfortunately killed by a fall from a Window, from whence he threw himself headlong out of despair and love to a certain Lady. I remember I saw him buried on St. John Baptift's day: but Hernan Bravo de Laguna was to content himself with a meaner lot of eight thousand pieces of Eight Revenue, not having the merit of those to pretend who surrendred up the Fleet to the President at Panama, who were all, some more and some less, very considerably rewarded; and indeed those Gentlemen did justly deserve a recompense, being the first who gave a turn to the scale, and the principal Instruments to reduce the Empire of Peru to the obedience of his Majesty, which was entirely lost when the President at first entred into it, as is apparent to those who have read this History. The Lots given to the rest in other Cities of Peru were not so advantageous as those before mentioned: for fome which were poor were improved with the adjunction of those more rich; and some were divided and given to others; but how poor scever they were effeemed, the meaneft of them was valued at eight, nine, and ten thou-

Royal Commentaries.

fand pieces of Eight of yearly Revenue: fo that the ten lots and divisions which we have mentioned to have been affigured in the Charcas, in Arequepa and in Cozco, did in the total amount unto five hundred and forty thousand pieces of Eight coined which make Ducats of Castile near fix hundred and fifty thousand. So soon as the Archbishop Loayla, and the Secretary Pero Lopez de Cacalla came to Cozeo they published the lots and distributions which were made; and read the President's Letter to those unhappy men for whom no provision was found: and the Eather Provincial made a Sermon perfuading them to patience, which operated little upon them; for they fle v out in oaths, curies and opprobrious freeches against the Government, as all Authours confirm: admiring at the wonderfull profuseness and prodigality which was used towards those men who in reality deserved nothing: for it is most certain, that amongst those to whom distributions were made of forty or fifty thousand pieces of Eight of yearly rent, there were some, who, being confcious of their engagement on Pigarro's fide, and their evil actions in denying the Vice-king Blafeo Vela Nunnez, againft whom they raifed Arms, perfecured him to the death, and afterwards fixed his head upon the Gallows; these men. I fav. and others, as Histories record, who having impiously rebelled against his Imperial Maiefty, expected death, or at least banishment; would have been fufficiently contented and thought it a mercy to enjoy onely the benefit of the general Pardon, without other rewards or provisions made for them; an example whereof may be given of Martin de Robles, who, when he understood what allotment was made him, was furprifed with the excess of such abundant favour; and in fense thereof, said to those who stood by; 'Tis well, 'tis well, but so much good is no good; meaning that it was not good for those who deserved so little to be rewarded fo much. Some few months afterwards this Martin de Robles was fined by Sentence of the chief Justices in the fum of twelve hundred Ducats, for having been acceffory to the imprisonment of the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez, Vela. and engaged in the cause of Gonçalo Pigarro; the which I'me was adjudged to be given to Diego Alvarez Cueto, who was Brother-in-law to the Vice-king, and who profecuted de Robles and others of Picarro's Party. And when this Sentence was notified to him: What, faid he, no more, I that was the man who took the Vice-king? No. faid the Clerk, your Fine is no more. Well, answered he, I could have been contented with ten times as much. And thus prefumptuous and boafting they were of the exploits they had done that they valued themselves much upon them, and adventured to utter these and many other bold Sayings on this matter, in presence of the Prefident himfelf, of which we thall specifie some few particulars hereafter, and omit others, which are not fit to be here mentioned.

#### CHAP. IV.

Francisco Hernandez Giron, without any reason, shews himself greatly displeased for the division which was allotted to him: a Commission is given him to make a new Conquest. The punishment of Francisco de Espinosa, and Diego de Carvajal.

Notwithstanding these rich and large distributions of above two millions and a half of yearly Revenue; which one Authour says was but a million, and another a million and forty odd thousand pieces of Eight; yet the Pretenders were not fatisfied, and generally complained, some because they had no share allotted, and others were (candalized to fee those rewarded with such excess of prodigality who never had been concerned in the Conquest of the Countrey; nor rendred other fervice to his Majesty than onely to rise in Rebellion against him, to kill his Vice-king, and afterwards to fell and betray the Tyrant unto the Prefident, whom before they had foftred and maintained: but he who appeared publickly

859

BOOK VI.

the most discontented of any was Francisco Hernandez Giron, who having not served formerly in Peru, but in Pasto onely, where (as Palentino faith) he never had more than an Estate of fix hundred pieces of Eight a year; And now there being a proportion fet out to him of about ten thousand pieces of Eight a year, called Sacfahuana, which was in Cozco, and formerly belonged to Gonçalo Picarro: this Gentleman fo diffained the meanness of it, that he could not forbear publickly to express his diflike; and, conceiving a high efteem of his own merit, he grew angry that any man should be preferred or rewarded above himself: and to that excess and disorder did his passion lead him, and transport to those indecent expreffions, that his words were efteemed feditious, and not less than favouring of Treaton: in this humour he asked leave of the Arch-biflop to goe unto the Pre-fident and complain of his hard-utage; for that he, who had ferved the best of any, and therefore deserved the best share, was turned off with the meanest allorment. The Arch-bishop reproved him for his insolent language, and denved him leave. But Francisco Hermandez made bold to take that which was refused him giving out abroad, that he was going to the City of Los Rejes, to make his complaints unto him, who ought to confider them: which being made known to Licenciado Cianca, who was by joint Commission with the Arch-bishop made Governour and chief Justiciary of Cozco; he wrote him a Latter, advising him to return. and not augment the Troubles and Mutinies which were in the Kingdom, and which were apt to be inflamed by the Discontents of many persons, who had much more reason to complain than himself; that he would doe well to consider and take care how he forfeited all other his former Services by fuch mutinous practices as this, which would render him odious to all his Majeffy's Officers and Ministers. The Messenger who carried this Letter, overtook him in Sacsalmana, being about four leagues distant from the City, which when Hernandez had read, he made this Answer, That he thought fit to be absent in that conjuncture, not to be concerned in the Mutinies and Troubles which he saw were coming; for he knew that the Souldiers would press him to be their Leader and Commander in chief; and moreover, that he was going to communicate many other matters unto the President for his Majesty's Services; to which he added divers other impertinences, displeasing to Cianca: at which the Judge being greatly moved, he presently dispatched Letters to Captain Lope Martin, (whom Palentino calls Alonso de Mendoca) and who, as we faid before, was fent to the Charcas, to suppress Infurrections, that with half a dozen of his most faithfull Souldiers he should intercept Hernandez in his journey or cause him to return back again to Cozco. The day following Lope Martin with his fix Souldiers accordingly fet out, and taking the ordinary journeys of four or five leagues a day, he overtook Hernandez in Curampa, about twenty leagues from the City, who intended now to play a double game; for on one fide, he was willing to thew his readiness to serve his Majesty; and on the other fide, he deligned to give contentment to the Souldiers, by whom he was defirous to be efteemed a Favourer of their pretentions and reasons of complaint; as will appear by the Antiwer he gave at his return to the Judge Cianca when he was brought before him. For in excuse he alledged, that he absented himself from the City, that the Souldiers might not engage him in the Mutinies they intended, and force him to be their General; Upon which Allegation the Judge committed him to prison in the House of John de Saavedra, who was one of the principal Citizens of Cozco; and having made Process against him, he remitted him to the farther centure of the Prefident, and fuffered him to go upon his paroll, and upon Oath taken, that he would proceed directly and prefent himself before his Superiours. Accordingly Hernandez went to the City of Los Reyes, but was detained three months on the way, because the President at first would not see him, nor give him admittance into the City, untill at length he received licence and the favour to kifs the Prefident's hand: fome days after which, the Prefident, being defirous to comply with his Martial Spirit, and to clear the Kingdom of a fort of infolent and mutinous Souldiers, conferred the honour of a Commission on him, impouring him to make a Conquest of the Chunchus, with the Title of Governour and Captain General of all that Countrey, which he should conquer at his own cost and hazard, excepting out of his Commission those Frontiers which bordered on his Conquest, namely, Cuzco, the City of La Paz, and the City of Plate: Francisco Hernandez was much pleased with his Commission, intending thereby to gain an opportunity to rebell against his Majefty; which had been long in his mind, and which he at length put in execution, as we shall find by the sequel: and in order thereunto he remained in Rimac untill such time as the President embarked for Spain, as shall be declared hereaster. During the time that the President was employed in the Valley of Aparimac, in sharing unto every man his proportion and lot; the Judge Gimen received intelligence, that the Licenciado Polo, who was sent to be Judge in the Charcas, had taken Francisco de Espinosa and Diego de Carvajal the Gallant, and sent them prisoners; who were the two persons employed by Gonçalo Pizarro in Arequepa and the Charcas, after the Battel of Huavina, and there committed those disorders which we formerly mentioned: but these men, before they came to Cozco, wrote a Letter to Diego Centeno, intreating him to intercede for them, and at least obtained so far a remission of their Crimes, as might not extend unto life, but unto

a Letter to Diego Centeno, intreating him to intercede for them, and at leaft obtained fo far a remission of their Crimes, as might not extend unto life, but unto banishment out of the Kingdom. In answer hereunto Centeno replyed, That he should gladly comply with their request, in case the enormity of their Crimes were capable of so much mercy, and could admit of excuse and alleviation before the Lords the Justices; but since they had been so cruel as to burn seven Indians alive without any cause or provocation, he seared that the Gate was shut to all mercy, nor durst any Man appear with arguments of intercession in a cause so vile and dark as theirs. Some sew days after this Answer was given, these Offenders were brought to Cozco, where they were hanged and quartered, and their Ouarters disposed in several ways, to the great satisfaction both of Indians and Spa-

niards, who rejoiced to fee a Cruelty so justly revenged.

#### CHAP. V.

The Government of Chile is given to Pedro de Valdivia.

The Articles which his own People prefer against him; and by what means he is freed by the President.

A Mongst the many great Divisions and Distributions made by the President Gasca in the Valley of Aparimac, the Government of the Kingdom of Chile was conserved on Pedro de Valdivia, with Title of Governour and Captain General of that great Kingdom containing five hundred leagues in length; and moreover, he received a sull Commission to divide the Countrey amongst the Adventures and such as had deserved well of the Crown. The benefit of which Commission Pedro de Valdivia enjoyed a long time with great prosperity and affluence of fortune, until his Riches became his snare, and were the cause of his ruine, together with a hundred and sifty Spanish Gentlemen more who were all slain with him, as we have already related in the first part of this History, in the Life of Incas Tupanqui; and have there anticipated this Story, which was memorable and worthy observation, and inferted it out of its due place, in regard the Successes of that Kingdom were impertinent to our purpose: but the present passages belonging to the Dominion of Peru sall within the verge of our History, and are the proper subject of our Discourse, of which Diego Hernandez, a Citizen of Palencia, gives this account in one of his Chapters, the Title of which is this:

That by the fame humane Laws fome men may be condemned and put to death, and others guilty of the fame Crime may be freed and acquitted.

The same Authour hath another Chapter, number 94. the Title of which is this

In what manner the Prefident fent to take Pedro de Valdivia. The Articles which the People of Chile preferred against him, and in what manner the President brought him off.

It hath

It hash been already mentioned in this History how Pedro de Valdivia came out of Chile, and how afterwards the Prefident made him Commander of the Provinces he should conquer. And to prepare himself for that undertaking, Valdivia went from Cuzco to the City of Los Reyes, with intent to surnish himself there with all necessaries, and what might be required for that Conquest, And having raifed his men, of which some were of those who had been banished out of Peru, and others condemned to the Gallies for having been concerned in the late Rebellion; and having provided all other matters, he caused them to embarque on some Ships which set sail from the Collao of Lima, but Pedro de Valdivia went himself by Land to Arequepa. And whereas at this time several Complaints were brought against him to the President, accusing him to have carried with him see veral condemned persons, and that many outrages were committed on the way by People who had his command and authority fo to doe; Orders were fent to Pedro de Hinoiola to intercept him in his way, and by some dexterous management to bring him back to the Prefident. Pedro de Hinojosa accordingly met him. and asked him civilly, whether he would not return again, to give fatisfaction to the Prefident, for what was alledged against him; which Valdivia refusing to doe. Hinoiosa accompanied him in a friendly manner for a whole day's journey; when watching his opportunity he feifed upon him with fix Musquetiers, and brought him back to the President; by which time several of the Plaintists from whom Valdivia had taken the Gold, as before mentioned, were come from Chile, and had preferred Articles in writing against him, wherein they accused him for having taken the Gold from them, for having killed many persons unjustly, and that he lead a diffolute life with a certain woman; that he was in confederacy with Goncalo Picarro, and went from Chile, with defign and intention to join with him. befides many other treasonable things of which they impeached him; and in conclusion, they defired, that he might be condemned to pay and return the Gold he had taken from them.

The President found himself much perplexed and straitned in this matter, for in case he condemned Valdivia, he absolutely destroyed his voyage, which tended to the quiet and benefit of Peru, by clearing the Countrey of so many leud and infolent Souldiers as were to accompany him. And in case the taking away the Gold were proved upon him, and he not compelled to make restitution, it would be such a piece of injustice, as would tend much to the disreputation of the Prelident, and make a great noise and out-cry in the Countrey: And being in this strait, a contrivance was made to avoid the restitution, which was in this manner. Before it was ordered, that Copies should be given to Valdivia of the Acculation and Articles preferred against him, or any summary information; a rule was given, that first a solemn Inquisition should be made in the Office of the names of all those persons who were concerned in the Bill against the Desendant; the which was to be done in that flight manner, that the reason for which it was required might not be discovered. And when it appeared by the Bill, that all the People of Chile were concerned as Plaintiffs, and were all Parties and interested in the Demand; none of them could lawfully be made a Wirness or give legal testimony in their own Cause; he then ordered, that Valdivia should have a Copy of the Bill, and give in a speedy Answer; the which he accordingly did; denying every thing that was alledged againft him: it then lay upon the Plaintiffs to prove all by their Witneffes. The Caufe coming to a tryal, and no tellimony produced, belides that of the Parties interested; the President proceeded, as officio, to sentence in favour of Valdivia. And though something was proved of his intention towards Gonçalo Pigarro, yet the President declared, that neither for that, nor other matters, he found sufficient reason to divert Valdivia from his intended Conquest; howsoever he took security from him, not to entertain any of those who were banished for their Rebellion: And also that he would send a Judge upon the place, to make a strict inquisition concerning the Gold, and gave Faldivia particularly in charge to give fatisfaction for the fame: which he promifing to perform, the fuit was difmift, and he permitted to proceed to Chile. Thus far Palentino, who therewith concludes this Chapter.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. VI.

The unfortunate death of Diego Centeno in the Charcas, and of Licenciado Carvajal in Cozco. The foundation of the City of Peace, the Courts of Judicature are fet-led in Los Reycs.

Frer that the President Gasca had finished the Distribution of Lands as he designed in Apprimac, and was gone to Los Reyes; the Inhabitants and chief Lords of Peru took their leaves of him, in order to return to their own homes Cities and Places of aboad; fome to take possession of their new Estates, and others to repair their old, which were gone to ruine and decay by the miseries of the War. Amongst the rest, Diego Centeno went to his Estate, in the Village of Plate, now called the City of Plate, by reason of the vast quantities of Silver which they daily dig out of that Hill adjoining to it, called Potoolis, where his intention was to get what Silver and Gold he could, and therewith transport himself into Spain, to render an account unto his Majesty of all the Services he had done for his Imperial Crown; which his Majesty taking into his gratious confideration might gratifie him with fome reward, which the President had omitted to doe, for which neglect he esteemed himself highly affronted. This resolution being discovered to some friends with whom he confulted; his intention prefently took air and was divulged through the whole Kingdom, being wrote in all Letters and Papers of advice, which greatly offended the Government, to hear that a person so considerable as Centeno was preparing to carry his Complaints into Spain: some of the great Officers then in power being igalous of his Defign, would have perfuaded him not to goe, on pretence of friendship to him; but finding that they could not prevail, they refolved on another course more certain and secure than the former, which was this; Some of the Neighbours thereabouts out of malice, and fome out of ignorance, wrote a Letter to Diego Centeno, desiring him to come to the City of Plate, where they might confult amongst themselves concerning his Voyage into Spain, and other matters of their own, which they would recommend to be communicated by him to his Imperial Majesty. Centeno accordingly prepared for his journey to the City; which being known to his Indians, they earneftly perfuaded him not to goe, having received some private intimation, as they said, from their familiar spirits, of an intent to kill him: but Centeno was the more resolved, because he would shew how little he valued the fuperstitious witchcrafts and presages of the Indians. Great was the joy which those who invited him shewed at his arrival, but some Souldiers, who had been his friends and companions at the time when he was purfued by Francisco de Carvajal, and in the Battels of Huarina and Sacsaluana privately suggefled their fears for his appearance there; telling him, that the prediction which his own Indian fervants had made known to him, the same was also confirmed by those of that City, and signified to their Masters: the which his friends interpreted for a finister omen, though in reality there appeared no outward cause or reafon to suspect it. But Centeno carried the matter high, and slighted the vain supersition of the Indians; saying that their conversation was with the Devil, who was the Father of Lyes, and therefore no credence was to be given to their prefages: but a short time shewed the vanity of his considence, for having been four days in the City, he was folemnly invited to an entertainment in the house of a certain Gentleman, whose name it is not necessary to specifie here, but onely to recount the matter of fact like an Historian, without other reflexion; seeing that the persons themselves are now in place, where they have given an account of this action. In short, at this Banquet such a dose of poison was prepared, and given to Centeno fo privately and undiscovered, without any present symptoms or torments in the Bowels, as did his bufiness, and dispatched him in three days. His death was greatly lamented by all forts of People in the Kingdom, for he was a Gentleman of much goodness and affable deportment, which had gained him a general affection and efteem. He had been concerned in all the exploits

and archievements of that Countrey, having been one of those who had entred with Don Pedro de Alvarado, and engaged with him in the Conquest of the Empire: the news of his death being come into *Spain*, his Brother gave a relation of the manner of it to the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, and that he had left two natural Children, a Son and a Daughter, who were poor and deflitute; because the Estate which their Father had from the services of *Indians*, ended with his death: in confideration of which his Majesty gratiously conferred for a portion to the Daughter the fum of twelve thousand ducats of Castile, and settled upon the Son Gaspar Comeno, who was a School-fellow of mine, an Estate of four thousand pieces of Eight of yearly rent, to be paid out of his Majefty's Royal Treasure in the City of Plate. I have heard that this Effate was made an inheritance for ever. but I know not how to believe it, because I did never hear that any Estate of inheritance was ever charged on the King's Treasury but for one Life or two at most. Some few months after the death of Centeno, Licenciado Carvajal came also to an unfortunate end in Cozco, as we have hinted before, by a fall from a high Window; for without any respect to his Office, as Judge, they cut the Colds of the Ladder by which he came up, and went down. Many other men died, and came to unfortunate ends in divers Cities of Peru, by which Lands and Eflates over *Indians* became void, and places made for other Pretenders, by which the Prefident had opportunity to gratifie many who were aggrieved to have been left out of the last Division: but men were not satisfied herewith, but as discontented and complaining as before, as will appear by what follows; for every man fanfied that his Services merited the whole Empire of Peru.

Royal Commentaries.

862

Now in the mean time, whilft these violent Deaths and Missortunes happened in the City of Plate and in Cozco, the Prelident Gasca was intent to the repairs of the City of Los Reyes, and to erect a new Court of Chancery there, which continues to this day. He also contrived ways to people the City of Peace. As Diego Hernandez Palentino declares in the second Book of the first Part of his Hi-

Hory, in these words: Don Jeronimo de Loaysa ( says he ) was dispatched away with this Letter, which he was to carry to the City of Cozco; and was that which the President wrote to the Souldiers who were left out of the distribution and had no Estate allowed to them, as before mentioned, which caused great disturbances, as that of Francifco Hernandez, whose rebellion proceeded from that cause alone. The President Galca departed from Guanarima, and went to the City of Los Reyes; and in his journey he gave a Commission to Alonso Mendoça to be Governour of the New Colony which was founded in Chinquiabo, and called our Lady of Peace; which name was given to it by the Prelident, because it was founded in the time of Peace, after so much War which had harassed that Countrey; and because it is the middle way between Arequepa and the Charcas, which are a hundred and seventy leagues diftant from each other; and is also the mid-way between Cuzço and the Charcas, being in like manner a hundred and seventy leagues, and being the road between fuch confiderable Cities, it was conceived necessary to have a City founded there, for the convenience of Travellers, and to prevent Robberies and Violences which were committed in those parts. And having ordered all things in this manner, he proceeded in his journey to Los Reyes, and made his Entry into that City on the seventeenth day of September, being there received with all the figual demonstrations of joy that could be expressed with Sports and Dances, Feasts and Revels. The President entered with the Royal Seal before him, to fignifie his intention to erect a Court of Chancery in that City. The Seal and the Prefident had a rich Canopy over them; the Seal was on the right hand inclosed in a rich Case, and carried on a white Horse covered with a Foot-cloth of Tiffue to the very ground, and which was lead by the Reins by Lorenço de Aldana, the Chief Justice, and the Mule of the President was lead by Jeronimo de Silva, the Mayor of the City. Lorenço de Aldana and the other Officers who bore up the Sticks of the Canopy were clothed with Garments of Incarnation Sattin, and went bare-headed. The Guards who were appointed to attend the Seal and the President had Liveries bestowed on them at the cost of the City; as had all the Dancers and Actors cloaths and properties given them of Silk with divers colours. And the Dancers came forth in their feveral Orders, representing the Cities and principal People of Peru; every one repeating a Distich or two fignishing the fidelity of their People towards the Emperour. LIMA. LIMA.

I am the City of Lime. Who came the first in time, All happiness to bring Unto our Lord the King.

TRUXILLO.

I'm called the City of Truxillo. Who with true Loralty Came with my men to ferve his Minelly.

In like manner,

BOOK VI.

Prura, Quito, Guanuco and the Chachapoyas; also Guamanca, Arequipa, Cozco and the Charcas, presented themselves before the President with Verses to the same Substance as before; which being all in Dogerel rithm, were scarce worthy of a Translation into English; and indeed the Authour is of the same opinion, for he figh, that they were fo dull and infipid, that they favoured more of Indian than Spanilly compositre.

But to return now to the Reafons which Palentino gives for the foundation of the City of Peace, which we have already mentioned; we cannot allow that the prevention of Robberies could be any motive or reason for the building of that City: for fuch hath been the generofity of that Empire called *Pera*, of which may be faid what cannot be faid of any other Kingdom of the World, namely, that from the Conquest thereof, which was in the year 1531 to this very time, which is rowards the end of 1610, it was never known or heard that either publick ly or privately any Robberies had been committed 5 nor have any Merchants and Dealers ever been affaulted on the highway, though they have been known to carry with them vast quantities of Gold and Silver over Defarts and Mountains for the foace of three or four hundred leagues; and have travelled with fuch fecuriv, that they adventured to lye in the fields day and night without other defence or guard than their mere Tents, which is a thing so commendable, as is spoken of both in the *Indies* and in *Spain* greatly to the honour and praise of this Empire. We mean, that such security as this, is in time of Peace, and not in the time of War; for then, as we have faid before, there is nothing but spoil and robbery where Violence and arbitrary Power, and not Law, prevail.

#### CHAP. VII.

The Cares and Troubles which the President Gasca sustained. How he punished some People that were in a Mutinv. With what Patience be endured several insolent Speeches of the Souldiers: and how he pacified and latisfied the Pretenders.

 ${
m THE}$  Gourts of Judicature being now established in the City of Los Reyes;  ${
m the}$  President applied himself to order such matters as tended to the quiet and fecurity of the Empire, and appointed that the Gospel and Christian Doctrine should be taught and preached to the Natives. He commanded also, that a general furvey should be made of all the Divisions which had been made, and of the Tributes which the *Indians* were to pay to their Lords, which were moderately imposed and registred, so that it should not be in the power of the Lords at any time to raife that Rent or Tribute. In which affair Licenciado Cianca, one of his Majesty's Judges was employed, and to that purpose he was sent to the City of Los Reyes, having first suppressed a small mutiny caused at Cozco by the Divisions lately made, and punished the Authours of them. For he hanged a Souldier and banished three others; but not to make any greater combustion, he proceeded no farther in the Examination, nor in the punishment. But the Prefident, whose Maxim it was to govern with gentleness and moderation, was pleased to take of the Sentence of Banishment and interdiction, before it was demanded; for confidering the nature of the People, and the just reason which most of them had to complain, he thought it not convenient to be over fevere and rigorous in his in. flice. The Judge Cianca, by order of the Prefident, appointed and substituted Palm de Saavedra to be Deputy in his Office, who was a Gentleman of Noble birth, horn at Seville, and had a confiderable Estate in Indians alloted him in that City of Care Also the Mareschal Alonso de Alvarado was by Commission from the President made Governour of the new Plantation, and was especially to take care to People the City of Peace: for at the beginning that City had both those Names, and Alvarado had a particular interest to take care thereof, because his Estate was adjoining thereunto. At this time the People flocked from all parts of the Empire to the City of Los Reves to kiss the President's hands and return him thanks for the distributions he had allotted to them. In like manner many principal Souldiers who had long ferved his Majesty came with their Address to demand a reward for their fervices, and fatisfaction for the late injury and injustice which was done them; in that their Friends and Companions to whom pay was due, were pur to death for demanding the fame; and that Act of asking their Pay was interpreted as a piece of disobedience and treason against his Majesty. At the same time came the News of the death of Diego Centeno, Graviel de Rojas and of Licenciado Carvajal, and of other Inhabitants deceased. And though the President was sufficiently informed of their just demands and reasons of complaint; yet the Souldiers with much importunity would lay their cases before him; beseeching his Lordship with much passion, that he would be pleased to cause a new review and inspection to be made into the late Divisions, that some parts thereof might be clipt and lopt off from the excellive and exuberant allotments of fome men, and conferred upon them; whereby they might be enabled to eat and not starve with hunger, whilft those who served the late Rebel, were plentifull and easie in their fortunes, and died with extreme gluttony and luxury. The same is confirmed by Gomara, chap. 188. in these words. Lastly, faith he, they resolved to desire the President to review the late Divisions made, and to give them their share thereof or grant them Penfions; and if not, then they were refolved to take them by force, &c. Thus far Gomara.

The Prefident was troubled and wearied out of his life with the importunities of so great a number of Pretenders; every one of which was so opinionated of his own Merits; that if in one day all the wealth of Pern had been vacated, and to be distributed, it would have been too little to answer the expectation of so much arrogancy and pride which appeared in these blustring Souldiers who exalted their merits above all expression. Notwithstanding which the President, by his prodence and dextrous management, entertained them for a year and a half in that City, without trouble or mutiny: howfoever this fort of infolent Souldiers could not be so well contained within their bounds of moderation and duty, but that fometimes they broke out into mutinies and rebellious Speeches; all which, as Historians say, the good President sustained with great patience and moderation, and thereby gained a greater Victory, by subjecting his own passions, than he had done by the Conquest of that whole Empire; some particulars of which I have heard in that Countrey, and others fince I came into Spain, the less provoking and infolent of which I will repeat here, and omit the most insolent and abominable,

as not fit to be expressed. The Prefident being in perpetual trouble and unquietness, caused by the daily importunities of the Pretenders; thought fit to make use of a certain Captain, whom I knew, to ease him of the many solicitations and addresses which were made to him; and therefore faid, Captain, pray help me to undeceive this People, and let them know, that the King hath not wherewith to relieve them, nor I to order or diffribute to them. To which the Captain made answer, pray, Sir, undeceive them your felf, who have been the person that deceived them; for, for my part, I know not what to fay to them; to which the Prefident made no reply, feeming not to have heard him. Another Souldier of meaner degree defired him to reward his fervices: Honest Souldier, faid the President, have nationce, for I have not wherewith to doe it, all being already divided and diftribution made. Sir, replied the Souldier, give me then that Cap of yours with which you have deceived fo many, and I shall esteem my felf well rewar ded therewith. The Prefident, looking upon him, faid no more than. Go your ways in God's name.

Another perion, who took upon himself the name and Title of a Captain. though in reality he was not, for I knew him well: but he had an Efface given him with Service of Indians to the Value of feven or eight thousand pieces of Fight a year: and he boldly required the Prelident to better his Effate by some additions thereunto, as he had done to many others, who had not deferved half formuch as he; for I, faid he, have been one of the first Discoverers and Connucrours of Chile. And there hath no action of moment passed in all this Emnire wherein I have not been concerned for fervice of his Maiefly, for which I deferve great rewards; to which he added many arrogant Speeches and Brayadoes full of Vanity and Pride; atlength the Prelident being over-tyred and wearied therewith, faid to him, Good Sir, be gone, you have enough for a person of your quality, for I have heard that you are the Son of —————in your own Countrey, naming his Father's Trade. The Captain, for fo I call him, prefently replyed, He lyes who told your Lordhip fo, and fo doth he who believes him: and therewith he prefently went out of the room, fearing left fome body should lay hands upon him for his faucy Speeches: but the Prelident patiently endured all these affronts, saving, he was to suffer and suffain much more for the service of the King his Mafter; befides which gentleness, he used the Souldiers with much civility, and entertained them with hopes and affurance to provide for them hereafter. As Diego Hernandez confirms in the first Book of the second Part of his Hiflory, Chap. 3, in these words: We are to observe, says he, that during all the time that the Prefident remained in Lima, being about feventeen months, great numbers of People flocked thither to demand relief for fupply of their necellities and reward of their fervices: for, as hath been faid, many of the King's fervants, who were left out in the first divition, greatly complained of their hard ufage. About this time several Estates sell to the King by the death of Diego Centeno, Gabrief de Rojus, Licenciado Carvajal, and others; and confequently there was fome more matter and fubliance wherewith to answer the expectation of some Preferders; but this not being a full supply, served onely to increase the troubles of the Prefident, who by his gentle and civil Answers gave a general fatisfaction to all people. Some of the Pretenders kept a fecret correspondence with the Underclerks to give them information how Effates were diffributed; and those communicate fall to the Captains and Souldiers with whom they had friendship; and some had a fight of the Books themselves, wherein they faw to whom such Lands were given, and to whom fuch a Command and Lord(hip: and it is now commonly believed that those Books were faltified, and that the President himself. who was a fubtile, understanding person, did connive thereat, and give permission to have the particulars fecretly exposed 5 fo that every one might be the better fatisfied with his Lot, especially when they faw themselves nominated and designed to fuch an Effare: and it is certain that there are some men, who to this day are of opinion, that they are deprived of the Lot and Portion which the Prefident appointed for them; and one perfon to entertained the thought thereof in his head, that he became mad when he found himself disappointed. But the Prefident Galea's great care and incumbence was to carry with him a good fum of Gold and Silver to the Emperour, of which he had already amaffed a million and a half of Callellano's, which being reduced to Spanish Crowns, of three hundred and fifty Almavedis to the Crown, made two millions and a hundred thousand Crowns, belides the Treasure which had been expended in the late War. And now the time for the Prefident's departure growing near (which was a happiness greatly defired by him) he hastned with all expedition possible to be gone, left fome diffratch should arrive to detein him longer in the Kingdom. And having finished and completed the remaining part of the Divisions, he folded and fealed them up, with order, that they should not be opened and published untill eight days after he had fet fail from the coast, and that the Arch-bishop should confirm the Divitions he had made, by Act and Deed from himfelf. After this, upon the twenty fifth day of January the Prefident went from Linu to Collao, a Port about two leagues diffant from the City; and upon Sunday following, be866

fore he had fet fail he received a Pacquet from his Majesty which seasonably came to his hands, and therein his Majesty's Royal Signature, to take off the personal

And now , whereas he was very fenfible that the Countrey was much ununior and discontented, and full of ill affected men, by reason of the Divisions made of Guaragina; and because many of the King's true and faithfull Servants were left deffigure and unrewarded, whilft those who had taken part with Goncale Pirare had shared amongst themselves the richest and best of all the Countrev. And being now refolved upon his departure, he published a Proclamation whereby he suspended the execution of his Majesty's Royal Signet for taking off ners. nal services until he had rendered a relation to his Majesty of the true state of that Countrey, and of what else he conceived appertaining to his Majesty's service. alledging his power fo to doe, in regard his Commission and Authority did nor cease until he had personally appeared in the presence of his Majesty, and given him a verbal account of his Affairs, and received his pleasure therein. And so on Monday following he made fail, carrying all the Gold and Silver with him which he had been able to gather. Thus far Palentino, who therewith concludes the Chapter.

### CHAP. VIII.

The cause of the Stirrs and Insurrections in Pcru. Some Persons condemned to the Gallies are entrusted to Rodrigo Ninno to conduct them into Spain: His great dif-cretion and wit, whereby he freed himself from a Pyrate.

OW as to what this Authour mentions touching the suspension which the President made of that Act, whereby his Majesty takes off the perfonal fervices, that is, the fervices which Indians perform to the Spaniards: It is clear and apparent that those late Ordinances executed, with the rigour and ill nature of the Vice-king Blasco Numes Vela, were the cause of all those Commotions which harasted the Empire, and took away the life of the Viceking, and had been the destruction of so many Spaniards and Indians as have been related in this Hiftory. And whereas the Prefident himfelf brought the revocation of these Ordinances, and by means thereof and by his wise and discreet management, the Empire was again recovered and restored to the obedience of his Majesty. It neither seemed just nor decent for his Imperial Majesty, nor agreeable to the particular honour of the Prefident to introduce those new Laws and Statutes again which were formerly rejected and made void, especially that of freeing the Indians from personal services towards their Lords, which was the chief cause of all the complaints and troubles amongst them: for which reafon the President often said to several of his friends, that he was resolved not to put that Law in execution untill he had first by word of mouth discoursed with his Majesty of the inconvenience thereof; well knowing by experience, that that Law would never be digefted by the people, but always prove a Scandal and Offence, and perhaps put all things again into confusion and embroile, whensoever the same were but moved, or intreaty onely to be put in execution. But the Devil (as we have before mentioned) deligning to interrupt the peace of that Countrey, that thereby he might hinder the propagation of the Gospel and the increase of Christianity, contrived all means to unsettle and disjoint that Kingdom, and in order thereunto he fo blinded the understanding of the Lords of the Privy-council, that they perfuaded his Majesty to take such measures as tended to the great prejudice and confusion of that Kingdom; and hence those Wars had their original, which fucceeded to those lately suppressed, being carried on by Don Schaflian de Castilla and Francisco Hernandez Giron, whose pretence and quarrel was the same good old Cause, onely to free themselves from the uneasse burthen of those

Stantes, which caufed all that noife and effusion of so much bloud. As we shall make appear in its due place, and confirm the same by the testimony of Diego Herandez, whom we shall have occasion to quote in divers places.

Royal Commentaries

But to turn the course of this History from so melancholy a subject to some thing more divertifing and pleafant; we are to know, that whilft these matters were in agitation, a Letter was directed to the City of Los Reves from Hernando Ninno, Mayor of the City of Toledo, to his Son Rodrigo Ninno, of whom we have formerly made mention in the fourth Book of the fecond Part, wherein his Father required him (the Wars with Gonzalo Pigarro being ended) to haften into Spain, to take possession of an Estate which a Kinsinan of his had left him to in-

The departure of this Gentleman, who had always approved himfelf loyal to his Majesty's service in the late Wars against the Rebels, was judged by the President and the other Officers a fit and convenient opportunity for fending those eighty fix Souldiers into Spain, who for taking part with Picarro had been condemned to the Gallies: and accordingly this matter being intimated to Rodrigo Ninno and represented as a service acceptable to his Majesty, he accepted the same, though much against his Will, knowing that the charge of eighty six persons condemned to the Gallies could not but occasion much trouble and inconvenience to him: howfoever the hopes of a reward prevailed above the thoughts of the trouble; so that he provided his Arms and other necessaries for conducting those People. with whom he departed to Los Reyes, being in all eighty fix Spaniards; amongst those, there were fix Musicians, who had formerly served Gonçalo Picarro, whom I knew, and as I remember, one of them was called Augustine Ramirez, born at Mexico, his Father was a Spaniard, and his Mother an Indian: they were all excellent Masters of Musick, and carried their Instruments with them, and therewith enterrained company wherefoever they came; and by the liberality of fome Gentlemen, who came to hear them, they received that which ferved them to bear

the charge of their voyage.

BOOK VI.

With fair weather and wind Rodrigo Ninno happily arrived at Panama, having along the coast of Peru received assistence for security of his Prisoners, who were during that time submissive and humble, being conscious to themselves how much they had offended his Majefty within that jurifdiction: But being departed from Panama and Nombre de Dios, some of them took the opportunity to make their familiar and Nombre as Districtions of the first the speciality of the following in the Gallies; for the truth is, Rodrigo vinno had not a fufficient Guard with him to fecure for many; nor did the Prefident and his Minifters fupply him therewith, imagining that the fole authority of Ninno was sufficient to keep them in Subjection; though in reality they could not find men in that Countrey who would be perfivaded to take upon them the charge to conduct fo many Gally flaves into Spain. With this care and trouble Ninno, failing near the Isles of Cuba and Saint Domingo, espeed a French Pyrate, who gave him chase, for at that time no other Nation used those Seas but that onely. The Spamilk Captain who was unprovided of Men and Arms for his defence, and knowing also that he carried an Enemy within his Vessel, bethought himself of this Strategem which was as discreet as pleasant. He armed himself from head to foot, and with his Corflet and Plume of Feathers in this Head-piece: and with his Partifan in his hand went and flood by the Main-mast; all his Seamen and others he commanded to be concealed under the Decks, and his Musicians with their instruments to afcend upon the Poop, and to thike up and play when the Enemy came near them: all things being thus ordered as Ninno had directed, the Ship failed on her course, without fear as it were or apprehension of the Enemy, who still gave them chase, not doubting of a good prize: but so soon as they came up with them, and so near as to hear the Musick, and seeing sew or none appear above deck, they began to imagin, that that Veffel belonged to some person of Quality who was banished for Treason against the King, or that was dispossessed of his Eflate by some Law-suit or other device; and that being thereby become desperate, they believed he had fet himfelf to Sea, and turned Pyrate, like themfelves, to repair his fortunes with what booty and prize offered on the Seas. The French-man with this imagination left off his chafe, not during to engage with *Rodrigo Ninno*, permitting him to purfue his Voyage. This Story was told to the Prefident, as he paffed those Islands into *Spain*; which the Inhabitants received from the relation of that Pyrate, whom under affurance of a white Flag and Articles of Truce they adven-SILL

868

tured to fupply with Provisions for his money, which much pleased the President when he thought how good a choice he had made of a knowing and faithfull person, for so weighty a trust as this of the Gally-flaves.

#### CHAP. IX.

All the Gally-flaves make their escape from Rodrigo Ninno, excepting one who remained with him, and him he drove away with Custs and Boxes with his Fist upon his Face. The Sentence which was passed on him in this case. The Favour which the Prince Maximilian shewed to him.

R Odrigo Ninno having got out of the hands of the Pyrate by his Strategem of Musick, proceeded on his Voyage, and came to Havana where most of his Gally-slaves, having not had a sufficient Guard to secure them, made their escapes: others of them sled away at Cartagena, and others at the Islands of Teccras, so that when they came to pass the Bar of Saint Lucar, there were not above eighteen remaining of the whole number of eighty six; and between that and the Port of Scrille seventeen found means to run away; so that when Rodrigo Ninno came to disembark, he had onely a poor simple fellow of all his company remaining; whereas, according to contract made with the President at Los Rejas, he was to have delivered the whole number of eighty six at this place: wherefore Ninno entered into Scrille with his single Gally-slave at a Back-gate of the City called Carbon, which is little frequented either by those who go in or come out.

Rodrigo Nimo finding himself in the middle of a Street when no person appeared, catched hold of his Gally-slave by the Collar, and, with his Dagger in his hand, swore by the life of the Emperour, that he would give him twenty Stabs: but, said he, I will not doe it, because I will not foul my hands with the bloud of so dirty a Villain as thou art, who having been a Souldier in Peru, hast yet the base and poor spirit to become a Slave in the Gallies. Why didst not nhou run away as the other eighty five have done? Get thee gone in the Devil's name, for I had rather goe alone, than thus ill-attended; and having said thus much, he gave him three or sour good Custs on the Ear, and so let him goe: And therewith Rodrigo went directly to the Farmers of the Customs, to give them an account of the great care he had taken of the Gally-slaves; but that wanting men to guard and secure them, they were all escaped; and indeed he was in great apprehensions and sear of his own Life, lying at the mercy of so many men who had a power over him greater than his. The Commissioners of the Custom-house were much amazed to hear this Story, and knew not what to say to it, until sarther Examination.

In the mean time, this last Gally-slave, according to his own base spirit, talked at large of this matter in the first Victualling house he came unto; and told all the particulars which Rodrigo Nimo had either said or done: this Story filled all the Town with discourse, and came at length to the hearing of the Commissioners, who thereupon seized upon Nimo; and the King's Attorney accused him with high aggravations of his fault, alledging that he had given liberty to eighty six of the King's Slaves, for every one of which he ought to pay the value and price of ransome. The Suit against him was prosecuted, and Rodrigo Nimo, not being able to justify himself, he was condemned to serve the King with his Horse for the space of six years in Oran, and with two other Companions at his own charge, and that in the mean time he was not to return to the Indies. But Nimo appealed from this sentence to the Prince Maximilian of Austria who then governed Spain in the absence of his Imperial Majesty who was his Uncle: His Highnes inclined a favourable Ear to the Advocates of Rodrigo Nimo, who gave him a large account of all the Services which Nimo had performed against the Rebels, and how ill he

had been treated by those who had joyned with Goncalo Pigarro, and how he had heen employed by the Vice-king Vela Numez to feize on certain persons, and how ill he was treated by them, because he would not take their party, as we have at large mentioned in the eleventh Chapter of the fourth Book, and fecond Part. They also related the Trick he plaid the Pyrate at Sea, how the Gally flaves escaped from him, and how he released the last of them, and what words he said to him. All which the Prince heard with his usual favour and clemency, and was fenfible that the escape of the condemned men was caused by default and omission of those whose business it was to provide sufficient Guards, and that Ninno lay at the mercy of the Slaves, to whom he was beholding for not killing him. When the Agents observed how gratiously the Prince understood the cause of Ninno, they begged the favour that the Offenders might be admitted to the presence of they begged the layour that the Orientes Inight be admitted to the prefence of his Highness, which being granted, and that Ninno made his appearance accordingly, the Prince put such pertinent questions to him as any Learned Lawyer or Counsellour could have done: Art thou, said he, the man to whom eighty six Gally-slaves were entrusted? and that they all sed from you, and made their establishment. cape excepting one? and did not you beat that fingle fellow from you, and caused him alfo to run away. Most Serene Prince, answered Rodrigo Ninno, I could not doe more than what I did, for they did not furnish me with Men and Guards sufficient to secure so many men; God knows my heart, and the World hath received fufficient testimonies of my duty and service towards his Majesty. And as to the Gally-flave, whom I drove from me, I had compassion of him, for, methoughts, it was pity to commit that poor Rascal alone to the Gallies, and force him to labour for all the others who were fled from me: nor was I willing to have his Curfes, or reward him so ill as to put him into the Gallies, because he had been more true and faithfull to me than all his other companions. And now I refer my felf to the justice of your Highness, to be punished in case my crimes or faults deserve your royal displeasure. No, answered the Prince, it is they who are to be blamed, and are accordingly to be punished, and not you: for as to your part, you have done like a Gentleman, and therefore I acquit you from the fentence, to that you have free liberty to return to *Peru*, when you pleafe. *Rodrigo Nimo* kiffed his hands, and gave humble thanks to his Highness, and some years afterwards, he returned to Pern, where he more at large related these matters which we onely touch upon in brief; and openly professed, that in all Spain he found no friend to speak in his behalf and favour, but onely the good Prince Maximilian de Austria, whom God preserve and maintain with increase of Honour and Dominion. Amen.

#### CHAP. X.

The second Division of Lands is published. The President departs for Spain. The death of Licenciado Cepeda. The coming of the President to Panama.

THE Prefident Gasca with such impatience desired to acquir himself of the Government that every hour seemed a year, whilst he remained in that Office, and therefore used all possible endeavours to quicken his dispatch. And that he might not be longer detained, he left order (as Palentino before saith) with the Arch-bishop of Los Reses to publish after his departure the second division he had made, signed with his own hand: and having (as he supposed) made a sufficient provision for all things and disposed matters in their due form and manner; he embarked with all speed, and sailed from the Port called Callao, making his Cross upon Pern, vowing with passion never more to see it again; And after eight days were pass, publication was made of the new distribution; which Palentino mentions in these words, in Chap. 4, Lib. 1. Part. 2.

The time being come which the President Gasca had allotted for publication of

The time being come which the Prelident Gasca had allotted for publication of the second Division, and which was impatiently expected by the Pretenders,

hey

they all flocked to the publick Hall of Judicature: and the Judges being fer moon the Bench, the Seals of the Instrument were broken up, and the writing read on the bench, the seas of the influence were broken up, and the writing read in publick; The iffue of which was this: Those who had the least expectation were favoured with good allotments; and those who had most were entirely left out, and remained without any distribution. It was pleasant to see and hear the diversity of mens behaviour and fayings; some came out with pleasant countenances, and others flowned, and fivore and curfed the Prefident, being now become

desperate and without any hope, &c. Thus far Palentino. The Prefident with all speed lest the Countrey, not to hear and understand the Reproaches and Curtes which would be given him; and haftned as faft as was book fible to Panama; nor would he enter into Port by the way to take refreshment. having a perfect hatred and abhorrence to the Countrey: with him he carried Licenciado Cepeda prisoner, who sormerly had been one of his Majesty's Justices in those Kingdoms and Provinces; and though the President had a sufficient power to hear and judge his cause; yet, in regard he had promulged an Act of Pardon to all people, he was unwilling to call those faults into question which he had formerly forgiven; and therefore remitted his case to the supreme Royal Council of the Indies. And being come to Valladolid, where the Court then relided, his canfe was re-affumed and his faults opened, with many aggravating circumftances of the Attorney General: And though Cepeda, in defence of himfelf alledged that the other Judges and he had acted all things with intention to ferve his Maiefly and with delign to qualifie and abate the fury of feditious and mutinous men, whose foirits were heated and out into fermentation by that indifcreet rigour which the Vice-king Blasco Numez used in execution of those new Laws which were the cause of all those Troubles which ensued: but these Allegations availed little in his favour, nor was it possible to prevent the sentence which was passed upon him, to dye as a Traytor. And though his friends and relations used all the interest they were able to gain his pardon; yet, seeing they could not avail for his life, they then endeavoured to moderate the fentence, that he might not dye as a Traytor, and so his bloud be attainted: to avoid which a contrivance was made with a dose of poison, whereby he passed more easily and quietly into the next world before fentence was pronounced formally against him at the Tribunal of Justice. All which was the common and publick discourse in Peru, and which I heard afterwards confirmed in Spain by some Indians who happened to enter before me into discourse about the death of Licenciado Cepeda. And it is farther said of Cepeda, that he discoursing after the death of Gonçalo Piçarro of the successes of the late Affairs, and of the fentence of death which paffed upon himfelf; and that he was condemned as a Traytor, to have his Houses demolished, and the ground thereof to be fowed with Salt, and his Head to be fixed on a Spike of Iron; that he should fay , he would maintain the cause of Gonçalo Picarro to have been just and legal , and that he was no Traytor to his Majesty; and that he acted entirely for conservation of the Empire; and that if he did not make this good, he would pawn his Life, and offer his Throat to the Knife; provided he might have the Parliament of Paris or the University of Bolonia for his Judges, or any other Court of Justice, not subjected to the Imperial Dominion. Dr. Gonçalo Illescas, in his Pontifical History speaks almost the same thing of Copeda, as before mentioned, whose words

Amongst the many famous and renowned persons who were concerned in the Troubles of Pern, there was one Licenciado Cepeda, who acted a confiderable part; he was a Native of Tordesillas, and one of the Judges who came over with the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela: It were not just to conceal his Name, having been very active in his Majesty's service, whilst he employed himself in that duty: and afterwards, being engaged with Gonçalo Piçarro, he shared a great part in his illegal practices. This Cepeda, at the conclusion of all, when both Armies were drawn up in the Field to give Battel, revolted over to the Imperial Camp, with some danger of his life, for Picarro fent to pursue him, and he was left for dead upon a wet moorish piece of ground. Though Gasca received him then with great signs of affection and good-will; yet afterwards he brought him into Spain, and caused him to be clapt up in the King's prison, and was afterwards arraigned of High-treason. Cepeda made so good a desence for himself, and with so much reason, (for he knew very well the manner to defend his Cause) that it was generally believed he would have been acquitted with much honour: but dying of a fickness in the Prison at Valladolid, his Cause was never determined. I had once in my noffession the reasons he produced in his own desence, which indeed are so strong that yhosoever reads them must necessarily acquit him, and allow him to have heen a true and faithfull fervant to his Majesty: He was more happy in the goods of mind than in those of fortune; for though he had amassed vast Riches and acoured great Honours, yet I have feen him much afflicted, and necessitious in pri-

Royal Commentaries.

n. Thus far this Doctour, who giving also a relation of the death of Count Pedro Navarro, one of the most famous Captains of his time, says almost the same that we have done of the death of Cepeda, viz. That the Officer in whose custody he was, being his great Friend, did strangle him in prison to prevent an Attainder. having gained all the Kingdom of Naples, &c. Thus fortune produces cases of the like nature over all the World, that men comparing the miferies of others with

their own, may learn to compassionate each others forrows.

The President Gasea arrived in safety at the City of Panama, with more than a million and a half of Gold and Silver, which he carried into Spain for account of his Majefty; befides as much more for private men, who were paffengers with him. At that place a strange accident happened which Historians mention: but in regard Augustine de Carate is more particular therein than any other Authour we shall make use of his relation, touching the Execution of one of those new Ordinances or Laws which have made fuch a noise in the World, and raised Murinies and Rebellions in all quarters: and therefore we shall in the first place repeat what he fays of the beginning of this rebellion, and then as to the Proceedings thereof, we shall refer our selves to the other Authours, as also for the quantities of Gold and Silver which were robbed by the Contreras; who, if they had contented themselves with the prey they had taken, and had known how to secure it, they had revenged the injuries they fulfained with great advantage: but the heat of youth transported them beyond the terms of moderation; and being unexperienced in the art of War, they loft all again together with their lives: all which is specified by Augustine Carate in the seventh Book of his History of Peru. Chap, 12 the Title of which is as followeth, and which we make the eleventh of these our Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XI.

Of what happened to Hernando and Pedro de Contreras, who were at Nicaragua, and went in quest and pursuit of the President.

T that time, when Pedro Arias Davila governed and discovered the Pro-A vince of Nicaragua, he married one of his Daughters called Doma Maria Pennaloja to Rodrigo de Contreras a Native of the City of Segovia, a principal perfon, and one of a great Estate there: By the death of Pedro Arias the Government of that Province fell to Rodrigo de Contreras; who having been nominated thereunto by his Father-in-law Pedro Arias, and having deserved well for his Loyalty to the Crown, his Majesty was pleased to confirm him therein by special Commission; and accordingly he governed for some years, untill a new Court of Judicature was erected in the City of Gracias de Dios, which borders on the confines of Guatimala; and then the new Justices did not onely deprive Rodrigo de Contreras of his Government; but likewife putting in execution one of the new Laws before mentioned, they acquitted all his Indians, as well those which belonged to himself as those which came to him by his Wife from their duty and services; as also those Indians which he had settled upon his Children during the time of his Office: of which hard usage Rodrigo complaining petitioned for a redress in confideration of the many services which both his Father-in-law and all his family had performed

performed to his Majefty: but neither the King nor his Council thought fit to vield to his request, but to maintain the new Law, and approve what the Court had acted in that matter. The Sons of Rodrigo de Contreras called Hernando and Pedro referred this agrievance with high indignation, and being young men, rath and in the heat of their bloud, resolved to rise in Arms: and herein they found encouragement from one John Bernejo, and other Souldiers his Companions, who were come from Pern; most of which were highly displeased and incensed against the President, because for all the services they had done in the Wars against Gov. calo Picarro, he fuffered them to starve; and instead of making provision for them, he highly rewarded those who had taken part with Pigarro and banished fuch as had ferved the King out of the Confines of *Peru*: with these and the like Complaints they animated the two brothers to undertake some great enterprise perfuading them that in case they could once get two or three hundred Souldiers they might adventure to invade Peru; and moreover, being already furnished with Shipping and all things requifite for Navigation, they might with much ease transport their men thither; where being landed they would soon be increafed with all that party of men which the Prelident Gasca had disobliged. Having refolved on the matter, they privately lifted men, and provided Arms, and when they found themselves strong enough to resist the Officers of Justice, they began to put their defigns into execution: and in the first place they fell upon the Bilhop of the Province, who having opposed their Father in all his negotiations, they in revenge thereof caused certain Souldiers to enter his house, and kill him as he was playing at Chefs. And then prefently they fet up their Standard, and declared for Liberty, calling their Army the Keepers of the Liberty. Then they fitted fuch Ships out to Sea as were requifite, and failed into the South-fea, with intention to expect the coming of the President, and to take and rob him in his passage; for they had received intelligence, that he was on his voyage towards the main Land with all the treasure belonging to his Majesty. How soever it seemed most adviseable to go first to Panama, there to receive information of the state of Affairs; and besides, they were in a better post and station there, to sail from thence to any part of Pern, than from Nicaragna. And having shipped about three hundred men, they arrived at the Port of Panama, where before they made a descent into the Town, they informed themselves by some of the Inhabitants whom they had taken of all which had lately paft; and how the Prefident was already landed with all the King's Treature. And now, as if their good forune had offered this great booty to their hand, they expected untill night; and then fecretly entered the Port without any noise, on confidence that the President was lodged in the City, and lay fecure, apprehending no harm; and therefore they doubted not but to surprize him without loss or hurt to themselves. Thus far Augustine Carate. And Gemara having almost said the same thing, adds, Chap. 193. That the Converse got up all the Picarrists, who were sled from Gisca, and other Fugitives and men of desperate sortunes, and resolved to attempt some exploits to enrich themselves, declaring that the Treasure and Dominion of *Peru* did by a lawfull Title belong to them, as Grand-children descended from the *Pedawias de* Avila, who were in Partnership with Picarro Almagro and Laques. Though this was but a weak pretence, yet it ferved the turn, and brought in a great number of Villains and Miscreants to side with them; and under this colour they committed much spoil and robbery, and sufficiently enriched themselves, had they known a mean and wherewith to be contented. Thus far Gomara.

Now the whole Story is this; The Contreras entered Panama by night and made there first attempt on the house of Doctour Robles. In four Ships then in Port they took eight hundred thousand pieces of Eight, some of which were for the King's and some for account of private men: in the Treasurer's house they seized upon fix hundred thousand more which were ready to have been carried to Number de Dios, as Gomara reports, Chap. 193. And besides this quantity of Gold and Silver, they robbed the Shops of many rich Merchants, whence they plundred field use households of several seve fuch vast quantities of commodities which came from *Spain*, that they were troubled how to dispose of them or carry them away. Moreover, they sent one of their Companions called Salguero with a Party of Musquetiers by way of Las Cruxes to the River of Chapre, upon intelligence that they had fent great quantities of Gold and Silver by that road to Nombre de Dios: and Salguero overtook and feized feventy load of Silver, which was not as yet shipped aboard, being to the value

BOOK VI. Royal Commentaries.

of five hundred and feventy thousand Ducats; all which they sent to Panama: so that befides Merchandize, Pearls, Jewels and other Curiofities, that they blundered, they had feized almost two millions in Gold and Silver onely, which belonged to the Prefident, and other Paffengers, who having not the least suspicion of Thieves or Robbers in that way, carried part of their Gold and Silver with them, and the relt they left at Panama, to be brought after them to Nombre de Dios at feven or eight turns. For as Gomara faith, there belonged above three millions to the Prefident and his Company. But all this immenfe Riches and Wealth was quickly confumed by the follies and debaucheries of these voing men; according to the Proverb, What was got upon the Devil's back, was from this belly. And what helped forward to this Work, was the vanity of Remeio and his Companions the Picarrifts, who could not be contented with a less Prey than the perion of the Prejident Galea himself; for some defired to take a full revenge on him in lieu of the Pay and Reward he promifed for the fervices they had done; and others, who were Picarriffs, were become his inveterate Enemies on the fcore of the old quarrel; and all cried out, that they would make Dice of his Bones and Powder of his Fleth: for, faid they, he is fo fine and fubtile in all his dealings; that certainly he cannot but make the best and the finest Gun-powder in the World: But these men were deceived in their vain imaginations; for though they did not feize the person of the President, yet their revenge would have been more complete in fending him away without his Gold and Silver, than if they had taken him alive, and facrificed him to their rage and furv.

## CHAP. XII.

Of the leud Practices and Follies of the Contreras, whereby they loft all the Treasure they had gained, together with their Lives. The diligence and good management which their Enemies used to bring them to condign Punishment.

But the good fortune of Licenciudo Gafea, which had accompanied him in all the fuccelles before related, and in the recovery of an Empire as great as Peru, would not now leave him exposed to the Attempts of a leud and villanous fort of People; for Providence still continuing her protection and favour to him; suffered these wicked Wretches to be ensured with their own Pride and Ignorance; and those very men who had followed Francisco de Carvajal, and had known and learned his Discipline and Art in War, were so clouded in their understandings and reafons, that they rafuly precipitated themselves into death and destruction. For in the first place, after they had taken Panama, and sacked and plundered the City, they feized upon many of the principal men thereof, amongst which were the Bithop and Treasurer to his Majesty, as also Martin Ruyz de Marchena, and the Sheriffs of the City, and carried them away with intent to hang them upon the common Gallows, which they had certainly done to the full fatisfaction of John de Bermejo, had not Hernando Converas given a ftop to the execution, with which Bermejo, being greatly enraged, told him plainly, that fince he was pleafed to appear in favour of his Enemies, to the high difcouragement of his friends; it would be no wonder if his Enemies another day took their turn and hanged up him and all his Affociates.

These words were a clear prediction of what happened in a short time afterwares. For Hernando de Contreras took no other fecurity from the Citizens for their outer behaviour towards him than their bare Oath, fivearing that they would be as true and faithfull to him, as if all the actions he had committed had tended to the fervice of God and of the King, and to the benefit and advantage of the Citizens. After which vain piece of confidence and folly, they divided their Forces, which in all confifted of no more than two hundred and fifty men, into four Squadrons; forty of which were remaining with Pedro de Contreras, to

Terer

guard

guard the four Veffels which they brought with them, and the other four they had taken in Port: Salguero, as we have faid, was fent with thirty men to the River of Chagre to take possession of the Silver which was robbed there: Hernande de Contreras himself marched with forty Souldiers more by way of Capira to seife the Prefident and fack Nombre de Dios; both which exploits he thought yet eafie to be done by a surprise; and John de Bermejo with an hundred and fifty men staid at Panama to keep and defend that City. And besides these pieces of solish man nagement and mifearriages, they were fo inconfiderate as to entrust the merchandife which they had robbed in the hands of the Proprietors themselves, and to other persons of reputation and note on security onely of Bonds under their handwriting to yield them up to Hernando de Contreras, when he should return from Nombre de Dios; and fo far were they transported with vain confidence, that they looked upon themselves as Masters of all the new world. And accordingly they gave out their Warrants to take up all Horses and Mules that could be found, and to mount their Souldiers thereon, and to go to the relief and affiftence of Hernando de Contreras if occasion should be. And with this Equipage Bermejo departed the City, leaving it to it felf, and with as much affurance of faithfulness as if it had been his own House: whereas on the contrary, had they embarked all the Gold and Silver they had robbed upon their Ships, together with the Jewels, Merchandife and other Booty, and had gone away themselves therewith, they had totally destroyed and ruined the President and all his Adherents. But they neither deferving so much good, nor the President so much evil, the wheel of fortune sur-

ned, as we shall see by the sequel.

874

For so soon as it was day, those who had escaped out by night, whilst they were plundring the City, one of which was Aris de Azevedo, (of whom the Hiflory makes mention) dispatched away a Servant of his to Nombre de Dios, to give intelligence to the Prefident Gasca of all that the Rebels had done at Panama; and though as yet the advice was imperfect, yet it ferved to alarm the Prefident in fuch manner as that neither he nor his People were totally unprovided. On the other fide, the Inhabitants of the City, whom John de Bermejo left with so much confidence, and reposed that Trust in as to commit a great part of his spoil to their care and custody; no sooner was his back turned than they affembled together, rang out the Bells of the Town, and fell to fortifying the City on the side towards the Sea, and to secure the passage on the way of Capira, in case the enemy should attack them on either fide: At the found of the Bells all the neighbouring Inhabitants came in with their Arms, being attended with their Negroes, that in a floor time between White men and Tawny they made up a force of above five hundred men, all resolute to die in desence of the City. Two of the Souldiers helonging to John de Bermejo, who for want of Horses were lest behind, hearing the noise and confusion amongst the people, fled away to give advice to their Commander how the City was in rebellion, and again returned to the obedience of his Majesty: Of which John de Bermejo sent immediate advice to Hernando de Centreras, giving him to understand that he was going to Panama, to cut those Traitours in pieces who had falfly violated their Oath and Faith to them: and to he returned thither with confidence of becoming Master of it with as much ease as formerly; but things happened out quite contrary to his expectation, for the Citizens, to prevent the burning of their City (which was all built of Timber) came forth to encounter him in the way, and met John de Bermejo fortified on the fide of an Hill, where they attacked him with great courage; for being angry and ashamed of the late disgracefull usage, they fought with the more bravery: at the first assault it was not known which party had gained the advantage, but at the fecond, the Citizens fighting like desperate men, and full of revenge, overwhelmed their enemies with their numbers of White and Black men; amongst which Bermejo and Salguero were both killed with about eighty more; as many more were taken, and carried away to the City; where being put all together in an open yard, the chief Bailiff of the Town (whose name we shall not mention) came in amongst them with two Negro Servants, and with Daggers stabbed them to death, whilst with loud out cries they defired time for Confesfion. Palemino faith that, dying without Confession, they were buried on the Sea-shore. The news of this misfortune was foon brought to the hearing of Hernando de Contreras, who upon the advice formerly given by Bermejo, was upon his march back to Panama; and confidering himfelf now as a loft man and ruined,

he difmift his Souldiers, advifing every man to shift for himself, and told them that their best way would be to make towards the Sea, where his Brother Pedro de Contreras would receive them a-board a Ship, and that he himself intended to take that way, and so they dispersed, every man shifting for himself: some few days after which, the King's Party going in pursuit of them over Mountains, Boggs and wet places, they found the Body of Hernando de Contreras drowned in a Morass: the Head they cut off and carried it to Panama, and though it was very much disfigured, yet he was known by his Hat, being of a fingular fashion, and by a Chain of Gold which he usually wore about his Neck. His Brother Pedro de Contreras, hearing this fad fate, with the destruction and ruine of John de Bermejo and all his Companions, attempted to make his escape by Sea; but the Winds and Waters, and all the Elements confipred againft him to hinder his Ships from going out of Port; wherefore he endeavoured to make his escape in little Boats, not knowing where to go or fly, in regard all the World was become his Enemy. But the Inhabitants of the City armed out other Boats in chace of him, with which they recovered their own, and took also the Enemy's Ships: Another Party appointed to follow those over the Mountains, who had taken their way by Land, took some of those belonging to Hernando: but as to Pedro de Contreras, no man knew what became of him; though it was generally believed, that he was killed by the Indians, or devoured by Tygers or other wild Beafts, of which there are great numbers in that Countrey; for they never received news of him after-

Roval Commentaries.

This was the end and iffue of that wicked defign; of which no better fuccefs could be expected, having commenced with the Murther of a Bishop; and though some men would excuse this fact by laying a blame on the Bishop for his immoderate language, whereby they were provoked to the performance of this outrageous Act; yet certainly nothing can be alledged in excuse of this heinous and abomi-

nable Murther. But at length they paid for all, as before related.

#### CHAP. XIII.

The President recovers the Treasure he had lost. He punishes the Ossenders. He arrives in Spain, where he happily ends bis days.

Hilft Licenciado Gasta was at Nombre de Dios he received news of the arrival of the Contreras, and of the Robberies and Piracies they had committed in Panama, he was much afflicted to confider, that fuch a strange turn of fortune should be referved for him at the conclusion of all his affairs; and which a certain Authour fays was the more furprifing, in regard it was never imagined, nor possibly to be prevented by all the care and diligence that could have been contrived. But now to hinder the farther progress of this evil, he secured in the best manner he was able the Treasure which he had with him; and then with what Forces he had, and with the Auxiliaries of the Town, he prepared to return to Panama to recover his loft Treasure and punish the Robbers: and though he conceived little hopes of fuccess, supposing that they had been so wise as to have carried away their prize, and provided for their own fafety: howfoever, not to be wanting to his duty, or to loofe an opportunity, as he had never done, when offered; he marched out of Nombre de Dios with such men and arms as could be provided on a fudden: and in the first days journey he received intelligence of the happy success at Panama, with the death of John de Bermejo, and Salguero, and of the flight of Hernando de Converas over the Mountains, and of his Brother by Sea; with which the good President being comforted, proceeded on his journey with great alacrity, rendring thanks to Almighty God (as Gomara faith) for such a tide and current of happy fortune as would ever be recorded in future ages to his honour and fame, &c. The Prelident entred into Panama with greater glory and triumph than Ttttt 2

ever the Emperous and Grandees of the World had done into their Capital Ca ties: for that without arms or men, counsel or advice, and onely by the favore and air of his happy fortune he confounded his enemies, who had given him a cruel and fatal blow, had they not been fools, and not ruined themselves by their own miscarriages. In fine, he recovered the Treasure which was lost, requiring it from those to whose custody it was committed, and thereby received an increase both of the Gold and of the Silver: for in regard the Robbers had promiscuously feifed on all the Treasure, as well that which appertained to the King as to private men; the Prefident laid a Sequestration upon all in the name of his Majesty After which license was given to particular persons to make their demands, and bring their proofs, by affigning the Marks and Numbers which were upon the Bars of Silver and Ingots of Gold: for it hath been an ancient cultome amongst those who trade for Peru, to stamp Marks and Numbers upon the Gold and Silver shinped for their respective accounts; whereby in case of shipwreck or any other mission. tune, every man may know his own, and demand it for himself: and so those who certified their Marks, and made proof that the feveral parcels demanded belonged to them, had their goods reftored to them; but then fuch as could not, loft their interest, which was applied to the service of his Majesty: And by this accident the Prefident rather gained than loft, for all things turn to the benefit of those who are favoured by fortune. The Treasure being recovered, the President entred mon examination of those who adventured to possess themselves of the Bars of Silver which Salenero brought to the City: and though this Party were not in combination with the Contreras, yet finding the City in a combustion, they made use of that opportunity to rob formething for themselves: so some of them were whipped. others pilloried; and not onely Rebels but Pilferers were punished, who thought it good fithing in troubled waters.

The Prefident ordered the Head of Hernando de Contreras to be set on the Gallows, and pitched upon a Spike of Iron, with his name written upon it; but no other punishment was passed by the President upon the Offenders; for when he returned to Panama he found that work already done to his hand, for they were all killed before he came thither. After which, with great expedition, he embarked for Spain, as Palentino mentions in the tenth Chapter of his second Part in these words:

Thus did the Prefident Casca confuminate all the good fortunes which had befaln him both in Spain and Peru, by the late profeerous success in recovery of the Treasure which was robbed from him, which was fignalized by many remarkable chrcumstances: with this Treasure he embarked for Spain, where being happily arrived, he travelled into Germany to attend on his Majesty, who had already bestowed on him the Bishoprick of Placencia, which was become vacant by the death of Don Lewis Cabeça de Vaca of happy memory; in which charge he continued untill the year 61, when Don Phelipe our Catholick King and Lord advanced him to the Bishoprick of Ciguenca, in which he remained untill the month of November 77, when God was pleased to take him out of this present world. Thus sar Palentho, which is confirmed by Lopes de Gomara, Chap. 193.

which is confirmed by Lopes de Gomara, Chap. 193.

Gafea, faith he, embarked at Nombre de Dios, and arrived in Spain in the month of July, in the year 1550, with great riches belonging to others, but as to himfelf his chief Wealth was his Reputation. In going and coming, and in his time there, he Grent above four years: the Emperour made him Bishop of Placenia, and called him to Angulung in Germany, to certifie unto him by word of mouth all matters which had passed in the Indies, with the true state of Pera. Thus far Gomara with which he concludes that Chapter. And though this Authour says, the President Gasea sought with the Rebels, and subdued them; he means, that his good fortune had delivered them into his hands by the resolution and care of others, for he never saw them either dead or alive. Thus did this worthy person most happily conclude his days, whose memory ought for ever to be celebrated; in regard that by his good fortune, excellent conduct, prudence and wisedom the new Empire containing a thousand three hundred leagues in length was recovered, and restored to the Emperour Charles the Fisth, with a vast Treasure which he brought with him.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Francisco Hernandez Giron proclaims his Commission and Design for making a new Conquest, upon which many Souldiers slock to him; which causes great Disturbance and Mutinies in Cozco, but is suppressed by the Prudence and Moderation of some Citizens.

Eaving now the Prefident Galca, Billion of Ciguenca entombed with Enligns L and Scutchions of honour and fame; we mult in the next place make a long and speedy transition from Ciguença to Cozco, where we shall find many sudden alterations; for fo foon as the Prefident Gasca was departed for Spain, all the Inhabitants of divers Cities returned to their respective homes and places of aboad. every one to look after his particular concernments: amongst which General Pedro de Hinojofa was one, and Captain Francisco Hernandez Giron went to Cozco, publishing on his way thither the Commission he had received to make a new Conquest; and in order thereunto he appointed several Captains to list men in Husmanca and Arequepa, and in the new Plantation: whilst he himself, with great folemnity, by found of Trumpet and beat of Drum proclaimed his Defign and Commission in Cozco; upon which publication above two hundred Souldiers flocked to him from all parts, for he was a popular man, and well beloved by the Souldiery. Such a number being got together, took a liberty to fpeak of the late Transactions according to their humours, and to vilifie and contemn the Prefident and the Governous he had left in the Empire; and so publickly scandalous and impudent was their discourse; that the Governours of the City thought it time to find ways to suppress it: and John de Saavedra, who was then Mayor of the Town, defired Hernandez de Giron to expedite his departure as foon as possible, that they might be freed from the infolence of the Souldiers. For though the Captain himself entertained several of them in his own Family; yet the rest were quartered on the Citizens in their private Houses: which though it were an aggrievance to them 3 yet, as *Palemino* faith, they were unwilling to part with them, because this expedition deprived them of their People; so that in case his Majefty should impose any thing on them to their farther prejudice, they should be diffenabled from making opposition to encroachments on their Estates and Privileges, as they had formerly done with good success, &c.

For my part, I know not whence this relation should proceed; for it is well known that it had been much better for the Citizens to have the Souldiers employed in diflant and remote enterprifes, than to lye at free quarter upon them; being obliged to maintain fome four or five, fome fix or feven, in their houses; and to afford them meat, drink and lodging, with cloaths and other conveniences: and how then it can be as this Authour faith, I know not, fince it is plain and evident, that the Inhabitants were confumed and undone by those chargeable Guests. But we must excuse this Historian in many passages related by him, for he was not personally present when they were acted, but received his informations from others which are often doubtfull and contradictory, and fo full of mutinies, that every page is filled with them, whereby all the Inhabitants, as well as Souldiers are rendred Traytors and difloyal to the Government: All which we shall lay asside, as not pertinent to this History, and shall onely insist on the most material passages, of which I my self was a Witness, having been present in Cozco; when Francisco Hernandez and his Souldiers made their first disturbance : And I was also prefent at the fecond mutiny which paffed about three years afterwards: all which Tobserved, without any notice taken of me; for I was a very boy, and had not attained the age of a young man; howfoever, I had fo much understanding as to fee and observe the discourses which my Father made of the several affairs which passed in that Empire. And therefore I can truly aver, that these Souldiers carried themselves so, proud and insolent, that the Government was forced to take notice of it, and confult a remedy: which when the Souldiers understood, they

him

applied themselves to their Captain, desiring him not to suffer them to be trampled upon by those who had no authority over them: For that the President Gasea having given him a Commission to make a new Conquest, and that they were his Souldiers, they knew no other power nor authority but his; and that they effeemed themselves free and independent on the Jurisdiction of the Mayor

878

And so far did this mutiny proceed, that the Souldiers affembled together with their Arms in the house of Francisco Hernandez: and on the other side, the Mayor and Citizens cryed out to arm; upon which the Inhabitants and their Relations. with divers Souldiers who were not of the Faction, and rich Merchants, and others of Quality, met in the Market-place with their Arms, and drew up in a formed body: In like manner the contrary Party drew up in their Captains Street, being not far from the Market-place, in which posture both sides continued two days and two nights, being every moment ready to attack each other: which had most certainly happened, had not some more moderate men, who were sensible of the late ruinous distractions, interposed between them, and addressed to the Mavor and Hernandez, Giron, desiring them to enter into a Treaty, that things might or and Hernandez Giron, defiring them to enter into a Treaty, that things might be brought to a right understanding. The chief men employed herein were Diego de Silva, Diego de Maldonado the rich, Garçilasso de la Vega, Vasco de Guevara, Antonio de Luinnones, John de Berrio, Jeronimo de Longía, Martin de Meneses, and Francisco Rodriguez de Villa suerie, who was the first of the thirteen that passed over the Line which Francisco Pigarro drew with the point of his Sword. With these feveral other Citizens joyned, to persuade the Mayor to quiet this disturbance. which would prove the destruction of the City and the whole Kingdom. The like was alledged to Francisco Hernandez, desiring him to consider that thereby he would forfeit the merit of all his former Services, that he would destroy his defign of Conquest, whereby he was to gain honour and make his fortune. At length it was agreed, that he and the Mayor should meet in the great Church? but the Souldiers of Hernandes Giron opposed it, unless Hostages were first given for his safe return, which was affented unto, and four Citizens were delivered for fecurity; namely, Garçilasso my Master, Diego Maldonado, Antonio de Quinnones and Diego Silva. On these Conditions the two Chiefs met in the great Church, where Francisco Hernandez carried himself so insolent and proud, that the Mayor had laid hands on him had he not been restrained with the consideration of his friends who remained Hostages in the power of the Souldiers: so that suppressing his anger what he could, he suffered Francisco Hernandez to return to his House, from whence he came again, and towards the Evening met on the former Cautions given. By which time Hernandez having better confidered the unhappy confequences of that mutiny, and having confulted with divers friends upon the case, he became much more gentle, and in a more flexible temper than before: and in this good humour they broke up and adjourned until the day following, by which time they should be enabled more deliberately to discuss their affairs. Being accordingly met; the usual forms of Protests and Acts were drawn up, and the Preamble was agreed to the following Articles: Namely, That for the publick peace and quiet of the Land, Francisco Hernandez should remove his Souldiers from the Town, and should deliver up eight of those who had been the most infolent and mutinous amongst them into the hands of the Mayor; of which number were those who had fired upon his Majesty's Troop without any cause or provocation. And that he himself should goe in person to the Court of Justice, to render an account of this late scandalous Mutiny and Riot.

This Agreement was folemnly fivorn unto by both Parties and drawn up in Writing; and the Mayor was to permit Hernandez to depart freely upon his own Paroll and Oath of Fealty to the King. After this Francisco Hermandez returned to his own House, where he acquainted his Souldiers with the Agreement he had made, but they were not pleaded therewith, but began to mutiny, and if he had not appealed them with good words and promiles, they had fallen in upon the King's party; the confequence of which would have been very destructive to the whole Kingdom; for they were two hundred effective men, desperate and of no fortunes, having nothing to lofe: and on the other fide, there were above Eighty persons of Quality who had Lands and Estates; and the rest were Merchants of great Riches. But God was pleased to divert this fatal Mischief at the Prayers and Vows of religious Friats, and fecular Priefts, and devout Women: for though

the disturbance was more enslamed than before, so that Watch and Centinels were fet, and they were all the night up with Arms in their hands; yet in the morning, when the Mayor faw that Hernandez had not drawn off his men; he fent for him by a Warrant to appear before him: But he, supposing that his men would not suffer him to goe, in case they were acquainted therewith, slipt on his morning Gown; and, as if he intended to goe onely to the next neighbour, he went directly to the house of the Mayor, who presently took him and commitwent directly to the nome of the Iwayor, who prefently took inth and commuted him to prifon: the news hereof being brought to his Souldiers, they immediately dispersed, and every man shifted for himself: but the eight men who were impeached took Sanctuary in the Convent of St. Dominick, and fortified themselves in the Steeple of the Church; where they befieged them for feveral days, but could not take them, by reason that the passage was very narrow, being built for a Tower in the time of the Inca's; howfoever atlength they furrendred and were punished, but not with that severe Justice, which their rebellious practices did require; and the Tower was demolished, that it might not be made use of for the future on fuch like occasions.

#### CHAP. XV.

John Alonfo Palomino and Jeronimo Costilla fly from Cozco. Francisco Hernandez Giron presents himself before the High Court of Justice; is dismissed, and returns to Cozco; and he is married in Los Reves. The Relation of another Mutiny which happened in that City.

HE Souldiers being dispersed, and Francis Hernandez Giron imprisoned, the Mutiny was suppressed and all things quieted: and therefore it was much wondered, what should be the reason that moved Alonso Palomino and Jeronimo Costilla, who had married two Sisters to escape out of the City, the second night after all things were agreed: nor do I know what reason Palentino had to say, that this happened two years afterwards; than which nothing can be more falle; which I can aver upon my own knowledge, having been an eye-witness of what passed at that time in Cozco: but true it is, that these Gentlemen departed the City at mid-night, without any cause or reason known for the same. If they had gone away three or four nights before, when the City was in extreme danger, some Conjectures might have been made upon the reasons of their departure: but going thus away without any reason assigned, the whole City talked, and made a thousand Conjectures thereupon, especially when it was known, that they had burnt the Bridges of Apurimac and Amancay, which were to be repaired at the expence and labour of the poor Indians: upon which all the Countrey was in a confusion, and rumours were spread, that Francisco Hernandez Giron was up in Arms at Cozco, and was become a Rebel. But in the fecond Infurrection he made, Alonso Palomino gave him his reward, by killing him at a Supper, as we shall see hereaster; but feronimo Costilla escaped, being not present at the Invitation. But to return again to the prefent Acts of Giron: we fay, that his Souldiers being dispersed, and the chief Incendiaries punished, the Agreement was persormed and executed; and Giron was released upon his Paroll and solemn Oath given to goe to the City of Los Reyes, and there to prefent himself before the Royal Court of Justice, and give them an account of the late Actions. Diego Maldonado the Rich having a particular friendship with him by reason of their neighbourhood, (for they lived the next street one to the other) accompanied him on his journey as far as Antahnylla, being fourty leagues from Cozco: and with the fame occation Muldonado visited his Indians, and Plantations he had in those parts: but Palentino faith, I know not upon what ground, that Giron was delivered into the hands of the High Sheriff Maldonado, and of Captain John Alonfo Palomino, who were obliged at their own cost and charge to provide twenty Musquetiers to carry

him to Lima; and for better fecurity, the Mayor made him take the Oath of Vi.

Royal Commentaries.

I cannot imagin where this Authour received this relation, fo contrary to all truth, and which founds fo like a Romance or a Poetical Fiction. But this is most certain, that Giron came to the City of Los Rejes, and there presented himfelf before the Royal Court of Justice, where the Judges committed him to prifon: but many days had not palled, before he was enlarged, and the whole City affigued him for his confinement: and in a thort time afterwards they took his own obligation and discharged him upon the terms he offered. And here it is reported, that he married with a very Noble Lady, young, vertuous and beautifulls and unworthy of those forrows and afflictions which her husband brought upon her by his fecond Rebellion: as we thall fee in the fequel of this Hiftory. With her he returned to Cosco, where for fome days and months, I cannot fay years, he remained quiet; how loever, in the mean time, he converfed with none but Souldiers, avoiding, as much as he could, all fociety and communication with the Citizens: atlength he brought an Action against one of the principal Members of the City, about an Horie, which he challenged to be his, though in reality he had no title thereunto; for the truth was, he had loft him in the late Wars of Quite, having been taken from him by a front Souldier, and as lawwas or season, having occurrent or a round turn of money, which was wimefull prize fold by him to a Citizen for a round turn of money, which was wimefeld by another Souldier who knew how he came by him. How foever, in regard the Souldier who fold him had followed Picarro's Party, the Horfe was kept privately and unknown to any, befides the Mafter himfell: but at length the Horfe coming to be discovered, the Citizen was contented to sell him to Giron at an under rate, rather than to bring the Souldier into question, who might have been hanged or fent to the gallies for the fame; fo that this fuit about the Horse served onely to thew his good-will and kindness towards his Companions and Equals. who were Lords over *Incitions*, and enjoyed Eflates; for, as I observed, he never kept company or entertained communication with them; but onely with Souldiers, and with them he frent his whole time and employed his chief concernment. as will appear fome few days afterwards. For certain Souldiers, as the rand as mutinous as the others, objecting the little rigour and feverity which was used against the insolence and mutinous behaviour of Francisco Giron and his Associates were encouraged to attempt the like Outrages: but being few in number and without any Flead that was confiderable, they refolved to find out one, be he what he would; and so publickly was this matter discoursed and treated, that it became the common talk of all the City of Los Rejes: and atlength the rumour was fo far spread that it came to the Ears of the Mayor of Cozco, who being thereupon requelled to take cognizurce of the Matter, to examine the Plot, and to punish the Offenders; he excuted himfelf, faying, that he was not to create more Enemies than those formerly, who were Hernandez Giron and his Acherents; and as for those Troubles then acting, the incumbence lay on the Court of Justice to tuppress and prevent them; and in case they held themselves unconcerned, he for his part would not intermeddle with Affairs, which belonged to a fuperiour power. Whilst these things were in agitation in the Countrey, a certain Inhabitant of Cozco, called Don John de Mendoça, a Martial man, and one kind to the Souldiery, happened to come then to Town, with intention rather to aggravate matters, and incite others, than to concern himfelf either one way or the other. So foon as he came to the City, he created with the principal Complotters, who were called Francisco de Miranda and Alonso de Barrismacro, who was then High Sheriff of the City, and with Alonfo Hernathics Melgarcio. This Attrenda told him, that the Souldiers had with general content chofen him for their Commander in Chief, and Barrionness for his Lieutenant: the which Mendiga discovered to certain Citizens who were his Friends, adviting them to avoid fuch danger from the Souldiery, and to abandon the City: but when he perceived that they flighted his Counfel, he then travelled to the City of Los Rojes, publishing all the way he went, how that all Cozco was in an uproar: and that the City had taken no notice of him either going or coming. P. dentino mentions the flight of Palonino and Teronino Cofilla, to have been at this time; which had been two years before, as we have noted it before.

#### CHAP. XVI.

The Justices fend a new Mayor to Cozco, who doth Justice upon the Mutiniers. The Original of these Diflurbances is here related.

PON the rumour which Don John de Mendoga caused to be spread in the City of Los Reyes, the Judges appointed the Mareschal Alonso de Alvarado to he Mayor of Cozco, giving him Commission to punish the insolent and mutinous Souldiers there, and to hinder that growing Evil which for want of due correction was come to a degree unsupportable. So soon as this new Officer was come to Cozco, he apprehended some of the Souldiers, who to save themselves had impeached a certain Citizen called Don Pedro Portocarrero: And having well examined the cause of the principal Mutiniers, who were Francisco de Miranda and Alonso Hernandez Melgarejo, he hanged them up without any regard to their Nobility, though they claimed the privilege of Gentlemen. The which when Alonso Barrionenevo knew, who was also condemned, he sent to the Mayor or Governour. defiring that he might enjoy the privilege of a Gentleman, that is, that he might have his Throat cut, and not be hanged; alledging that in cafe he were hanged, he should despair of his Salvation, and be condemned everlastingly to the Torments of Hell. At the instance of certain friends, the Governour granted the request, and with some unwillingness commanded his Throat to be cut; which I know to be true, because I saw them all three after they were dead; for, being a Boy at that time, I had the curiofity to fee those things as they passed: fix or seven others were banished out of the Kingdom, the rest made their escape away. But as to Don Pedro Portocarrero, he remitted his causes to the Lords Justices, who having examined him, fet him at liberty. Palentino speaking of Francisco de Miranda names him for a Citizen of Cozco3 whereas in reality he was not, unless we will give the title of Citizen to any Inhabitant, after the Callilian Style, different to the Custome used in Peru and Mexico, where none is called a Citizen unless he hath a Plantation, and a Command over Indians in vaffalage to him: and is obliged (as we noted in the first Part of these Commentaries) to maintain his Houfes in the place of his residence: but Miranda could claim nothing of this matter. for I knew him very well, for a Niece of his was bred up in the fame house with me, the was born of an Indian mother, and proved a woman of great probity and vertue. Some few months after this punishment executed, a small disturbance happened, of which Palentino makes a long Story; though in reality it was rather a Pretence raifed to take revenge upon a poor Gentleman, who, without any malice, had undertaken to give an account of Bastardies in several great and ancient Families, and not onely on the man's fide, but on the woman's fide also: but what these Families were, there is no reason we should mention in particular. Moreover, there were feveral other discontents in those days which turned into publick mutinies; the punishment of all which fell upon a poor young Gentleman onely, not of above twenty four years of age, called Don Diego Enriquez, a Native of Seville whom they put to death; his untimely end was much lamented by all the City; for though there had been above two hundred persons, as Palentino teports, concerned in the fedition, yet the fate of this poor Gentleman was without any fault, to pay for all. The Juftice also proceeded to execute farther Severities on Indians of principal note, and on the Vaffals and Servants of Noble and rich Citizens; which ought rather to have been inflicted on the Masters themfelves, who had been the causes thereof. These mutinies and disturbances, of which Palentino gives so long and large relations, proceeded originally from the Orders and Decrees which the Justices had made for taking off the personal Services of Indians towards their Lords, requiring that fuch as found themselves aggriewhich, as we have formerly faid, were Artifices of the Devil, contrived purpofely to raife discord among the Spaniards, whereby the progress of the doctrine of the Uunuu

Gospel might be hindred, and the Conversion of the Indians to the Catholick Faith delayed: the which proceeding was contrary to the fense and opinion of that wife and prudent person, the President Gasea, who having had experience, that the new Laws which the Vice-king Blasco Nunnez Vela had brought and put in execution in *Peru*, had raifed those commotions as would certainly have been the total destruction of that Empire, had they not been repealed; and having observed, that whensoever any thing of that kind was moved all the Countrey was put into a flame, he wisely therefore before his departure, suspended the eye. cution of his Maiesty's command, requiring him to free the Indians from services to their Lords. But the Justices followed not this rule, but fent their commands over all the Kingdom, as before mentioned, which gave occasion to the Souldiers to utter rebellious and seditious Speeches; and were encouraged therein by confidetable persons, and men of Estates; as *Palentino* writes at large in the second Part, and first Chapter of the second Book.

#### CHAP. XVII.

Don Antonio de Mendoça is sent in quality of Vice king to Peru, he employs his Son Don Francisco to wifit and Survey the Countrey as far as the Charcas; and dispatches bim into Spain, with a relation thereof. A severe action is executed by a Judge.

Bout this time a new Governour or Captain-General of the whole Empire A arrived in Peru, with title of Vice-king, called Don Antonio de Mendoca, who was Second Son of the House of the Marquis de Mondexar Count of Tendilla, who (as we have mentioned in the Hiftory of Florida) was Vice-king in the Empire of Mexico, sa person of great Sanctity and Religion, endued with Christian Vertues. and much a Gentleman. The City of Los Reges received him with great joy and folemnity, and defired to introduce him under a Canopy of State; but net-ther the Archbishop nor the Magistrates of the City could prevail with that Prince to accept of that honour, as if it had been a piece of Treason towards his Majesty, much contrary to the custome in these days; in which great Men esteem more of one hour of fuch Pageantry than all the time of their life afterwards: with him he brought his Son Don Francisco de Mendoça, who was afterwards made General of the Galleys of Spain; I saw him both here and there: he always behaved himself like the Son of such a Father, whose goodness and vertues he imitated, and followed both in his youth and in the years of his old age.

When this Vice-king arrived in *Peru*, he was much empaired in his health by long abstinence and acts of penance; by which his natural heat began so far to fail, that to recover it he used violent exercise; and though that climate was naturally very hot, yet he would chuse to go abroad at noon day with a certain little Hawk of that Countrey, which they had taught to kill upon the Sands a fort of small Owls, or other Birds; and with this sport he divertised himself as often as his vacation from business would permit. And by reason of his want of health, he fent his Son Don Francisco to all the Cities from Los Reyes as far as the Charcas and Porocfi, to bring him a true relation of the state thereof, for information of his Majesty: Don Francisco went accordingly upon this Visitation, and as he passed I faw him at Cozco, where he was received with great folemnity under triumphal Arches, with Dances, and appearance of the Gentlemen; who in feveral Troops road before him to the great Church, and thence conducted him to the Lodgings provided for him: eight days after he had been there, they provided for him \* a Feaft of Bulls, and of darting Canes on Horfeback; which was the most magnificent of any that ever had been before or fince in that City; for the Liveries were all of Velvet of divers colours, and most of them embroidered. I remember

that the Liveries of my Father and his Companions were made of black Velvet and upon the upper Caffock were two borders of yellow Velvet, about a fpan distance from each other, with this Motto between, Plus Ultra; and adjoining hereunto were three Pillars with Crowns upon them, made of yellow Velver, as were the Borders, and all interwoven with a twift of Gold and blue Silk, which looked very handsomely. Other Liveries there were very rich and chargeable. which I cannot remember fo well as to describe them, but these of my Fathers. having been made in the House, remain still in my memory. The attendants of John Julio de Hogeda, and Thomas Vasquez, and John de Pancorvo, and Francisco Rodri-guez de Villa-fuerte, who were all four Conquerours in the first Adventure, were clothed in Liveries of black Velvet, striped with divers flowers and leaves made of crimfon and white Velvet. On their Heads they wore Turbants embroidered with Pearls and Efmerods, and other pretious Stones, valued at three hundred thoufand pieces of Eight, which amount to above three hundred and feventy thoughn Ducats of Castile, and all the other Liveries were rich like these. Don Francisco beheld this Gallantry, and Sports from a Balcony belonging to my Father's House. where I had opportunity to take notice of his perfor: from hence he proceeded to the Cities of La Paz, and La Plata, and to Potocfi, where he received a full relation of those Mines of Silver, and of all other matters which were worthy his Majefty's information. In his return he came by the City of Arequepa, and along the Sea-coast as far as the City of Los Reyes, in all which progress, he travelled above fix hundred and fifty leagues: and brought with him the Mountain of Potocfi delineated, and exactly drawn, and painted with the Mines of Silver, as alfo other Mountains, Valleys and immense Cavities which are found in that Coun-

trey of a strange form and figure.

Being returned to the City of Los Reyes, his Father dispatched him away for Spain with these Draughts of the Countrey, and a true relation of the state of affairs there. He departed from Los Reyes, as Palentino faith, in May 1552, where we will leave him, to recount a particular accident which happened at that time in Cozco, when Alonfo de Alvarado was Mayor, or chief Governour thereof, and known to be a bold man, and an impartial Justiciary; the matter was this: About four years before this time a party of Souldiers confifting of two hundred men marched out of the City of Potocf towards the Kingdom of Tucman, which the Spaniards call Tucuman, most of which, contrary to the positive Orders of the Justices, were ferved by Indians to carry their burthens and baggage for them. The chief Governour of that place, called Licenciado Figuried, with whom I was acquainted, went out of the Town to view the several Companies of Souldiers as they marched; and having suffered all of them to pass with the Indians, who cartied their luggage, he feifed on the last man, called Aguire, because he had two Indians laden with his goods; and for this fault some few days afterwards he sentenced him to receive two hundred stripes, because he had neither Gold nor Silver to redeem the penalty laid on him by his Sentence. Hereupon Aguire made all the Friends he could to the Governour to have his punishment remitted, but being not able to prevail, he defired that he might rather be hanged than whipped; faying, that though he were a Gentleman, and might stand upon that privi-lege, yet he would wave that also: howsoever he thought fit to let him know, that he was the Brother of a Gentleman, who in his Countrey had an Estate with Vaffalage of Indians. But all this availed little with the Judge; for though being out of Office he was a man of an easie temper, and a tractable disposition, yet oftentimes Honours and places of Power change the humour of some men; and so it did with this Judge, who became more severe by these applications, so that he immediately commanded the Executioner to bring the Afs, and execute the Sentence, which accordingly was done, and Aguire mounted thereupon. The principal men of the Town, confidering the unreasonable severity of the Judge, went and intreated him to remit or fuspend the Sentence, and prevailed on him rather by importunity than argument to deferr the execution for eight days. But when they came to the Prison with this Warrant, they found Aguire already stript and mounted on his As; who, when he understood that the Sentence was onely suspended for eight days, he rejected the favour, and said, All my endeavours have been to keep my felf from mounting this Beast, and from the shame of being seen naked; but fince things are come thus far, let the Sentence proceed, which will be lefs than the fears and apprehensions I shall have in these eight days ensuing, besides I shall not need to give far-

\* A Sport used in Spain.

882

ther trouble to Friends to intercede in my behalf, which is likely to be as ineffectual as what buth already passed. And having said this, the Ass was whipped forward, and he of Spaniards and Indians; who were troubled to fee a Gentleman, on fo flight a caufe, dithonoured by a punishment not agreeing to his Quality: howfover he avenged himself afterwards, according to the Law of Honour practifed in this World

#### CHAP. XVIII.

The revenge which Aguire took for this affront. The diligence used by the Governour of Cozco to take Aguire; the manner how he made his escape.

Fter this Aguire could not be perfuaded to purfue his defign of the Conquest. though the Inhabitants of Poroch offered to have affifted him with all things necessary thereunto; but he excused himself, saying, That after such a shame as this, death was his onely remedy and confolation, which he would endeavour to obtain as foon as possible; under this melancholy he remained in Peru until the time in which the Office of Elanivel expired; and then he always, like a desperate man, pursued and followed him, watching an opportunity to kill him, and wipe off the shame of the late affront. Efquivel, being informed of this desperate resolution by his Friends, endeavoured to avoid his Enemy, and took a journey of three or sour hundred leagues from him, supposing that Aguire would not pursue him at such a distance: but the farther Efquivel fled the more earnest was Aguire to follow him. The first journey which Efquivel took was to the City of Los Roses, being three hundred and twenty leagues diffant; but in less than fifteen days Agnire was there with him: whereupon Esquivel took another flight, as far as to the City of Quito, being four hundred leagues diffant from Los Reyes, but in a little more than twenty days 'lquire was again with him: which being intimated to Ffquivel, he took another leap as far as Cocco, which is five hundred leagues from Quito; but in a few days after he arrived there came his old Friend Agaire, travelling all the way on foot, without Shoes or Stockins, faying, that it became not the condition of a whipped Rafcal to travel on Horfeback or appear amongst men. In this manner did Aguire haunt and pursue Esquivel for three years and four months: who being now tired and wearied with to many long and tedious journies, which profited him little; he refolved to fix his abode at Cozco, where he believed that Aguire would scarce adventure to attempt any thing against him, for fear of the Judge who governed that City, who was a fevere man, impartial and inflexible in all his proceedings: and accordingly took a Lodging in the middle of the Street of the great Church, where he lived with great care and caution, wearing a Coat of Mail under his upper Coat, and went always armed with his Sword and Dagger, which are Weapons not agreeable to his profession. At this time a certain Kinfman of my Fathers, the Son of Gomes de Tordoya, and of his name, spoke to Esquivel, and told him, that fince he was his Countrey-man of Estremenro, and his Friend, he could not but advise him (as it was known over all Pern) how diligent Agaire had been to dog and follow him with purpose and intent to kill him, wherefore if you pleafe I will come and lodge by night in the same House with you, which perhaps will divert Aguire from coming thither. Esquivel thanked him, and told him that he always went well provided; for he never put off his Coat of Mail, nor laid his offensive Arms aside; and to be more wary or cautious than this would be feandalous to the City, and thew too much fear of a poor fellow who was of a little and a contemptible prefence: Howfoever the fury of his mind, and the defire of revenge had exalted him above his natural flature and proportion, and rendred him as confiderable as Diego Garcia de Paredes, and John de Orbina, who were famous men in their time: in virtue and force of this defired

defired revenge he adventured one Monday at noon to enter into the House of Efquivel, and having walked for some time in the yard below, and in the Gallery above, and having paffed through a Hall and a Chamber, and entring into an inward Chamber where he kept his Books, he found him there fleeping with one in his hand, and coming foftly to him, he stabb'd him with his Dagger through the right Temple of his head, and gave him three or four stabbs more into the Body, not where the Coat of Mail covered him, but in the opening of his Clothes. After which Aguire returned by the fame way that he came, and being come to the street Door, missing his Hat he had the courage to return again and fetch it. and therewith went out into the street, and walked like a mad-man without sense or judgment, never thinking to take Sanctuary in the Church, but walked openly in the streets towards St. Francisco, where was a Convent East-ward from the great Church; neither did he take refuge there, but wandring through a ffreet on the left hand, he made a flop at the place where a Foundation was laid for the Convent of St. Clare: and in a little Alley thereabouts he met two young Gentlemen, Kintinen to Rodrigo de Peneda, to whom he faid, hide me, hide me, without being able to fay one word more, but looked like a man frantick and out of his wits. The Gentlemen, who knew his discontent, and his defire of revenge: asked him, Whether he had killed Efquivel? To which Aguire answered, Yes. hide me, hide me. Then the Gentlemen carried him into the House of a Kinsman of theirs where were three back yards, in the farthermost of which there was a kind of a Stie, where they fatted their Hogs and Poultery at the time of year, and there they concealed him, ordering him by no means to go out of that place, or shew his head abroad. As to the back yards, they secured them in that manner that no Indians should go in, having no business to doe there; and they told him, that he should not need to take care for Victuals, for they would make a provision for him: which they accordingly did, for dining and supply in the House of their Kinsinan, they would privately at every meal slip Bread and Meat into their Pockets; with which, upon pretence of going to the back-fide on their necessary occasions, they relieved this poor Aguire in his Hog-stie, and in this manner they fed and maintained him for the space of forty days.

Royal Commentaries.

So foon as the Mayor or Governour heard of the death of Elguivel he commanded the Bells to be rung out; and the Indians of Cannaris were let for Guards and Sentinels at the Gates of the City, and at the door of the Convents; and Proclamation was made, that no man should go out of the City without a Pass or License obtained from the Governour, and fearch was made in all Convents, and the corners of them, that nothing could be more diligently performed, unless they would have pulled them down. This Watch and Ward continued in the City for thirty days, without the least news of Aguire, as if he had been funk under ground. At length, wearied with a fruitless search, the Sentinels and Guards were taken off from the City 5 but howkever a Watch was continued on the High-ways, and maintained with a ftrict examination of all that paffed. At the end of forty days, these Gentlemen, called Samillar and Catanno, both of noble extraction, ( with whom I was acquainted, and met one of them in Seville when I arrived first in Spain) thought fit to free themselves from the danger which they incurred by concealing Aguire; for they knew that the Judge was a fevere man, and would have no mercy on them in case the matter were discovered; whereupon they agreed to carry him publickly out of the City, and not by any private conveyance; the manner was this, they shaved his head and his beard, and wafled his face, head, neck, hands and Arms, and from top to toe, and cleanfed him with water, and then fineared him over with a fort of wild Fruit, called by the Indians Vitor, which is not good to eat, or for any other purpose onely dies with that black hue, that being left on for three or four days, and afterwards washed over three or four times more, it leaves a black deeper than that of an Ethiopian, and which will not be washed off again with any water, untill it begins to wear away, which it will doe in ten days time, and then will wath off with the rine of that which gives the tincture: In this manner they coloured this wretch Aguire, and clothed him in poor habit, like a Countrey Negroe, and with this difguife they went out openly about noon day through the publick freets and Market place, with the Negroe Aguire marching before them with a Gun on his Shoulders, and one of the Masters carried another before him on the Pomel of his Saddle, and the other had a Hawk on his fift, as if they had been going after

886

their game: and in this manner they went to the Hill called Carmenca, which is the road to Los Reres, and is a great way thither through Streets and publick places from the house of Rodrigo de Pineda: and at last they came to the out-guards of all; where being asked for the Governour's licence or pass-port: he that carried the Hawk, feeming to be troubled for this omission, said to his Brother, Pray stay for me here untill I goe and fetch a Licence; or if you please to go softly before. I shall quickly overtake you; but he took little care for his pass-port, since his Brother with his Neger was passed the Guards, which being done, they quickned their pace, until they had got themselves clear out of the Jurisdiction of Cozen which reaches fourty leagues in length; And being come to far, he hought a fmall Nag for Aguire, and gave him some money in his purse; and said to him: Brother, fince I have accompanied you fo far, and brought you into a Countree where you are free and out of danger, you may goe now where you think fit: for my part. I can do no more for you; thift for your felf; and with that he returned to Cozco, and Aguire travelled to Huamanea, where a Kinfman of his lived who was a Noble person and one of the richest Inhabitants of that City; and was received by him as kindly as if he had been his own Son, and was careffed and treated by him for many days, and afterwards was fent away with all things necessary and convenient for him. We shall conceal the name of this his Kinfman, because it is not justifiable to receive and protect a person condemned or who stands outlawed by the Royal Justice. This escape of Aguire was one of or who stands outlawed by the royal justice. This creape of Aguire was one of the strangest things that happened in those days, considering the diligent search which was made for him by the Judge, and the sollies of Aguire after he had committed the Murther, though they happened well, and by his good fortune were the cause of his preservation: for if he had taken refuge in a Convent, of which there were but three in Town; namely, that of our Lady, of the Seraphical St. Francis, and of the Divine St, Dominick, he had certainly been discovered and delivered to Justice: but having thus escaped, the Governour was not a little angry and ashamed to see his Justice eluded, and the Offender placed out of reach

#### CHAP. XIX.

of the Law. Howfoever he was praifed by the bold and daring Souldiers, who

faid that, if there were many Againes in the World who durft boldly advers, who vindicate their dishonours by such a revenge, the Officers of Justice would not be

fo infolent and arbitrary as they now them felves.

Many Gentlemen of the Countrey goe to kifs the Hand of the Vice-king. A particular Story of an impertinent Person. A Mutiny in Los Reyes, and how it was punished. The death of the Vice-king, and what Troubles happened after it.

E have already touched fomething of the Entry of the good Vice king Don Amonio de Mendoça into the City of Los Reyes, where he lived but for a short time, and that too with much anguish and infirmity of body, which is rather to dye than to live; fo that his Government affords us little subject for Discourse. When he came first into the City, many Planters of the Countrey about, came from all parts of the Empire, from *Quitu* as far as the *Charcas*, to kis his hands and welcome him at his first arrival. Amongst which there was one more kind than the reft, and full of love and affectionate expressions; and at the conclusion of all, Sir, faid the, God take from your days, and add them unto mine. Those, faid the Vice-king, will be but few, and ill ones. The poor man, recalling himself hereupon, No, Sir, I mean, that God would be pleased to take from my days, and add them unto your Excellencies. I understand your Complement, replied the Vice king; Don't trouble your felf for the mistake. Howfoever

Royal Commentaries. Howfoever the Story was quickly carried into the outward room, where it occa-

flowidever the other, was quarked and the backman fooling where it occa-fioned much laughter. Some few days after this, a certain Captain whom we have formerly mentioned in this Hiftory came to the Vice-king, pretending to give him fome Informations for better Government of the Empire; and amongst other things, he faid, there was one Abuse necessary to be remedied the thing other timings, he taid, there was one Albane necessary to be remedied; the timing is this, There are two Souldiers who lodge in such a place, and goe always amonght the *Indians* with Guns in their hands, and eat what they kill, and destroy the whole Game of the Country; they also make Powder and Bullets, which is of ill example to the Kingdom; for many times Troubles and Infurrections have enfued from fuch beginnings a and therefore fuch men as these are to be punished, or at least banished from Pern. The Vice-king asked him whether these men did treat the Indians ill, or whether they fold them Powder and Bullets; or committed any other Ourrages? No, faid the Captain, Nothing more than what I tell your Lordhip. Then, faid the Vice-king, these are not faults, but actions rather to be encouraged; for it is no offence for Spaniards to live amongst the Indians, and to eat what they get themselves by hunting, and to make Powder for their own use, and not to sell; but 'tis rather commendable; and such actions as are fit for other men to imitate. Go your ways, Sir, in the name of God; for I defire, that neither you nor others should bring me such Tales as these; for these men you complain of must be Saints, seeing they live such innocent lives as von inform me. And in this manner, was the impertinency of this Captain re-

quited.

With this gentle and easie manner did this Prince govern the Empire : but my Countrey was not worthy fo much goodness, and therefore Heaven called him thither. During the time of his Sickness, the Justices commanded that the perfonal services of the Indians should be taken off, and accordingly it was proclaimed in the City of Los Reges, in Cozeo and other parts, under fuch penalties and rigorous clauses as gave great offence, and caused new seditions and mutinies amongst the People: for which a chief Incendiary, one Lays de Vareas was condemned and executed: but the Examinations and Tryals proceeded no farther, because it was found, that feveral principal men were concerned therein; and it was believed that the General Pedro de Hinojofa would have been impeached, because three Witnesses were ready to have sworn several words which he had said. though not sufficient to have condemned him; but the Justices (as Palentino faith) being defirous to make an honest man of a thief, made choice of him to go chief Governour and Lord High Justice to the Charcas; for that in those Countries there were many Souldiers who lived diffolutely, and without any rule or subjection whatsoever: And though at first he resulted to accept the Charge, yet he was persuaded thereunto by Doctor Saravia, who was one of the most ancient Justices: but as to his Crime, there was rather a suspicion of it, than any certain proof against him; and the Souldiers themselves said, that the hopes he gave them were rather doubtfull than certain; for all he faid to them was, that when he was in the Charcas, he would doe for them according to their defire, that they should goe thither before him; and that when he came thither, he would doe for them to the utmost of his power. Though these words imported no more than general terms, yet Souldiers, who were defirous of Rebellion and Novelty, were apt to interpret them according to their own humour and inclinations: but whether the intention of the General was to rebell or not, he did not declare at that time; though his actions feemed rather to tend towards ill than good defigns. On these hopes the Souldiers who were in the City of Los Reges; that is, as many as could goe, went to the Charcas, and wrote to their friends in divers parts, that they also should goe thither.

The news hereof carried many Souldiers into the Charcas, and amongst them a Gentleman particularly called Don Sebastian de Castilla, Son of Count de la Gomera, Brother of Don Baltasar de Castilla, of whom this History hath made mention at large. This Gentleman, with fix other Souldiers of efteem and honour, went out of Cozco: for Vasco Godines, who was the chief Promoter of this Rebellion, had wrote him a Letter in Cyphers, giving him an account of all matters then in agitation, and that Pedro de Himojosa had promised to be their General: Upon this advice Don Sebastian and his Companions went out of Cozeo by night, without discovering the place to which they were defigned : And left the Governour should purfue after them, they went through by-ways, out of the common road, and

through

888

through defarts and unpeopled places, untill they came to Pottefi, where they were courteoutly received. So that though the Governour fent immediately after them an Hue and Cry to the Spaniards, to stop and seize them; yet the Sonl. diers with them were so skilfull in the ways, and knew the turnings and windings of the Country so well, that the diligence used by the Governour availed no. thing: but as to Don Schaftian himself, he was more fit for a Courtier, than to be made the General of a Rebellion, as they made him at laft, and which brought a foeedy destruction on him; for he, poor Gentleman, being of a tender nature and not inured to those bloudy Cruelties which his Souldiers required him to commit, and which were necessary in the state of Rebellion, became a Sacrifice to the fury of his own Souldiers; as this History will declare to us.

During these Revolutions, the Vice-king Don Antonio de Mendoça happened to dye, to the great unhappiness of that whole Empire. His Funeral rites were ceaye, to the great unapplied of that whole Campile. The whether the Copple were interred in the Cathedral Church of Los Reyes, on the right hand of the high Altar, and inclosed in a hollow nick of the Wall; and on the right fide of him lay the body of the Marquis Don Francisco de Piçarro, who was Conquerour of that Empire and Founder of that City; for which cause he had reason to claim a nearer position to the high Altar than the Vice-king. After which the Justices made choice of a Gentleman to be made Governour of the City called Gil Ramirez, de Avalor, who had been a Servant to the Vice-king: And the Mareschal himself was sent to the City of Peace, otherwise called the New-city, where his Estate was, and the Indians he commanded.

### CHAP. XX.

The Insurrection and Troubles which happened in the Province of the Charcas, with many fingle Duels, one of which is related at large.

IN those days all the brave Souldiers and martial Spirits in Peru employed themselves in the Charcas and in Powers and in the parts thereabouts: amongst which there daily arose quarrels and jarrings, not onely between the Souldiers and principal persons of note, but even the Merchants themselves were at enmity, and pedling Dealers, commonly called by them Pulpones, or Pudding makers, because one of them was found to fell Puddings in his Shop: And so common and continual were the fquabbles and fcuffles amongst them, that they were too many for the Justice to prevent and compose: at length it was judged fit, as a remedy of these matters, to put out an Order, that whensoever any two sell out, that no Standers-by should meddle or interpose to make peace between them, on penalty of incurring the same punishment with those who were principals in the quarrel: but this remedy availed nothing, nor whatfoever the Preachers could fay from their Pulpits: for diffensions daily arose, as if this Countrey had been the place where Discord made its aboad, or presaged and fore-ran those Insurrections and Wars which some few months afterwards ensued: these quarrels often produced challenges and fingle duels: fome of which were fought in thirt and drawers, others naked from the waste upwards, some in breeches and wasteoats of crimson Taffaty, that the bloud running from their wounds might not affright them: besides several other forms of duel very ridiculous, which the Combatants directed according to their fancies, and would often quarrel with their own Seconds; and that they might not be hindred or parted, the place appointed was somewhere out of Town, in the open field. Palentino, in the fourth Chapter of his second Book, tells us the story of a remarkable duel, but in reguard his relation is something short and confused, we shall enlarge thereupon, because I knew one of the Duellists at Madrid, in the year 1563. by a good token of those Marks and Scarrs which he brought

brought from that Combat, for he was fo disabled in both his Arms, that he could fearce make use of his hands to feed himself. This duel was between two famous Souldiers, one was called Pero Nunnez, who was the person with whom I was acquainted, called by Palentino, Diego Numez; and the other was Baltafar Perez. both of them Gentlemen of good extraction, and of equal bravery and affirrance. Their dispute arose upon some points of honourable satisfaction given and received between two Duellists who had fought some few days before, to whom they had been Seconds. Baltafar Perez made choice of a certain Gentleman for his Second, called Eeas de Guzman, a Native of Seville, who was one of the greatest Bullies and Hectors of that time; the other Second was Hernan Mexic. born also at Seville, who hearing of the duel which was to succeed between the aforefaid Principals, prevailed with Pero Nunnez with much importunity to take him for his Second, that so he might fight with Egus de Guzman; who presuming on his own ftrength and skill at his weapon, had defamed and fpoken flightly of this Hernan de Mexia. When Egas de Guzman understood that Hernan de Mexia was the person with whom he was to engage, he sent a message to Pera Nunnez, letting him know, that fince the Principals were Gentlemen of good Families and Noble extraction, he should not debase himself and them so far as to bring a man for his Second who was of a mean and poor birth, and the Son of a Molata or Morifea woman, whose Trade it was to fell broyled Pilchers in the Market-place of St. Salvador in Seville; and that he might chuse what other Second he pleased, though not a Gentleman, provided he were not of that vile and base extraction, as was this Hernan, Pero Nunnez considering that Egas de Gueman had reason, endeavoured to acquit himself of the word and promise he had given to Hernan Mexia to make him his Second, but was not able to prevail upon him, nor would he upon any terms release him, when amongst other things he heard that Egas de Guzman should say, that he knew himself to have that advantage over him in the use of his Weapon, that it was a disparagement to him to contend with such an Adversary. When Egw de Guzman understood that Mexia would not release Pero Numez of his word, he sent to warn him to come well provided into the field, for that he should find him armed with a Coat of Male, and a Head piece, although the Principals were to fight naked from the wafte

Royal Commentaries.

In this manner both Principals and Seconds went out to fight in a Field at a good distance from Potocsi: and at the first encounter Pero Numez, who was the ftrongest man known in those days, stroak his Adversary's Sword aside, and prefently clofing with him, threw him on the ground, and being upon him, cast handfuls of dust into his eyes, cuffed him with his fist on the face, but did not use his dagger to stabb him therewith. In another part of the field, at some distance from the Principals, the Seconds were engaged; Hernan Mexia was afraid to close with Egas de Gueman, because he knew him to be of greater strength of body, and more corpulent than he, but entertained him with the nimbleness and agility of his Sword, in which he had the advantage, leaping and skipping from one fide to the other, without coming fo near as to wound him. Egas de Guzman observing the ill condition his Principal was in, and that he could not catch hold of his Enemy, he took his own Sword by the hilt, and darted it with the point forwards at the face of Mexia; who looking on the Sword to avoid it, Guzman in that moment leaped in, and cloted with him, and with the dagger in his hand, wounded him in the fore-head two fingers deep, and there it broke in his skull. Mexia frantick with his wound, ran about the field like a Mad-man, and came to the place where the two Principals were struggling; and not minding where he struck or dealt his blows, he gave his own Principal a flash with his Sword, and ran wildly away, not knowing whither. Egas de Guzman going hastily to the relief of his Companion, heard *Pero Numee* fay, that the wound he had received was from his own Second, and therewith he redoubled his blows on the face of his Adversary, and cast more dust into his eyes. Then Guzman, coming to them. faid, A curse be upon such a Gentleman as Pero Nunnez: Did not I desire you, and warn you, not to bring fuch a Rascal into the field, for your Second, as this; and therewith lent him a cut with his Sword, which he fended off with his Arm, as he did feveral others, till he was to hacked and hewed, that he lay all raw, and full of wounds in the field: but Egas de Guzman helped up his Companion from the ground, and having gathered up all the four Swords, he clapt them under

Xxxxx

his left arm, and took his Companion on his back, for he was not able to fland upon his leggs, and so he carried him to an Hospital, where they received fick and wounded people; where he left him, and told them that there was a man killed in a field hard by, whom they would do well to bury; and in the mean time Guzman fled to the Church. Pero Nunnez was carried also to the Hospital, where he was cured, though mortified, as before described: but Hernam de Mexia dyed of the wound he had received in his forehead, for the piece of the dagger could not be drawn out of his scull. Many other Challenges and Duels happened at that time in that Countrey, not onely between the Inhabitants, but also between Travellers, as they encountred on the High-way: I knew some of them, and could relate the Particulars thereof; but what we have said already shall serve for all others of this nature.

#### CHAP. XXI.

A Challenge which paffed between Martin de Robles and Paulo de Menetes; how that quarrel was taken up. Pedro de Hinojosa goes to the Charcas, where he finds many Souldiers ready to rife up in Arms. Informations were given to the Governour Hinojosa concerning this Mutiny: with what vain hopes he entertained the Souldiery.

Several other private quarrels and challenges paffed at that time, which are related by Palentino, and particularly between Martin de Robles and Paulo de Monefes, and many other fober and grave perfons, of whom I could tell many Stories, which I heard in those times, but that they seemed rather ridiculous, and to make sport, than any thing of moment. The Souldiers, to cause quariels and disturbances to compass their own ends, raised salfe reports and lyes upon several rich and honourable Persons, by which the spirits of men being inflamed, some use might be made of their affistence: And so they raised a report, that Panlo de Monefes, who was then Governour of the Charcas, had been dishonest with the Wise of Martin de Robles: Of which Palentino writes a long Chapter, which being too tedious to insert here, we shall onely repeat the substance of it.

This Difgrace being published, and the Fault aggravated by the Souldiers who came to take part with one fide and the other; and that things were proceeded fo far that both Parties were ready to engage, an expedient was found to reconcile all: which was, that Paulo de Menefes should absolutely deny the fact; and to convince the World that the tellimony was a falle and a notorious Lye, he was to marry the Daughter of Martin de Robles, a Child of feven years of age, and he himself of above seventy: by which means both Parties were reconciled, and the Souldiers on both fides disappointed and jeared by Martin de Robles, who was a witty, pleafant man, and would neither spare his friend nor his foe, to lofe his jest; and would laugh to think what fools he had made of his friends, and foes the Souldiers, who were gaping to be employed in these quarrels. Palentino, speaking of this reconciliation, in the Second Part of his Second Book, hath these words; In fine, faith he, after many Allegations, and Replies, and Answers made thereunto; it was concluded as an expedient for all, that Paulo de Menefes thould marry with Donna Maria, the Daughter of Martin de Robles, though at that time of feven years of age onely; and that her Father should oblige him, that when the came to accomplish the years of twelve, that then he should give to Paulo de Meneses thirty four thousand pieces of Eight for her Portion. And with this Agreement Paulo de Meneles and Martin de Robles were reconciled and made perfect good friends, which much troubled and disappointed the Souldiers, who defired to fifh in these muddy waters, and to convert these private discords into publick Rebellion; whereby every one figured to himfelf fome great advantage, and to be made

he made some great Lord or Prince, and to enjoy the sweetness of other mens Estates: with the substance of what we have said this Authour fills five Chapters: wherein is nothing but quarrel and dispute. But this marriage lasted not long by reason of the inequality of age, for Panlo de Meneses died some few years afterwards. before he had confummated the marriage; but the young Lady, though not as yet twelve years old, inherited the Estate and Indians of her Husband; and (as the Ladies of Don Pedro de Alvarado did use to say) the changed her old Kettle for a new one; for the married with a young Gentleman of about twenty years of age. who was a Kinfman of the fame *Paulo de Menefes*, and thereby a kind of reftaura-tion or composition was made for that Estate. This passage we have inserted a little out of its due place, in regard it sell in with other stories of the same nature. For not long before this agreement was made, the General Pedro de Hinopofa arrived in the Charcas with the Office and charge of Governour, and chief Jultice of the City of *Plate*, and the Provinces thereunto belonging, where he found many of those Souldiers which he expected there; who from the hopes they had received from the Promites he had made them in confused and general terms, had made their rendezvous there, and invited others to the same place, and proved very troublesome to him, because the Countrey afforded neither convenient quarters, nor provitions necessary for them: for which reason Hinojosa took occasion to reflect upon Martin de Robles and Paulo de Meneses, as if their quarrels had drawn those numbers of Souldiers thither; and so told them plainly, that fince their private disputes had invited such Guests they ought to provide necessaries for them. and not fuffer them to die with famine; to which Martin de Robles made answer that many others were concerned in the encouragement which was given them to come thither, and therefore that a general fault ought not to be attributed to them in particular; meaning by General, himself, and that he was the cause of their coming: for Martin de Robles was used to speak smartly, and often with reflexion, as we shall see hereafter.

Thus did every man make it his business to complain of others, and to lay the miscarriages of Government to other mens charge, nothing was quiet in the City of Place, or free from malevolent Tongues, so that the most sobre Inhabitants retired from the precincts of the City, and betook themselves to the Countrey, or to parts where their Estates lay, to free themselves from the insolence and bold practices of the Souldiery; who were come at length to that pass, as to hold publick Meetings, and to own their Cabals, and to challenge the General with the word and promise he had given them to be their chief Leader and Commander, so soon as he was come to the Charca, and that now they offered themselves being in a readiness to make an Insurrection, and would no longer be delayed. The General, to entertain them with new hopes, told them, that he shortly expected a Commission from the High Court of Justice to enlarge their Conquests by a War, which would afford them a good occasion to rise in Arms under colour of

Authority

With these and the like vain excuses and pretences he entertained the Souldiery, being far from any resolution of compliance with them. And though 'tis true that, being at Los Roses, he sometimes let fall some dubious expressions in general terms, which the Souldiers interpreted for promises; yet being now come into his Government, and become Master of two hundred thousand pieces of Eight a year, he was willing to sit quiet in the enjoyment of that fortune which he had already acquired, and not to adventure again by a second Rebellion the loss of those riches, which, at the cost and ruine of another, he had gained by the

The Souldiers observing this in:!ifferency and coldness of the General, consulted in what manner to carry on their Rebellion by another hand; and accordingly it was agreed to kill Himpofia, and to set up Don Sebastian de Castilla for their Cammander in Chief, being at that time the most popular man of any: the which design was treated so publickly that it was the common discourse of the whole Town, and every one talked of it as a Plot ready to be put in execution: wherefore several men of Estates, and persons who were concerned for the peace and quietness of the Countrey, informed the Governour Pedro de Himpofa thereof, and advised him to secure his own person, and to drive these people out of the limits of his Jurisdiction before they took away his life and destroyed the Kingdom: and particularly one Polo Ondegardo a Lawyer was very urgent with him

Xxxxxx

upon this point, and amongst other things told him, that in case he would make him his Deputy but for one month, he would fecure his life to him, which was in great danger, and free the City from the fears of an Infurrection, which these Gentlemen Souldiers were contriving to raife: but the Governour repoted that confidence in his Wealth and in the power of his Office, and in the Reputation which he had formerly gained, that he made no account of what they faid. nor of what he faw with his own eves.

#### CHAP. XXII.

The General receives informations of the Plot by divers other ways and means. His bravery and courage, and neglect to prevent it. The Souldiers conspire to kill him.

THE Souldiers, proceeding in their rebellious defigns, difperfed many Libels abroad; fome whereof were intimations to Don Sebafian de Castilla, and other Souldiers of note, to be carefull of their own persons, and to be wary of the Governour, who defigned to kill them; other Libels on the other fide were cast out against the Governour himself threatning his life; all which were spread abroad by the arts of malitious men, whose business it was to raise lealousies, and inflame the minds of men with anger against each other; as *Palentino* frequently expresses upon this occasion, in divers places of his History, Chapter eleven, Book

the fecond, as followeth.

At this time Polo the Lawver did often acquaint Pedro de Hinojofa with these matters, perfuading him very much to take the examinations and punish the Offenders: but all he could fay availing little, one Saturday after Mass, being the fourth of March, he took occasion to declare his mind to the Guardian of the Convent of St. Francis, perfuading him to fignifie the matter to the Governour, and to tell him, that it was intimated to him in Confession: which the Guardian according him, that it was intrinated to find in Comenion: Which the Guaddian accordingly did, though it made little imprefion on *Pedro de Hinojofa*. In like manner on the fame day after dinner *Martin de Robbes* spoke it publickly before much company, and told him plainly that the Souldiers designed to kill him: but *Pedro de Hinojofa*, who had rejected the reasons which were formerly given him for driving out the Souldiers from within the limits of his Jurisdiction, did not well relish this discourse, and therefore told de Robles, that he spake these words designedly to have witness of what he had alledged before him; to which Polo the Lawyer, who was there prefent, made answer with some heat and anger, that he should look well to himself, and that in case Martin de Robles did offer to give his Information he could not refuse to take it; and if he made not good his Testimony, and proved what he alledged, he was liable to punishment and forfeitures for default thereof; but the Information is fo plain, faid he, that it needs no other evidence, being not carried on in the dark, but so openly in the streets that the very strones were ready to cry out and bear testimony thereof; and therefore it is your duty immediately to take the Examinations, and use the diligence required in a case so important and difficult as this; and that he would be contented to lose his life if he made not good every fyllable of the allegations. In thort, Pedro de Hinojofa, who was of an humour never to recede from his own fancy, replied, in a haughty, proud manner, that the Souldiers flood in fuch awe of him, that if once he but lifted up his hand they would all tremble, and have no power to hurt or offend him; and with that he broke off the discourse, charging every one not to one of the different first fir thoughts he conceived in his mind; for he had the character of a plain man, and without

without diffimulation: these Vititants observed every word he Gid, and all his motions and behaviour, which were courteous and obliging towards them, without the leaft fympacome of jealoufie or fulpicion of evil practices; and coming to freak of the Souldiers, he told them, that he was glad to fee fuch brave fellows in the Town, and that he effected them to be the flower of Peru: with which faying they parted with great fatisfaction from him, and carried the news to Dog Seballian and the other Conspiratours, who thereupon gave immediate order to on! off the Sports which were appointed, and that they should affemble together that might, and in the morning begin the Rebellion, that the Plot which had been fo long conceived, and of which they had been long in labour, might not prove abortive at the laft. And here Palentino ends this Chapter.

Royal Commentaries

BOOK VI

The Souldiers, not being able to fuffer any longer delay of a matter which they for earry by defined, agreed by common confent to kill the General and make an Infairection through the whole Countrey. The principal perfors in this Confoiracy were Don Schaftian de Castilla, Egas de Gusman, Basco Godines, Baltasar Velazquez, Comez H enandez the Lawyer, belides feveral other Souldiers of note, most of which were then prefent in the City of Place; for, as hath been faid, they invited and encouraged one the other. Egus Guzman came thither purposely to enter into the Confult, though he pretended to the General that his defign was to obtain his pardon from the Crown for having killed Hernan de Mexia, which the and several believed to be true; and, suspecting no design in him against his own life and fafety, he readily gave Letters in his favour both to the Secular and Eccletiaffical Judges of Potocli, in both which Courts, as he faid, he was to be acquitted. These Letters of recommendation were sent by the Souldiers (now refolved to rebell) to Egus de Guzman then at his Lodging in Potocli, with orders, that to foon as he should hear that the General was killed, that then he and his Companions (hould prefently be in Arms. And now every thing being prepared, the Atlaffinates met in the Chamber of one Hernando Guillado, where they refolved to act their bloudy intent the next morning by break of day: for execution of which Don Sebaftian appointed feven persons onely together with himself to kill the General; for if many were employed, it would give a jealoufie, and occase to the Gates to be shut, and cause an alarm over the whole City. Garci Tello de Gates an had got with him into his Chamber about sourteen or sisteen other flour Car panions, who were to divide themselves in several parties about the Sugar s near the General's House to affist and relieve Don Schastian, if occasion should be. Another party of about nine or ten persons, having one Gomez. Mogollon for their Chief, were placed in an empty House where none inhabited, belonging to Hernando Pigarro, and there attended for the same design. In this poflure they continued all night, and next morning by break of day they fent Spies to the corner of every Street, to hearken if any noise were in the City, or the House of the General; and finding the Gate open, they presently gave notice thereof to the Conspiratours, who resolved to kill the General in his Bed.

CHAP.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

Don Sebastian de Castilla and his Associates kill the Gozzernour Pedro de Hinojofa, and his Lieutenant Alonfo de Castro. Some of the Inhabitants escape out of the City. and others of them are imprisoned. What courle the Rebels take in their affairs after this.

**S**O foon as the Spies brought word that the General's Gate was opened, Don Seba-frian and his Affociates fallied out from their Chamber where they had lodged that night: and though they were all felect and choice men, yet they were fo afthat night: and though they were an inject and choice first, yet they were to al-frighted and diffracted with the Villany they were going to act, as if they had been to charge a formidable enemy, whereas indeed they were going to kill a Gentleman, who fearing and apprehending no evil, gave easie access to all people. In short, they entring the Houle, the first person they met was Alonso de Castro, who was Deputy-Governour, who, feeing men come up in that tumultuous manner, thought to qualifie them with good words, and faid, Gentlemen, what is the occasion of this commotion? God fave the King. Presently Don Sebassian, drawing his Sword, 'tis not now seasonable, said he, for such treaties. The Deputy seeing his Sword drawn, turned his back and sled, but a certain Souldier, called Angelmo d'Ervius, pursued him, and ran him through with his Rapier, and tucked him to the Wall, with which the point of his Sword being bent, when he would have given him a thrust or two more, the Rapier would not enter, which made the Souldier fay, what a tough hide this Dog Traitour hath, but others coming in to his aid they foon dispatched him. Then rushing into the Chamber of *Pedro de Hinojosa*, they found him not there, nor in any of the other Rooms of the House, at which they were much troubled, searing less he had made his escape: whereupon two of them putting out their heads at the Window of the Street, cried out, the Tyrant is dead, the Tyrant is dead, which they faid, intending to call their own complotters to their affiftence, before the people of the City could come to the rescue of the General: those who remained below in the yard searched for him in all private paffages and entries of the House; and at length a Souldier chanced to find him in a fecret corner, near the necessary Office, and faid, in a jeering manner, Sir, I befeech your Worship to come forth, for here is Don John de Castilla and other Cavaliers come to speak with you and kis your hands. The General hereupon coming forth in his morning Gown, a Souldier called Gonçalo de Mata went boldly up to him, and faid, Sir, these Gentlemen are desirous to have you for their Lord, their General, and their Father, as Pulentino reports Chapter the twelfth, in these words. The General smiling as it were, spake out aloud, What me! alas, Gentlemen, command me as you please: to which Garci Tello de Vega made answer, A curse light on you, 'tis now too late, we have a good General already of Don Sebaftian, and with that run him thorough the Body to the very Hilt of his Sword, with which he immediately fell to the ground; and endeavouring to arife, Antonia de Sepulveda and Anfelmo de Hervias, came in upon him, and gave him two wounds more, with which he cried out for a Confession, but he speedily expired: by this time Don Garci Tello was come down, and being told that the General was dead, he bid them make fure work, for the whole affair depended thereupon: fo Anselmo de Hervius returned to him, who lay extended on the ground, and gave him a good flath over the face, with which he yielded up his laft breath. Then all the Affaffinates gathering in a body came to the Market-place, and cried out, God fave the King, the Tyrant is dead, which is the common language of Rebels in Pern; and then they plundred the House, and in a moment all was carried away, &c. Thus far Diego Hernandez. But as to that great cut which they fay Herviss gave him over the face, it was not with a Sword, but a dash with a slab of Silver which they had taken out of his Closet, where he had heaped up to many as if they had been Tiles to cover a Houfe;

with which giving him a blow, here, faid he, take thy fill of Riches, for the take of which thou didft break thy word and faith to us. and wouldft not be our

Royal Commentaries.

Commander according to thy promife.

BOOK VI.

The General being flain, the Conspiratours ran out crying aloud, Long live the King, long live the King, the covetous Tyrant is dead, the breaker of his Faith. At the fame instant Garci Tello de Guzman appeared with his fifteen Affociates. who, dividing themselves into two parties, ran to kill Panlo de Meneses and Martin de Robles with whom the Souldiery was highly displeased, because, having called them to their respective aids to joyn with them in their private quarrels one against the other, as is before related, was afterwards contented to make peace, and be reconciled to the disappointment of the Souldiery, who called it an Affront and a contrivance to fool them.

But Martin de Robles, having timely notice brought him by an Indian Servant of all that had passed, leaped out of his Bed in his Shirt, and escaped. Paulo de Meneles, confidering the infolency of the Souldiers, and that it could not be long before it broke forth into open Outrages, departed from the City that very night, and went to a Countrey Seat not far from thence; where having received information of all that had paffed, he immediately fled to more remote parts be-

vond the reach of their power.

The Souldiers, not finding them, plundered and robbed their houses of every thing that was in them, and then went to the Market-place, to join with Don Sebastian: and because they had a quarrel with every man that had any Estate, they feifed upon Pedro Hernandez de Paniagna, who was the person employed by the Prefident Gasca to carry the Letters to Goncalo Pigarro, and for that Service had an Estate given him in the City of Plate: they also apprehended John Ortez de Carate and Antonio Alvarez, and all the Citizens that they could catch; for fo senseless were they and inapprehensive of the licencious Souldiers, that they suspected no-

thing untill they were feifed by them.

Polo the Lawyer, having timely notice by an Indian Servant called Tacuna, made his escape on horse-back. The other Souldiers who were dispersed over the City slocked to the Market-place in a Body. Then Tello de Vega, furnamed the Blockhead, took an Ensign or Colours from the Indians, and set it up in the Marketplace, as Palentino faith; and iffued out Orders by beat of Drum, that all Inhabitants and others, upon pain of death, should immediately repair thither, and life themselves under that Standard: and hereupon Rodrigo de Orellana, leaving the Staff of his Authority at home, though then Sheriff, came and furrendred himfelf: in like manner John Ramon, and Gomez Hernandez, the Lawyer, did the fame; and as every one was lifted they came in at one door of the Church, and went our at the other; so that the number taken amounted to a hundred and fifty two perfons. Then was Don Schaflian nominated for Captain General and Chief Justice and two days afterwards he caused the Citizens then in his custody to chuse him for their Mayor, and Gomez. Hernandez, the Lawyer, to be Recorder, and John de Huarte was made Serjeant Major; Hernando de Guillado and Garci Tello de Vega were made Captains, and Pedro de Castillo, Captain of the Artilery; and Alvar Perez, Panan, Proveditor General; Diego Perez was made High Sheriff, and Bartholomew de Santa Ana his under Sheriff. Thus far Palentino.

Rodrigo de Orellana took part with the Rebels rather out of fear than love, the like did other Citizens and Souldiers of good reputation, who were truly Loyal to his Majefly; being forced thereunto by the greater power of the Rebels, who had the Arms in their hands, and refolved to kill all those who complied not with

them.

CHAP.

far Diego Hernandez.

#### XXIV. CHAP.

The Orders and Methods which Don Schaffian took in his Assairs. Egas de Guzman is directed to make an In-furrection in Potocsi; the several strange Revolutions which happened in that Town.

ON Schaffian himself made choice of one of his Souldiers, in whom he had the greatest confidence, called Diego Mendez, to be Captain of his Guard; and for better fecurity of his person, thirteen Souldiers were chosen to be lifted therein being all esteemed stout Men, and true and faithfull to him; and yet when this voor Gentleman had occasion for them, not one man would appear in his defence.

Another Souldier, called Garçia de Baçan, was fent with a finall party to the Effate and Lands of *Pedro de Hinopfa*, to feife his Slaves, Horfes and all other his Goods and Faculties; with Orders to bring back with him those Souldiers who were difperfed abroad and lived amongst the Indians, for want of clothing, after the Spawife Fathion, which was very dear; for with the Indians, any thing ferved; and also Orders were given by Don Sebastian, to bring Diego de Almendras a prisoner. Other Souldiers were dispeeded away in pursuit of Polo the Lawyer, but neither party had fuccess; for Polo passing by the place where Diego de Almendras lived, gave him advice of the death of General Hinojofa; whereupon Almendras getting as many of the Slaves belonging to Hinojofa together as he was able, with feven of his Horses, he fled away in company with Polo, which soon carried him far enough away out of the reach of the rebellious Souldiers, likewife Don Schaftian diffueded away two Souldiers to the quarters of Potocfi, to inform Egas de Guzman of all that had passed, that he also might take up Arms, as others had done.

These and all the Actions mentioned in the preceding Chapter, with what else we shall touch upon hereaster were performed the very day that *Pedro de Himojofa* was killed; of which he endeavoured to send the first intelligence to all parts: the Messens whereof carried it with such speed to *Potocsi*, that though it was seventeen leagues thither, and a bad rocky way, and a River to pass, yet they arrived there the next morning by break of day: so soon as Egas de Guzman received this news he affembled his Souldiers, which he had formerly lifted upon this occasion, and with them and the two messengers which brought the news, and without other Arms or Provisions than their Swords and Daggers and Cloaks to cover them, they went immediately to the Houses of Gomez de Solis and Martin de Almendras, Brother of Diego de Almendras, and took them with great eafe, and carried them Prisoners to the Town-house, where they laid them in Chains, and lodged them in a Chamber, with a fecure Guard upon them. Upon the report of this pleafing Action, many Souldiers came in and joined with Egas de Guzman, and prefently went to the King's house, where they seised his Treasurer Francisco de Yfafiga, with his Accomptant Hernando de Alvarado, and broke open the Royal Treafury, from whence they robbed above a Million and a half of Silver: and made immediate Proclamation, that every man, upon pain of Death should repair to the Market place to join with the Squadron: Then did Gueman make choice of a Souldier called Antonio de Luxan to be Chief Justice or Recorder of the Town, who, fo foon as he was in Office, put the Accomptant Hernando de Alvarado to death upon an Accufation, as Palentino faith, that he had been in the Conspiracy with the General Pedro de Hinojosa, to make a Rebellion in the Countrey. Likewife Egas de Guzman dispatched away six or seven Souldiers to a Village called Porcu, to get what Men, Arms and Horses they could find in those parts. At this time a certain Knight of the Order of St. John, being amongst his Indian Vaslals, where he had a good Estate assigned him, and hearing of the Murther of Pedro de Hinojofa, wrote a congratulatory Letter to Don Schaftian upon that subject, wishing him much joy of his high promotion; and defired him prefently to fend him twenty Musquetiers, that he might go and take Gomez de Alvarado and Lorengo de Aldana, who were his neighbours; and to take away all jealousie and suspicion of the defign; he advised that the Souldiers should not be tent by the ordinary road, but by private ways and untrodden paths, for which good contrivance. this good Gentleman paid afterwards to his coft.

Royal Commentaries.

The day following after the death of Hinoinfa, Baltafar de Velazanez and Rafea Godinez came to the City, who had been chief Instruments in that Mutiny, and fuch as had contrived and fomented the Plot, as will appear hereafter; and which is confirmed by Palentino in these words. Whilft Don Schastian was preparing to receive them, they both entred the Town; Schaffian was over-joyed to see them. and alighting from his Horse, he met Godinez a-foot, and they both embraced with all the Geremony of good correspondence. Then said B. sco Godinez to Seballian, Sir, about five leagues from hence, I first received the joyfull news of this glorious Action so much defined by me. To which Don Sebastian taking off his har, made answer: These Gentlemen here were pleased to make choice of me for their General, which Charge I accepted untill such time as you arrived here to ease me thereof; which therefore now I renounce, and willingly resign it into your hands. But Bafeo Godinez refused to accept it; faying, that that Office could not be better supplied by any, than by himself; and that his endeavours tended wholly to fee him advanced to that Dignity and Charge. After which Complements they retired from the Company, and discoursed together privately and apart. After which Don Sebastian made Proclamation, whereby Basco Godines, was declared Lieutenant General, and that he should be obeyed accordingly by the Souldierv upon pein of death; and Baltasar de Velazquez was made Captain of Horse. Moreover, Sebastian faid to Godines; Sir, it was impossible to have deferred this action untill your coming, for if we had, we had lost our opportunity, but for the future we shall regulate our selves by your direction. To which Godinez replied, that neither then, nor at any other time could be erre in such wife proceedings, and that he hoped in God, that those steps he had made with so much difficulty and hazard, would tend to the happiness and settlement of all things. And so turning to the Company then present, he said, that fince they had not killed the Marefchal Alonfo de Alvarado, 'twas well he was not prefent at the late action; and that if he had been acquainted therewith before he had been for far advanced on his way, he would have returned and have killed the faid Alonfo de Alvarado. And that a matter of this importance might not be omitted, Don Sebaltian called a Council: at which were present Basco Godinez, Baltasar Velazguez, Hernando Guillada, John Ramon, Gomez Hernandez, the Lawyer, Diego de Avalos, Pedro del Castillo, and Don Garci Tello, besides divers others. Basco Godinez undertook the defign, and to command the party employed thereupon: but Don Sebastian faid, that he had promifed it already to John Ramon. And it was agreed, that twenty five Souldiers be drawn out for that exploit, and that they fould be commanded by John Ramon, and Don Garcia, with Orders to take and possess themselves of the

City of la Paz; Basco Godinez said, that the enterprise would be easie, and that

he would write to John de Vargas and Martin de Olmos to be affiftent therein. Thus

CHAP.  $\mathbf{Y}_{\mathbf{y}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{y}\mathbf{y}}$ 

#### CHAP. XXV.

Don Sebastian and his Officers send Captains and Souldiers to kill the Mareschal; John Ramon commands the Party, and disarms Don Garcia and those who sided with him: upon which News the very Souldiers who had advanced Don Sebastian, did then murther him.

THE same Authour Hernandez proceeding in the History, Chapter the fifteenth, saith as sollows. They then took the Names, and made a List of all those who were to goe, and fitted and prepared them against the next day, being Wednesday, surnishing them with Arms and mounting them on Beasts to carry them. On Wednesday before noon, they accordingly began their march, namely, John Ramon, Don Garci Tello, Gomez Mogollon, Gonçalo de Mata, Francisco de Annanasco, Almansa (Hernando de Soria) Pedro de Castro, Mateo de Castamada, Campo Frio de Carvajal, John Nicto, Pedro Francisco de Solis, Baltasar de Escobedo, pego Maldonado, Pedro de Margini, Rodrigo de Arvenslo, Antonio Astamirano, Lucena and Hermossila, who were no sooner out of Town, but Basco Godinez gave immediate advice to Egis de Gueman of their departure; desiring him to send some recruits from the place of his aboad to John Ramon and Don Garcia. The Letter which he wrote was to this effect.

Brother of mine, and of my heart, Our General hath dispeeded our Brother Don Garcia and John Ramon to the new Celony or Plantation, to seife on the person of the good Marceschal; who being taken or killed, there will be an end of our Troubles, sor we shall then neither meet with Enemies nor Opposition; but the way will be open and easie to our Victoria. On this design twenty sive brave Cavaliers are employed of such Valour, that I dust engage them against all mankind: Wherefore, Brother of mine, sit and prepare your self with such Arms as you can get, and send some Forces from your quarters to join with those which are sent from our General, who told me, and so the simply opinion, that it will be a very acceptable service. It is the general sense of all men here, that you demonstrated great tenderness of spirit when you spared the life of Gomez de Solis: the Clemency you showed mus something extraordinary, but not so great as common sume would make it to be.

So foon as Egas de Guzman had received this Letter, Orders were taken to difpatch away fifty five men for the affiltence of Ramon; of which Gabriel do Pernia was Captain, and Alonso do Ariaga was Ensign, their Instructions were to march as far as the new Plantation, there to join with John Ramon: accordingly these Men were put into a readiness, and marched away with slying Colours: in the number of these were Ordonno de Valencia, Diego de Tapia the Squint-eyed, Francisco de Chaves the Moor, John de Cepeda, Francisco Pacheco, Pero Hernandez, one of the Conspirators, Alonso Maragina, Pedro de Venavides, John Marquez, Lags de Estrada, Melchor Pacho, Antonio de Avila, with others who completed the number of fifty sive Souldiers. Thus far are the words of Diego Hernandez.

The Rebellion being now made publick and openly declared, those very Souldiers who plotted the Design, and had made Don Sebustian de Castilla the Head and General thereof, did now conspire against him and caballed and contrived to gether how they might kill and destroy him whom but the other day they had engaged in their Treason, and as it were compelled him to be their General and Commander in Chief: but so the Fate was, and it was commonly practised by the Souldiers in that Empire ever fince the Wars of Gonçalo Piçarro, to raise some Tyrant or other to be their Leader, and then presently to renounce him and kill him, and pretend all for his Majesty's service, and in recompence thereof to demand some great Estate and Lands to be given and settled upon them. John de Ramon, who with Don Garcia was appointed chief Captain of the Forces which were to march to the City of la Paz, there to kill (as hath been said) the Mareschal Alonso de Alvarado, was no sooner departed from the City of Plate, than

he began to enter into Treaty with fome Friends, that it would be good policy to renounce the Cause of Don Garcia and Don Sebastian, and to declare themselves for his Majesty, against all Rebels: And whereas the humour of the Souldiers was generally inclined hereunto, the Proposal took very well amongst them, so that they marched away with this good intention. And as Don Garcia was upon the way, he received intelligence of the Design and Plot of Ramon, which was not strange, because it was usual for them to sell one the other; but he took little eare of his person, and slighted the information: for, being a young man, and of little experience, and unskilfull in military affairs, he formed vain considerations within himself, which failed him in the end: and, not so much as acquainting his Friends with the Advices he had received, he proceeded on his way, till he stell into those Snares which with due circumspection might have been avoided.

John Ramon, in his fecond day's march, received intelligence, that Don Garcis was acquainted with his Defign; for those People plaid a double Game, and carried News and Informations to all Sides and Patties. Wherefore John Ramon, thought it time to make short work, and so presently disarmed five of the principal Souldiers which belonged to Don Garcia, and took away their Horses from them: and hastning with what speed they could after Don Garcia, who was advanced before them, they soon overtook him and his Companions, who were four persons, and disarmed them of their Lances and Musquets, and dissounted them from their Horses; but not to put a farther affront on them, they develted them not of the privilege of Souldiers to wear their Swords girt about them. Don Garcia, being sorry that he had not served Ramon the same Trick that Ramon had plaid upon him, offered to join with him, and declare for his Majesty; but his proposal was rejected, because Ramon was resolved to appropriate all the merit to himself.

Don Garcia and his Comrades, finding themselves in this destitute and forlorn condition, resolved to return to Don Sebastian de Castilla: and on the road they dispatched away a Souldier called Rodrigo de Arevalo with the News; who made such expedition, as Palentino saith, that he arrived in the City that night about nine a clock, being the eleventh of March; which being the hour when the Souldiers were drawn up in the Market-place, and discoursed and conversed together, they saw Arevalo coming a-soot, with a melancholy and dejected countenance, at which sight they all slocked about him to hear the News; as did also Don Seba-

fian, who was not the least concerned therein.

Don Sebafiam, having understood the News, called a Council of those whom he esteemed his most affured and intimate Friends, namely, Vasco Godinez, Baltasar Velazquez and Tello de Vega, and demanded their advice and sense upon the prefent Emergency; but they, being all divided in their opinions, Vasco Godinez, who had been the most active Man in this Rebellion, (as he himself had confessed) took Don Sebaltian aside and apart from the rest, and told him plainly, that if he would fecure his Party and make good his Caufe; he must immediately kill eighteen or twenty Men who were then actually in the Market-place, being notorioully known to be affected to the King's party; who being taken off, there would be none remaining befides Friends and fuch as he might confide and trust himself with; and that nothing then could fland in his way to oppose the attainment of his ultimate delires. Don Schaftian of whom we have formerly given the character of a Noble and generous nature; answered him, what have these Gentlemen done to me, that I (hould kill them? and commit an outrage fo bloudy and unparalleled as this? If it be necessary for the success of my designs, to kill these men, I would rather be unfortunate, and fuffer them to kill me, than draw such guit upon my felf. No fooner had Godinez heard this saying, and understood the sense of Don Sebastian, than he resolved at the same moment to kill him, since he would not affent to the death of those whom he proscribed for enemies; and then he said to him, Sir, Pray expect me awhile here, and I will return to you again prefently; having faid this, he went into the Market-place, where the Souldiers were still remaining; and feeking amongst the croud for those whom he had named, and profcribed to be killed, he found them divided in feveral parties, and because he could not fpeak privately to them, by reason of the company then present, he took them one by one fingly by the hand, and squeezed them hard three or four times, which was the token given them to prepare, and affift him in the Trea-Yyyyy fon which

fon which he was going to act. Having done this, he returned to the house, and in his way thither he met with Gonez Hernandes, to whom in a sew words he communicated his Defign, which he faid, tended to the publick good, and which would undoubtedly be well accepted by his Majesty as a piece of great and glorious fervice; and that therefore he should call such to his affistence as he know would favour this enterprife: Gomez. Hernandez, went accordingly into the Marketplace, and called fome of them by their names, but men were timorous and fear

full to engage in the Defign.

Whereupon Gomez, Hernandez, returned alone and entered with Basco, Godines, into the room where Don Sebaltian remained, and both immediately closed in with him, and gave him many Stabbs with their Daggers; and though he wore a Coat of Mail, yet they made a thift to wound him through it, Baltafar Velazanez who was prefent at the beginning of the Scuille, gave a Screek, and retired back upon the fudden furprize; but perceiving that their intent was to kill him, he came also to their affishence, and gave him several Stabbs, that he might gain a there with them in the merit of that action: another also stroke him with a Halbert, which he wielded about, without respect to any, by which some of his Friends standing by were wounded; as Palentino affirms, Chap. 16, but notwith. standing all this, Don Sebastian got from amongst them with many Wounds, and crept into a dark room, and endeavoured to escape out at the back door into the Market-place, which if he had done, it had caused great staughter and effusion of bloud. Baltafar Velazquez and four or five others followed him into the dark room, but durft not fearch after him with their Weapons, for fear of wounding one another: and in the mean time Velazquez advised them to carry the News into the Market-place, and to declare his Death, that so his Friends might not artempt to fuccour him; and told them, that he would flav behind to difficult and make a final end of him: thus whilft every one did his part Velazquez had found Don Schaftian, and gave him many more Wounds both in his Head and Neck; and then the poor Gentleman cried out for a Confession, until his voice failed him: then Velazquez left him, and went to feek for help to drag him out to the Souldiers, and to that purpose he called Diego de Analos and Gomez Hernandez; but when they came to the place where he was, they found he had crept to the door of his Chamber, where he lay extended and panting; and then they redoubled their stroaks until he expired his last breath, which was about ten a Clock at night: in this buftle Vasco Godinez received a flight wound in his right hand. Then they drew out the dead Body of Don Sebaftian amongst the Souldiers, crying out before it, God save the King, the Tyrant is dead \(\frac{1}{2}\) Vasco Godinee was the most forward of any to proclaim this action, God save the King, said he, the Tyrant is dead, and I killed him: though it is most certain that there was not one of these Assassinates who was not a greater Rebel, Tyrant and Traitour than this Gentleman; which they shewed and evidenced to the world when they became Ministers of Justice, and under that name perpetrated the most bloudy and horrid Villanies in the world. Thus far Diego Hernandez in the Chapter aforefaid

#### CHAP. XXVI.

The choice of Officers both civil and military. Vasco Godinez is declared General. The death of Don Garcia and others, without admitting them time to confess.

THUS this poor Gentleman, Don Sebaftian de Castilla, being assassing the state of those who had persuaded him, and as it were forced him to kill the General Pedro de Hinojosa then Governour; these good and godly men now made themfelves Judges, and erected a Court of Juffice to try those who had been the Murtherers of the Governour, supposing thereby to gain favour and credit, and render themselves faithfull and loyal Subjects to his Majesty. And though these sellows

lows had been Traitours more than twice or thrice to the King, and false to their Friends, as will appear by the Sentence which, some few months afterwards, was paffed upon Godinez; yet they cry up nothing now but duty and loyalty to the King. And here it is remarkable, that from the Murther of the General Pedro Himpofa to the death of *Don Schaftian*, there was not above the space of five days between (as *Palentino* writes) for *Himpofa* was killed on the fixth of *March*, and

BOOK VI.

Don Schaffian on the eleventh following, in the year 1553.

And now Baseo Godinez and his Contrades having killed Schassian, they delivered form Ortic de Carate and Pedro Hernandez Poniagua out of Prifon and Chains, and fet them at liberty, and told them, that what they had acted was with intent to give them their freedom, and to deliver the City from that total ruine and deflruction which those Rebels and Traitours had plotted against it, and also out of a principle of Loyalty to ferve his Majesty. And Vasco Godinez, particularly faid these words (as are repeated by Palentino, Chap. 17.) Gentlemen, for the love of God, fince you fee that I have received a wound in my Hand, be pleafed to apply your felves to the Souldiery, and encourage and exhort them to frand firm in their Joyalty and fervice to his Majetty. But when John Ortic de Carate faw that all the Affaffinates and Murtherers of the General were actually amongst the Souldiers, and that the principal Ruffian and Villain called Hernando Guillada was a Captain, he began to fear left they should kill him, to prevent which, he cried out aloud. that they should make Guillada their Captain, and perhaps he thought it might be convenient to to be. Thus far Patentino. Those words of John Oriza de Carate were wisely and seasonably spoken, for its believed that they saved their lives thereby: in the mean time Vasco Godinez went to have the wound of his Hand dreffed, of which he was more tender than of the life of Don Schaftian: the fame night he dispatched away fix Musquetiers to guard the ways leading to Potocsi, to intercept all Advices which might be fent hereof to Egus de Guzman, and prefently feifed three of his Souldiers, and before it was day he hanged them up, for he knew that they were Villains, who were acquainted with all his Plots, Treacheries and Intrigues: fo foon as it was day, he fent to call John Ortiz de Carate, Pedro Hernandez Paniagua, Antonio Alvarez and Martin Monge, who were all Citizens and Free-men of the City, besides which there were no others at that time; and he told them. with high commendations of his own merit, the great danger he had incurred in killing the late Tyrant, the fervice he had done his Majesty thereby, and the particular benefit and happiness he had procured to them in particular, and to the whole City in general: And that now in return and recompence of fo great and meritorious Services, he defired nothing more of them than to be chosen Chief Justice of that City and the parts adjacent; and to be nominated Captain General of the Forces, fince that Equs de Guesman was very strong, and had many Souldiers with him in Potoch; and to maintain this degree and quality, he defired to have the Manors of the General, and those Vassalages of the Indians conferred upon him, being now vacant by his death. To which the Citizens made answer, that they were not a number sufficient to agree upon such Elections, and feared to run themselves into danger in case they did. But John Ortiz, apprehending lest Godinez should take this refusal in ill part, answered, more out of fear than affection, that in case Gomez Hernandez, who was a man learned in the Law, would give his opinion that they might legally doe it, that then they would readily comply with his defires: to which the Lawyer gave his opinion readily, and that they might doe it and much more, in respect to the great merit and services of Godinez. Hereupon a publick Notary was called, and before him Godinez was nominated to be Lord Chief Juftice, and Captain-General of the Souldiery; and for support of these great Dignities, the Estate of the late General Pedro de Hinojosa was settled upon him, which (as we have said) with the Mines of Silver, yielded him two hundred thouland pieces of Eight of yearly rent: an excellent and worthy reward for two fuch famous pieces of Treason and Murther which this Villain had contrived and woven, purposely to wind himself into this great Estate, which he was resolved to possels by any means or ways whatsoever. And in like manner this honest Lawyer got himself into another allotment called Puna, and to hold it in Custodiam, untill it should be otherwise disposed. Upon this profiler in the little of the treasing of the transfer of the control of th patfage Diego Hernandez faith as follows. It is manifest that they intended to pay themselves, and to sell at a good rate the power they had over the Souldiers, and make advantage of the dread and terrour which the Citizens conceived of them. who

as we thall fee hereafter.

who feared left they should be more cruel towards them than Don Sebaftian had

been. Thus far Diego Hernandez.

Then they nominated the Lawyer Gonez Hernandez to be Lieutenant-General of the Army, and John Ortiz de Carate and Pedro del Caftillo to be Captains of Foot: this Election was made, to fignifie, that they would not dispose of the military Offices arbitrarily, but in such a manner as that the Citizens should have a share with them in the Government, which they accepted more out of sear than good will towards the Cause or Persons with whom they were embarked. Hereupon Proclamation was made that all people should obey Buseo Godinez as General, and Buseo Aracquez as Major-General; and fix Souldiers were presently disparched away to seise upon Don Garcia and the rest who were returned from the good employment they were sent about for killing the Marshal Monso de Alvarado.

Bultafar Velazquez, to shew the power of his Office, caused two Souldiers of note to be drawn and quartered, who brought Letters and Advices from Equi de Guzman at Potocsi to Don Sebastian de Castilla. He sentenced another Souldier to be hanged, called Francisco de Villalobos, and two other Souldiers, who were Friends to him, to have their hands cut off, but by the mediation of the other Souldiers, a remiffion was granted to have onely one hand difmembred: all which this good Major general acted within the space of sour hours after he was promoted to this honour. The day following Martin de Robles, Paulo de Menfers, Diego de Humadra, and Diego de Velazquez entred into the City, having fled from the Souldiers who fought to take them, together with several others of less note and esteem. The which being known to Basco Godinez, who kept his Bed in tenderness to his wound, he fent to call John de Ortiz to him, and defired him to persuade Paulo de Meneses, Martin de Robles and the rest, who were newly arrived, to assemble together in Council, and join with the rest in confirming the Election of him to be Chief Justice and Captain General, and also the Settlement made upon him of the Estate of Pedro de Hinojosa. To which demand they made answer, that they had no power nor authority fo to doe, nor was an act of theirs either legal or valid; and if he would take their counsel as Friends, they would advise him to delist from fuch like pretentions; for that it would look as if the killing of Don Sebaltian de Castilla had been acted by him for the sake of his own interest, and not for the de Capital had been access of him to lake the fervice of his Majesty: with this answer Godinez grew highly incensed, and with a loud voice vowed, that whosoever pretended to abate the least tittle of his honour, he would pretend to take away their lives. Wherefore he commanded them all to enter into Consultation, and having set fixty or eighty Souldiers at the Door of the Room where they were affembled, he gave orders to kill him or them who should refuse to sign or set his hand to any thing which he required to be done: which when Paulo de Meneses and his Companions understood, they approved the Election, though much against their will, and would have done much more if it had been demanded; for Gomez Hernandez, the Lawyer, affured them that in case they complied not with him he was resolved to put every one of them to death. Godinez, finding himself now confirmed by the authority of two Assemblies, was very much pleased, though both Sentences served onely for his greater condemnation. Riba Martin, who was the chief of five Mulquetiers, sent to take Don Garcia Tello de Guzman, had the fortune to apprehend him about five leagues distant from the City, being on his way thither, in hopes of the favour and protection of Don Sebastian de Castilla and his party: but when he understood that Basco Godinez and Baltafar Velazquez, and Gomez Hernandez, who had been the chief Conspiratours and contrivers of the Murther of Pedro de Hinojosa, and had been deepelt in the Rebellion, and who had been the most intimate Friends of Don Sebastian, were the persons who had affassinated him, he could not but greatly admire and remain aftonished, thinking it impossible that those who were more deeply concerned in that black Murther and Rebellion than Don Sebastian, should object that crime to him onely, and kill him for that which was their own Plot and Conspiracy. And whereas he was a Man who had been principally concerned in all the Plots and Intrigues of the Rebels, he told Riba Martin that he did not question but that they would kill him to prevent the discoveries he might make of all the Plots and Villanies they had contrived and acted: And so it happened, for so soon as he was brought to the City, Bafeo Godinez gave order to Velazquez, as Palentine faith, to kill him; which he accordingly performed, to prevent the Tellimonies and Evidence which he might produce against them. These are the words of that

Authour, who afterwards proceeds as follows. When Don Garcia perceived, faith he that he had but a short time to live, he defired to be admitted to confession: and when John Ortiz de Carate came in to fee him, he befeeched him, that fince he was (hortly to die, he would intercede for him to have one days time to recollect himfelf, and confider of his fins, for that he was a young man, and had been a great finner. At that instant Baltafar Velazquez entred the Chamber, and without fuffering John Ortiz fo much as to speak, he commanded him to void the Room, and told Don Garcia that he had but an hours time given him to live. which he was to make use of for preparation of his Soul: and being in confession. he often admonished him to dispatch; and before he had done, he threw the Cord about his Neck, which he drew to hard that it brake; and then applying another Rope, which he supposed too flow in doing execution, he drew out his Sword and cut his Throat and Head off therewith; which being done, John de Ortiz clothed him in his Burial Shrouds, and caused him to be interred. The like fort of Justice they passed upon others, not admitting any of them to confession. nor to any legal proceedings, left at the Tribunal of Juffice, they should have imneached them to have been the chief and original Plotters and Contrivers of this Rebellion. Thus far Diego Hernandez, Chap. 19. who a little before discoursing of this matter faith as follows: It was the great Mafter piece of all their policy, to put men to death without giving them time to confess, left they should accuse them, and discover their Plots and Treacheries; and as to those in whom they had any confidence of being fecret and faithfull to the defigns, they would keep in hand and encourage, allowing them time to be gone and make their escape; which they acted by traversing Justice to that side and party whereunto their own interest most chiefly directed.

Herewith Diego Hernandez concludes his eighteenth Chapter; and with much reason detests the abominable practices, cruesties and treacheries which these men acted upon their best and most intimate Friends: for they were the wretches who had designed and contrived the death of Pedro de Hinosofia, and had above three years bestore resolved to kill him, in case he should result to become their Head and chief Commander in their intended Rebellion. And then afterwards the villany and barbarous cruesty of these men is not to be expressed; who killed those who knew their wickedness, and caused themselves to be elected Judges and chief Magistrates, to condemn those whom they had caused to fin and rendred guilty of all those murthers and bloudy cruesties which they had plotted and contrived. But Heaven found them out at last and punished them according to their demerit.

#### CHAP. XXVII.

Of what happened in Potocsi. Egas de Guzman is drawn and quartered. Other outrages are committed by the Souldiers. Many brave men are put to death. Cozco arms against the Rebels.

These and many others were the horrible and execrable Villanies which passed in the City of Plate: and now we shall proceed to what was committed in Potocss, where they robbed all the Treasure belonging to his Majesty, which was so great and vast a sum that it amounted to a million and a half of pieces of Eight, which all vanished to nothing, and never was there one farthing of it recovered; for it was taken away after the death of Hernando de Alvarado, his Majesty's Accomptant-General, whom Amonio de Lawan, having made himself Chief Justice of that Town and parts thereunto belonging, had sentenced to die, and as he went to Execution he published his Crime to have been, that he had sided with the General Pedro de Hinosofa, with intention to raise all the Kingdom in arms against

against his Majesty. And now we must understand, that a certain Friend of Ana tonio de Luxan, called John Goncales, wrote a Letter to him giving him advice of the death of Don Schaltian, of the imprisonment of Don Garcia and of the departure of John Ramon and others, with intent to join with the Marshal Alonso de Alva rado. This Letter was fent by a Janacuna (which fignifies an Indian Domestick Servant educated in a Family) who are commonly the best Spies in the world. and the Letter was made up in the foal of his Shoe, to keep it from being intercepted by the Guards, which were placed on the way where he was to page. herein he was counselled immediately to kill Egas de Guzman, for that therewish all the Plots of those who were concerned in the death of Don Schastian would be entirely overthrown: so soon as Antonio de Luxan (who had made himself chief Justice) had received this Letter, he immediately caused the Drum to beat, for affembling the Souldiery in the Market-place, where Egas de Guzman coming amongst the rest, demanded the reason of that convention. Antonio de Luxan, to make trial whether this Letter were true or feigned, and also to create a confidence of Eg. de Guzman in him as his Friend, he publickly produced the Letter in view of all those then present; and asked, whether that were the hand and firm of John Gonçales, and when it was faid, that it was very like Goncales's hand, and that probably it was his and no others, Egas de Guzman changed his countenance, which shewed the inward trouble and apprehension of his mind. Upon this certification and affirance of the death of Don Sebaltian those who had before an intention to join with Leas de Guzman changed their minds, and declared themselves Servants to his Majesty, which was the design of Autonio de Luxan in publishing the Letter; and also to make the Souldiers his instruments in killing Egas de Gue. man, as that paper advised: upon reading whereof, those present looked one upon the other, and without freaking one word they understood each others meaning: To that Antonio de Luxan and his party adventured to lay hands upon Egas de Gueman notwithstanding he had many that sided with him, and set Gomez de Solis, and Martin de Almendras at liberty, and those very Chains and Irons with which they had been manacled, they put upon Egus de Guzman, and stripped off his Coat of Mail, and gave it to Gomez de Solis: and within the space of six hours Eess de Guzman (notwithflanding all his courage and bravery) was drawn and quartered. together with another Companion of his called Diego de Vergara.

This effect had John Gonçales's Letter in Powels: and at the fame time the Inhabitants of the City of Plue, of which the principal persons were Basco Godines. Baltafar Velazquez and Gomez Hernandez the Lawyer, having confulted with others of the same City, they agreed all to march to Potoch in a posture of War against Eggs de Guzman, not knowing as yet what had been the fate of that poor Gentleman. Baseo Godinez went General and Judge Advocate of the Army, which they so called, though it scarce consisted of an hundred men, and looked more like a training of Boys, and a mock-show rather than an Army; for to so few men they had two Captains of Foot, and one of Horse, with a Lieutenant-General: and having marched about two leagues they received intelligence that Eg.18 de Guzman was killed, and the Town reduced to the service of the King: upon which it was agreed, that Bafeo Godinez should return again to the City of Plate, and that Baltafar Velazquez and Gomez Hernandez, with fifty felect Souldiers, should proceed forward to Potocfi, and farther in pursuit of Gabriel de Pernia, whom (as we have faid) Fous de Guzman had fent with fifty five Souldiers to the City of Peace, there to kill the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado. But Gabriel de Pernia, having with his people travelled feveral leagues, received the news that John Ramon had difarmed Don Garcia: upon which he declared for the Marshal, and sent him word by Ordonno de Valencia that he was coming to serve him; but he had not marched many leagues farther before his own Souldiers feifed upon him, and declared for Don Sebastian, and with their Colours flying returned back again, leaving Pernia with three other Companions to follow their own imaginations, who accordingly joined themselves with the Marshal's party: but the Souldiers returned back without Captain or Leader, or Counfel either of themselves or others, and travelled untill they received news of the death of Don Sebastian; and then they proceeded as Palentino writes Chapter 21, in these words: They pretended that the Ensign or Colours they carried were displayed in the name and for the service of his Majefty, so that their Banner changed like the Weather-cock, which turns to the part where the wind blows strongest; and such was the loyalty of this people who always cried aloud, may be live who overcomes; fo when they came to meet with Baltafar Velazanez; the Enfign who carried the Colours, with Pedro Xuares, and two other Souldiers, put themselves in the Front of all the rest, and loaring their Colours three times, refigned them up into the hands of Velazanez: who immediately from thence dispatched Riba Martin and Martin Moneia to the City of Peace to fignifie unto the Marshal, that in regard the City of Plate was in onietness and peace, and reduced to the obedience of his Majesty, he was returning thither, and carried with him Prisoners, Alonso de Ariaça, Francisco Arnao, Pero Xuarez, Alonfo de Marquina, Francisco Chaves the Moor, and John Perez: and when he came within a league and a half of the place, he caused Francisco de Arnao to be executed, and cut into four quarters; and as he entred into the Town. Alongo de Marquina was by his order drawn and quartered. And the fame night he entred into the Monastery of the Merceds, and from thence drew out Pedro del Cotro. and caused him to be hanged, though upon his repentance, for having had a hand in the death of the General, he had admitted himself in the Convent and turned Friar. Thus far Diego Hernandez.

But to abbreviate that which he discourses much more at large, we say, that Baltasar Velazquez delivered up the other Prisoners to Baseo Godinez, that so he, who had made himself Chief Justice, might bring them to their Trial, or dispose of them as he should think fit; that is, that he might kill and destroy all such as had been privy to his plots and designs; which he accordingly did, and banished many into parts far remote from the City of Plate, namely four, five and six hundred leagues from thence: he caused also Gover Tello de Vega to be quartered, who was one of Don Sebastian's Captains, and had been commissionated thereunto by Baseo Godinez himself: he also condemned another Souldier called Diego Perez to be disabled in both his Feet, and afterwards to serve in the Galleys; for a Galley-slave hath not much use of his Feet: thus did they contrive and meditate new ways of cruelty. Then he dispatched Bastasar Velazquez, with another Souldier control of note called Pedro del Castillo, to go to Lima, there to publish and extoll the great services which Baseo Godinez and they had done: which are the words of Patenino,

who therewith concludes that Chapter.

BOOK VI

Though Baltafar Velazquez, by being absent in the Charcas, escaped the punishment which Alonso de Alvarado had designed for him, yet he could not avoid a more fevere indement which Heaven had prepared to bring him to his end. The news of the Infurrection of Don Sebaftian de Castillia ran like lightning through the whole Kingdom, to the great trouble and consternation of those who had Estates in the Countrey, for these were they who were likely to suffer by all wars and confusions which arise: for not onely being Lords of Manors holding many Indians in validage they were upon all occasions of this nature put to a valt expence; but likewise they held their lives by a hair or thread, being ever in danger of being killed in those rebellious tumults by the Souldiers, who gaped and longed after the enjoyment of their possessions. So soon as this news came to the City of Cozco, they put themselves into a posture of defence against the enemy; and by consent of the Corporation, they elected Diego Maldonado, surnamed the Rich, to be their General, having formerly been the most ancient Governour of any in than City. Garcilasso de la Vega, and John de Saavedra were made Captains of Horse; and John Julio de Hojeda, Thomas Vacquez, and Antonio de Quimoner, and another Citizen, whose name I have forgot, were made Captains of Foot: who presently applied themselves with all diligence to raise Souldiers, and herein John Julio de Hojeda was so active that in five days time he marched into the Market-place with three hundred Souldiers after him all very well armed and accounted, which feemed frange in fo fhort a time: Three days after this (making eight days in all with the former five) news came of the death of Don Schaftian, which put an end to the War for the prefent. The like happened in the City of Los Reyes, as Diego Hernandez mentions, Chap. 22. in these words: The Court of Justice received intelligence of all the revolutions and tempelts which were arisen: for at the end of March news came of the death of the General, and of the rebellion of Don Schaftian: fix days after which came news that Egas Gueman was up in Arms in the quarters of Potoch: and in four days more advices were brought of the death and deftruction of those rebellious Tyrants, for which great rejoycing was made in the City of Lima. Thus far Diego Hernandez. We shall now in the following Chapter relate, what courfe and methods were used to bring these men to condign punishment. CHAP. 7.7.7.7.7

906

#### CHAP. XXVIII.

The Royal Court of Justice constitutes the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado to sit Judge on the Trial of the Rebels. Decrees and Orders were iffued out by the Judge, and others by the Souldiers. The Imprisonment of Basco Godinez, and of other Souldiers, and Men of Estates.

THE days of joy and festival being past in the City of Los Royes for the death of Don Schaftian de Castillia, and the deseat and destruction of the Rebels, in which Ordonno de Valencia (whom Diego Hernandes often mentions in his Hilfory) had proved a principal Instrument, though he had acted a double part, and been concerned on both fides. Howfoever his good fortune guiding him to bring the first news of the death of Don Sebastian; the Judges in reward thereof bestowed upon him a division of some Lands with vallalage of Indians in the City of Cozco. to the value of five or fix thousand pieces of Eight of yearly Revenue, where I

lest him in the enjoyment of the same when I came for Spain.

But others failed in that defign, and gained a contrary reward, being accused and endicted before a High Court of Justice, of which the Marthal Alonso de Alvarade was constituted Lord Chancellour by Commission from the Lords Justices: for that he being known to be an upright and a fevere person, was esteemed a proper Instrument to punish those many outrages, murthers and violences which had been committed against God, and contrary to the peace and quietness of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Fifth Emperour and King of Spain. In like manner for Trial of Offenders in the Charcas, John Fernandez the King's Actorney General was ordain ned, and appointed to proceed against and judge those Delinquents. Moreover another Commission was privately sealed, whereby Alonso de Alvarado was ordained chief Governour and Justiciary of all those Provinces, and Captain General of all the Forces, with full power to raise Souldiers, and to pay them, and all neceffary Expences of the War out of the Royal Treasury. These Commissions were fent to Alvarado in the City of Peace, by virtue of which he immediately applied himself to the trial and punishment of the Rebels: and in order thereunto be dispatched several persons of entire confidence and integrity, into divers parts to feife and apprehend fuch as had been guilty, and were fled to avoid the course of Justice into private corners, and concealments amongst the *Indians*. One of those employed upon this message was called *John de Henao*, who pursued them fo hard, as to fearch for them with Canocs, or Indian Boats, in certain little Islands within the Lake of Titicaca, and to hunt them amongst the Osiers and Rushes which grew by the Banks of those Islands, and having taken above twenty of the most malignant and culpable amongst them, he delivered them into the hands of Pedro Encifo then Governour in Chicagin: who having first examined them, and taken their Confessions, he sent them with a safe Guard to the Marshal. It being by this time made known over all the Charcus and Potocfi, that the Marshall was by Commission constituted Judge of those Provinces, divers Souldiers, who were confcious of their own guilt, advised Basco Godinez (whose crimes they believed were too black to admit of Pardon) to be wary and cautious of his own person, and to raise Souldiers to resist the Marshal; the which (as Diego Hernandez fays, Chapter the twenty fecond) they represented to him, as a matter very easie to be effected; and that he should cause it to be published abroad, that the Marshal, and Lorenco de Aldana, and Gomez de Alvarado intended to raise Arms, and in an arbitrary manner to tyrannize over the Countrey: which being once fixed in the minds of the people, he might have a very laudable pretence to kill them all; which being done, there could be none to oppose or confront him. Howfoever Basco Godinez was of another opinion; for, depending much on the fervice he had done his Majesty in killing Don Sebastian de Castillia, and upon the enmity which was between him and John Ramon, who accused and complained of

him for not standing firm to his principles, he resolved to come and claim a reward for his Services: of which the Marthal having intimation, he gave it our. that he had a power in his Commission to gratifie all those who had had a hand in the death of Don Sebaltian, and had been instrumental in suppressing Rebels: and that there was a particular Clause impowring him to confer the Estate and and that there was a particular Claule impowring into to conter the Entate and Indians formerly belonging to Alonfo de Mendoça upon Bafeo de Godinez, and John Ramon. This rumour being published abroad, Alonfo Velazquez was dispatched away with some Orders and Instructions for Potess, and with a particular Warrant to take and apprehend Baseo Godinez; though it was commonly given out, that he carried a power to invest Godinez in an Estate and Lordship over Indians. Thus

far Diego Hernandez in the Chapter before mentioned.

Busco Godinez, being then at the City of Plate, received a Letter from a Kinsman of his that Alonfo Velazquez was bringing the Order of the Juffices to confer on him the Estate of Alonso de Mendoca; at which Godinez seemed much offended and angry, that it was not the Estate of the General Pedro de Hinojosa, which he had before allotted and appropriated to himfelf by his own power and arbitrary pleasure: of which, when he read the Letter, he greatly complained to those who were then prefent, but they moderated his paffion a little, by telling him, that these were good beginnings, and that he was in a fair way to better his fortunes: but he stormed and raged like a mad man, as did other Souldiers then with him, who, entertaining an overweening opinion of their own merits, pretended to the beft, and the most opulent Estates in all Pern. Soon after Godines had received this feigned news in a Letter (which was never intended for him) Alonso Velazquez arrived at the City of Place, and being accompanied with some Friends of his, he went directly to the Lodging of Bafeo Godinez and faluted him with the usual forms of ceremony and complement; to which he returned a furly kind of an affiver, and looked very fullen and melancholy, because all Pers was not conferred upon him for a reward of his deferts. But not to fuffer him to proceed farther in such vain imaginations as these; Alonso Velizaguez delivered him a Letter from the Marshal, with others, which were feigned to amuse him a while with vain hopes; but whilft he was attent in reading them, Alonfo Velazquez laid hold on his Arme, and faid, Scnior Godinez, you are my Prisoner: with which he being much furprifed, he asked him by what Warrant? Velazquez (as Diego Hernandez fays) made answer, that he charged him to go with him to a certain place. where he would fliew him by what authority: No, faid Godinez, let these perfons prefent fee your Orders and Warrant, and afterwards we shall resolve to doe what is requifite in the cafe. Then Velazquez, with more choler and heat than before, told him plainly, that he would not capitulate with him, but charged him without farther dispute to go with him, and using some violence drew him into the Prifon; and as he was going, Godines, desperately tore his Beard with his hand, and lifted his eyes to Heaven: which fome feeing comforted him, and advifed him to patience, in regard, that by this impriforment, the Justice of his Cause, and the fignal Services he had done his Majesty would more eminently appear. But Godinez replied onely with Oaths and Curfes, and that the Devils would now fetch him, who had referved him to that unhappy time. In short, Velacoques clapt him up into close Prifor with Chains and Manacles, and committed him to the cuffo ly of a strong Guard; and immediately wrote away to the Marthal giving advice of what had paffed; who speedily coming to Potoch. feifed on many Souldiers and Inhabitants, intending to bring them to condign punishment: And in the first place he made Process against Marsin de Robles, Gomez de Solis and Martin de Almendras, and others, allowing them to make their legal defence, and bring their witnesses, and such proofs as were conducing to their discharge, and herein especially he indulged the Citizens, and those who had Plantations in the Countrey, affording them a large time to make their defence, most of which were saved by prolongations and delays, rather than acquitted by the Sentence of Justice; as will hereafter appear. Thus far Diego Hernandez, who therewith ends this Chapter. In the conclusion of which, he seems to have received his information from fome person prepossessed with a prejudice against the Gentlemen who had Effates, and were Lords of Vaffals in Peru; or 'perhaps he himself was so: for he lays no crime to the charge of those against whom the Marthal proceeded; but rather excuses them, and fays, that the Rebels seised on Gomez de Selis, and Murtin de Almendras; and that Martin de Robles escaped from 72222 2

them in his Shirt. And yet after this, he fays, that their lives were rather faved by prolongations and delays, than acquitted by the course of Justice; which shews him guilty of an apparent partiality, as we shall observe in many passages for the future.

#### CHAP. XXIX.

The Judge puts many of the Rebels to death in the City of Peace, and in the Village of Potocsi; others were whipped and sent to the Gallies: the like Justice he doth in the City of Plate. The Sentence and Execution of Basco de Godinez.

THE Marshal began now to exercise his power in punishment of the Rebels in the City of Peace, where he had erected a Court of Justice: all the Prifoners fent him by Pedro de Encifo taken in the great Lake, and other parts, he condemned; fome of them were hanged, others beheaded, fome were whipped, and others fent to the Gallies, fo that all of them received their just reward. From the City of Peace, the Marshal travelled to Potocsi, where he found many Prisoners of those Bravoes and Hectors that belonged to Egas de Guzman and Don Schastian de Castilla; on whom he executed the same justice as on the former; as namely. some were hanged, and others beheaded, whipped and sent to the Gallies. He apprehended the person of Hernan Perez de Peragua, who was Commissary-General, and accused for holding a correspondence (as we have said before) with Don Sebaltian, to whom he wrote a Letter to fend twenty Musquetiers to take him, that he might not feem to furrender himself; but in regard he was a Knight of the Habit of St. John or a Knight of Malta; they conficated the Plantation and Indians which he possessed in the City of Plate, and sent his Person under a secure Guard to the Master of Maste. These Sessions being ended at Potocsi, the Master of Master. that went to the City of Plate, where Basco Godinez remained a Prisoner, with several as brave Souldiers and men of note as any were within those Provinces: on all which they executed the Sentence of the Law, as before on those in Potocsi and in the City of Plate; but very few were condemned to the Gallies, by reason that it was troublesome and delatory to send them into Spain; and besides in their way thither they might find means to make their escape; as those had done who were committed to the charge of Rodrigo Nimo; for of all his number, which were eighty fix, there was but one that arrived in Seville. We do not undertake here particularly to fet down the precise number of those who were put to death and whipped; being so many that an exact number could not be kept of them, onely a calculate may be made of them; from the latter end of June, Anno 1553, to the end of November of the same year, when a new Insurrection was begun by Francisco Hernandez Giron, every day was a day of Assise, whereon sour, sive, or fix a day were condemned, and the next day they were executed. The which expedition of juffice could not be avoided, confidering how full the Prifons were, and how necessary a Gaol-delivery was for security of the Countrey; which was put into that amazement and confusion by the boldness and insolence of the Rebels, that no man remained secure either of his Life or Estate. Howsoever the malitious and unthinking people ftyled the Judge with the terms of cruel and implacable, and of another Nero, who could with so little remorse and compassion condemn four or five a day unto death, and those of the most principal Souldiers, and fuch as perhaps had been either deceived or enforced to a compliance; and ver when he arose from the Bench, and was returning to his own House, he could entertain light and indifferent discourses laughing and jesting with the Attorney-General, as if those who were condemned to die were Capons or Turkies entred in a Bill of Fare to be served up at his Table. And such other Libels and scandafandalous Speeches were vented against the Government, that it had been well if Laws had been made to restrain the excesses and liberty of malitious and virulers. Torques

In the month of Ottober of the fame year (as Diego Hernandes, faith) Bafeo Godines was charged and arraigned of many heinous and crying offences, which are specified in the Sentence passed on him, for which he was condemned to be drawn and quartered. And it is certain that the Marshal was troubled that he could not meet with Bastafar Velasquese (who was gone to Lima) for had he been found he would have incurred the same punishment that Godines had done, &c. The declaration of the Crimes of Baseo Godines were contained in a few words; proclaimed by the Executioner; which were these; This man having been a Traiton to God, to his King, and his Friends, is sentenced to be drawn and quartered. The which saying is to sull and pithy, that it contains as much as can be said or wrote in many Chapters. And thus did the severity of Justice pass on the Offenders, untill towards the end of November (as we have said;) when news coming of a new Rebellion raised by Francisco Hernandes Giron, a stop was given to farther proceedings against the rest of the imprisoned Souldiers: which seemed to happen opportunely, that the sear of a second Rebellion might moderate and allay the severity exercised against the first.

The Indians of Coxes prognofticated this Rebellion openly and loudly in the Streets, as I heard and faw my felf: For the Eve before the Feftival of the most Holy Sacrament, I being then a youth, went out to see how the two Market-places of the City were adorned; for at that time the Procession passed through no other Streets but those; though since that time, as I am told, the perambulation is double as far as before. And being then at the corner of the great Chapel of our Lady of the Mercedt, about an hour or two before day, I saw a Comet dart from the East side of the City towards the Mountains of the Antis, so great and clear that it enlightned all places round with more splendour than a full Moon at midnight. Its motion was directly downwards, its form was globular, and its dimension as big as a large Tower; and coming near the ground, it divided into several sparks and streams of fire; and was accompanied with a Thunder so low and near as struck many deaf with the clap, and ran from East to West: which when the Indians heard and saw, they all cried out with one voice, Maca, Auca, Auca, Which signifies in their Language, as much as to say, Tyran, Traitour, Rebel, and every thing that may be attributed to a violent and bloudy Traitour, as we have before mentioned. This happened on the nineteenth of June in the year 1553 when the Feast of our Lord was celebrated; and this prognostication which the Indians made, was accomplished on the thirteenth of November in the same year, when Francisca Hernandex Giron began a Rebellion, which we shall relate in the following Book.

The End of the Sixth Book,

# Royal Commentaries.

## BOOK VII.

#### CHAP. I.

News being spread of the severe Proceedings of Justice in the Charcas, Francisco Hernandez Giron conspires with the Planters and Souldiers to raise a Rebellion.

Ommon Fame published in all parts of the Empire, with what Severity they proceeded in the Charcus against those who had been concerned in the Rebellion of Vasco Godinez and Don Sebastian de Castillia, and their Adherents: in like manner it was reported, (whether true or false it marters not much) that the Marshal was preparing farther process against such Oscientes as lived without the Precincts of his Jurisdiction. And that by a Letter which was written from Cozco, it was advised (as Palemino relates, Chap. 24. in these words.) That in Potosi they had lopt off the branches, but that in Cozco, they would extirpate them from the very roots: the which Letter, though written, as is said, by John de la Arromaga without malice or design, yet it served to awaken Francisco Hernandez Giron, and caused him with more vigilance to place a watch on the road, to bring him information of all people that passed, less the Marshal should surprize him unawares: and moreover, he advised his Friends to discover, if possible, the correspondence which passed between Gnil. Ramirez, (who was at that time Governour) and the Marshal: these are the very words of that Authour who farther says, that all the Inhabitants were in an uproar upon Proclamation made, that every one was to acquit and discharge the Indians of their personal services, and that the Governour had rejected and torn a Petition which was tendered to him in the name of all the Inhabitants, representing this aggrievance.

The truth is, I cannot but much admire how it is possible for men to report things so different from all reason and probability, as to say, that none of the Inhabitants of that City were discontented and scandalized at the severe proceedings against the Rebels, but onely Francisco Herrandes Giron, who had been engaged in the two late Rebellions, as this History makes mention. Nor is it to be believed, that the Governour, who was a Gentleman of Quality, and one educated under so religious and good a Prince as the Vice-king Don Antonio de Mendoga, should perform an action so odious and unpolitick, as to tear a Petition subscribed by above eighty Lovds of Vasflals and Inhabitants of a City which was the Metropolis of all that Empire. For if such a thing had been done, it had not been strange (be it said with all respect to his Royal Majesty) if they had given him

fifty (tabbs with their Daggers, as this Authour averrs; faying, that Francisco Hernandez Giron and his Affociates had consisied so to doe either in the Townhouse or in the Shop of a Publick Notary, where the Governous used to hold

his Court of Justice. Thus far Palentino.

912

And because it is not reason, that we should so positively contradict the Writings of this Authour, which in many places may be taken up from vulgar Reports; we shall therefore omit all farther computation, and proceed according to the method of our History in the relation of what really passed in the City of Cosco, where I was personally present, and was an eye-witness of what was there transacted; which was this; The Offence taken at the Severity of Justice executed in the Charcas, did feem to concern no other Citizen of Cozco, than onely Francisco Hernandez Giron, who kept no conversation or correspondence with the Inhabitants, but with the Souldiers onely, which was a sufficient indication of his evil Intentions. And receiving informations, that the Marshal made Enquiries after him, and being confcious to himfelf of his own guilt, he became wary of his own person, and resolved speedily to break forth into open Rebellion. To which end he entered into communication with some Souldiers who were his Friends, being not above twelve or thirteen in number; namely, John Cobo, Antonio Carrillo, of whom we have made mention in the Hiltory of Florida, Diego Gaviland and John Gaviland his brother, Nunno Mendiola, and Diego de Alvarado the Lawyer, who availed himself more of his skill in War, than in Law; and indeed he had reason not to boast himself much of his Learning, for he had never shewn any, either in War or Peace; thele Souldiers, though poor, were yet honourable. and of noble extraction. Besides these, he imparted his design to Francisco Hernandez and Thomas Vasquez, who was a rich Citizen, and a principal person of the Corporation, and one of the first Conquerours, when Atabualpa was a priloner: and with him he entred into a Discourse of these matters, upon occasion of a quarrel which some few months before had arisen between this Thomas Valquez. and the Governour Gil. Ramirez de Avalos; who out of passion rather than reason apprehended Vasquez, and clapt him into the publick prison, proceeding against him rather like a party than a Judge; of which ill utage Valquez had reaton to complain, fince that to persons of his quality and ancient family it was usual to thew all honour and respect. Francisco Hernandez taking hold of this disposition in Valquez to revenge the injuries he had received, eafily prevailed upon him to accept the propofal and to engage himself to be of his party: in like manner he drew another to join with him, called John de Piedrabita, a man of a mean fortune, and one who for the most part of the year lived in the Countrey with his Indians; he was also of an unquiet temper, and so needed no great persuasion to be prevailed upon by Francisco Hernandez,

These two Citizens, and another called Alonso Diaz engaged with Hernandez in the infurrection he made (though Palentino names another called Rodrigo de Pineda) but neither he, nor others who went with him to the City of Los Reyes, did join with Hernandez in his rebellion, though they followed his party afterwards, (as will appear in this Hiftory) rather out of fear than love, or any interest whatfoever; for they abandoned his party with the first opportunity that presented, and revolted over to his Majesty's service; which was the ruine and destruc-

tion of Hernandez.

Palentino having nominated without any distinction Citizens and Souldiers that were engaged in this conspiracy; he says, that they plotted to kill the Governour, and raife a tumult in the City, and over all the Kingdom: but I am confident, that this report was framed by a perfon who was ill affected to the Inhabitants of Peru, for he never speaks of them, but with a prejudice, calling them Tray-

tours and rebellious persons. The truth is, I am a native of that City and consequently a Son of that Empire; and therefore it troubles me to hear my Contreymen fo causlesly reproached with the terms of difloyalty; who never offended his Royal Majesty; nay, they condemn them of rebellion, or at best suspect them of treason, who did the service to acquire to his Majesty a vast Empire, and so wealthy as both filled all the world with its riches. For my part, I protest in the faith of a Christian, that I will speak the truth, without any partiality or favour; and will declare and plainly confess the truth of all the proceedings of Hernandez, and where they are obscure, consused or doubtfull, I shall render them as plain and manifest as I am able. Know then, that Francisco Hernandez conspired with those whom we have before mentioned, and with another Souldier called Bernardino de Robles, and another called Alonfo Goncalez a man as vile and base in his extraction and manners as he was ugly in his person, form and shape: for he proved the bloudiest Villain in the World, killing every one who stood in his way, even those whom Hornandez, had pardoned; pretending that Execution was done before the pardon arrived: His trade was, before this rebellion broke out, to keep Hogs in the valley of Sacfahuana, which was in the Estate and Allotment of Hernandez, from whence began that great friendship and dearness which was between them.

The rebellion being refolved, it was agreed that it flould break forth on the thirteenth of November, in the year 1553, being the day when a marriage was to be celebrated between Alonso de Loaysa, one of the richest and most principal Inhabitants of that City, and Nephew to the Arch-bishop of Los Reyes and Donna Maria de Castrillia, Niece to Baltafar de Castrillia, Daughter to his Sister Donna Leonor de Bobadilla and of Numo Tovar a Cavalier of Badajoz; of whom we have made mention at large in our Hillory of Florida. And now, in this following Chapter, we will relate the beginning of this Rebellion which was fo vexatious.

expensive and ruinous to this whole Empire.

BOOK VII.

#### CHAP. II.

Francisco Hernandez raises a Rebellion in Cozco. What happened in the night of this Rebellion. Many Inhabitants fly from the City.

HE day of the Nuptials being come, all the Citizens and their Wives dreffed themselves in their best Apparel to honour the Wedding: for on all fuch folemn occasions as this, either of Festivals, or days of mourning, it was the custome amongst these Citizens to rejoice or condole together, as if they had been all Brethren of a Family, between whom were no private grudges, animofities or factions. Many of the Citizens and their Wives dined and supped at the Wedding, at which was prepared a folemn Banquet. After dinner an entertainment was made in the Street of throwing balls made with Earth, by Horfemen at each other (which is a foort used in Spain.) I remember that I saw it from the top of a ftone Wall, over against the house of Alonso de Louysa; and I saw Francisco Hernandez sitting on a Chair in the Hall, with his Armes folded on his Breaft, and his Eyes looking downwards; in which posture he seemed more penfive and thoughtfull than melancholy it felf. It is probable, that he was then contriving what he was to act and execute that night; though that Authour faith. that Francisco Hernandez had thewed himself very merry and pleasant that day at the Wedding, and perhaps it was because he was there present, rather than fliewed any good or pleafant humour.

The Sports of the City being over, and the Evening come, they fate themselves to Supper in a lower Hall, where at least fixty were at the Table, for the Room was both long and wide; the Ladies fate together in an inward Room, and from a little Yard, which was between these Apartments, they served the Meat unto both Tables. Don Baltafar de Castillia, who was Uncle to the Bride, and a very gentile man, performed the Office of Uther of the Hall. I my felf came to the Wedding-house towards the end of Supper, to attend my Father and my Step-mother home at night: And coming into the Hall, I went towards the upper end of the Tables where the Governour was fet, who being a very obliging Gentleman, was pleated to cast his eyes upon me, and call me to him; though I was but a Boy of fourteen years of age; and bid me fit down by him, fince there was no other Chair for me, and reached me some of the Comfects and fweet drink which Boys are belt pleated with. At this Inftant fome body knock-

Aaaaaa

914

ed at the door and faid, that Francisco Hernandez Giron was there; Don Baltasar de Callillia being near the Entry; Oh, Sir, faid he, how comes it to pass that you are fo late to honour us with your Company; and immediately ordered the door to be opened, whereupon Francisco Hernandez rushed in with his Sword drawn in his right-hand and a Buckler in his left, and a Companion on each fide with Partifans in their hands.

The Guefts fitting at Supper affrighted with this appearance arose from the Table in great Confusion: then said Hernandez, Gentlemen, be not assaid nor flir, for we are all engaged in this Plot. The Governour, without hearing farther entered in at a door on the left-hand, and went in at the apartment, where the women remained: in another corner of the Hall there was another door leading to the Kitchin and to the other Offices of the House: by these two doors all the People passed who were in the Entries: but those who were near the great door of the Hall were in most danger, not knowing which way to escape. John Alonso Palomino was seated just over against the door of the Hall, with his back towards it; and being known to Diego de Alvarado the Lawyer, and those who were with him, they gave him five wounds; for he, and his kinfman Geronino Collillis were fet down and deftined to be murthered; for having opposed Francisco Hernandez in a late mutiny, which he had caufed, as before related. John Alonfo Palomino dyed the next day of his wounds in the House of Longs, not being able to soe forth to be cured elfewhere.

They also killed John de Morales, a rich Merchant, and a very honest man, as he was at the Wedding-fupper, and happened to be amongft the other Crizens; for he, without confidering what he did, intended to put out the Candles which were on the Table, that in the dark their escape might be the more easie; and therewith drawing away the Table-cloth, ten of the eleven Candles fell down. and were all extinguished; but one remaining still lighted; one of the Compapions of Hernandez thrust his Partisan in at his mouth, and cut him therewith from one Ear unto the other; faying, Traytor, Wouldst thou have us all to be killed here? Then another Souldier gave him a Thrust through the lest Pap, with which he immediately fell down dead, fo that the unhappy man had no time to tye his golden cup to his Girdle, as some have malitiously written concerning him. The next day I faw his Body in the condition here related, for which, and the rest of the Tragedy, those who were Actours therein did much applaud themselves.

My Father, and Diego de Los Rios, and Vafco de Guevara, and two other Gentlemen, who were Brothers and Kinfmen of his, called Efculantes and Rodrigo de Leon, Brother of Pero Lopez de Caçalla, and other Citizens and Souldiers, in all to the number of thirty fix, paffed out at the same door with the Governour, and I alto amongst the rest, not by the apartment of the Women, but took to the righthand, to find a passage out by the yards of the House, and here meeting a Ladder, they climbed up to the roof of the House; intending to pass over into the House of John de Figueroa, which was the next house to them, and onely a single Wall between; from whence there was a door opening to another Street; my Father finding that there was a Paffage that way, called to the Company to flay untill he could goe and call the Governour, by whose means he hoped to remedy the farther progress of this Evil: And going to the place, where the Governour was, he called to him, and told him, that there was a paffage that way to escape, and that there were people to fuccour and defend him: and that, if he pleased to goe with them into the Market-place, and cause the Bells to be rung out, and an Alarm founded, he did not doubt, but that the Affaffinates and Rebels would immediately fly away, and shift for themselves: but the Governour not receiving this counsel, returned no other Answer, than that he defired him to suffer him to remain there. My Father returning to his Companions found them all climbed up to the top of the roof, leading to the House of John de Figueroa: wherefore he defired them once more to flay, and expect him, untill he could goe, and per fuade the Governour out of his place of concealment, where going a tecond time, he used all the Arguments and Reasons in the World to induce him thereunto, but was not able to prevail, because the Governour funsied, that they were all in the Plot, as Francisco Hernandez declared at his first entrance into the

Garcilaffo, my Father, being out of all hopes to prevail, went his way, and at the Foot of the Ladder loft one of his flippers which he had put on over his

Pumps, after they had ended the Game at Balls: but it was not time now to look after it, but to mount the Ladder as fast as we could, and I after him a when we were at the top, we drew it up, and passed it over into the House of John Figueroa, and therewith they all descended, and I among the rest. And having opened the door of the Street, they fent me out before, as a Spy, to discover if the way were clear, supposing that I, being a Boy, the less notice would be raken of me; and in case I found nothing in the way, I was to whistle at the corner of every Street, which was the token for them to follow me. In this manner we went from Street to Street untill we came to the House of Antonio de Quinmer, who was Brother in law to my Father Garcitaffo, they having martied two Sifters. It was our good fortune to find him, and he was much joyed to fee my Father, for he was in great Fear for him, and trouble of mind to know, what was become of him: But Antonio de Quinnone himself had a narrow escape, and had certainly been killed, had he not been favoured by one of the Conspiratours called John de Gavilan, who in remembrance of some good Offices he had done him in times past, opened the principal door of the Hall, at which he let him out, together with John de Saavedra, who was in his company; and whifpering to him, faid, Sir, Haste you away home, with Seignfor John de Saavedra, and they there untill I see you in the morning; by which accident it was my Father's fortime to meet him within doors; but notwithstanding this advice, being met together in the House of Antonio de Quinnones, they all agreed to leave the Town that night, and goe to the City of Los Reyes.

Royal Commentaries.

John de Savedra was unwilling to goe, on pretence that he wanted all things necessary for so long a journey, but when they took off that excuse by providing a Horse, a Hat and Boots and a Scarlet Cloak for him; he then said, that the truth was, he was ill, and wanted health for fo long a journey; fo that, not to importune him farther, they left him at home; we shall shortly declare the true reason and cause why he did not accompany them; which cost him his Life and Estate. All the other Citizens and Souldiers, who escaped to their own Houses, did there immediately fit and prepare themselves for a journey to Los Reves. Garcilaffo, my Master, sent me home, which was not far from his House. to bring him the best of his Horses which remained saddled ever since the afternoon when he returned from the sport of Balls. As I went to fetch the Horse, passing by the House of Thomas Vazquez, I saw in the Street two Horses saddled, with three or four Negroes with them, in discourse together, and when I returned, I found them in the Streets, where I left them: of which when I acquainted my Father and the rest, they were much troubled, imagining that those Horfes and Slaves belonged to the Configurators. At that very instant Rodrigo de Leon, Brother of Pero Lopez de Caçalla called to me, and desired me to goe to his Brother's House, which was in the same Street, but far from the place where we were; and to tell the Porter, who was an Indian, that he defined him to hide the Coat of Male and Head-piece which he left in his Chamber; because it was believed, that the Conspirators would that night fack and plunder the whole City. I made all the hafte I could, but before I returned, my Father, and his two Kinsnen, who were Diego de Los Rios and Antonio Quinnones, were departed, having taken a large compass through Back-ways and By-streets, to avoid the door of Thomas Vasquez: but I returned to my Father's house, which is just opposite to the two Squares, which were not then fo curioufly adorned, as the Houses are now, which are fituate by the Stream fide, and in the Squares of Market-places. And there I remained full of expectation to fee the iffue of that fad and difmall

> CHAP. Adadad 2

Francisco Hernandez discovers the Governour, and takes him and goes into the Market-place; he opens the Prilon doors and lets the Priloners at Liberty: he causes Don Baltafar de Castillia, and the Accountant John de Carceres to be killed.

LL this time Francisco Hernandez Giron and his Associates remained in the A House of Alonso de Loaysa purposely to take the Governour, supposing that if they had him in their hands, all the City would yield and surrender to them. And being informed that he was concealed in the room with the Women, they ran a Bench against the first door, and broke it open, and coming to the second, those within parlied with them, desiring them to pass their words, not to kill the Governour, nor do him other hurt; which Hernandez having given accordingly. the doors were opened; and the Governour being taken, Hernandez carried him to his own House, where he left him under a secure Guard; and then he went into the Market-place, with all his Companions, who were not above twelve or

But this Imprisonment of the Governour, that is, the taking of him and carrying him to his House, and committing him into safe custody, was not performed in less than three hours and a half's time: by which it plainly appears, that in case the Governour had gone forth, as my Father and other friends advised him, and had made good the Market-place, and founded an Alarm, summoning all his Majesty's loyal Subjects to his Affistence, no doubt but the Rebels would have been afrighted, and foon absconded themselves in places where they could have found the best refuge: the which every one confessed after the matter was over. And now having the curiofity to fee what was acting, I went out into the Market place, where I found a few of those poor rafcally fellows, who were ready to run away in case they had seen any to oppose them : but the darkness of the night, and the boldness of those Conspiratours to enter into a House so full of people, affrighted the Governour and all the Company with a furprizing fear, and chased all the Citizens and Souldiers out of the Town; who joyning together might eafily and without the least difficulty have confounded the Rebels. About half an hour after midnight, when I was in the Market-place, came Thomas Vafquez prancing on Horse-back, and another following him with their Lances in their hands, and asked Hernandez, what service he had to command them? to which he anfwered, that all he had to defire at prefent was, that they would goe the rounds, and advise all people that they met, not to be afraid; and in case of trouble, or danger, that they should apply themselves to him, who was in the Market place, ready to succour and serve all his Friends and Masters. In like manner soon after this, came another Citizen called Alonso Diaz, mounted on Horse-back with his Lance in his hand; to whom Hernandez ordered the fame thing as he had done to Vazquez: fo that all the Citizens who were engaged in this Confiniacy were onely three, namely, Thomas Vazquez, John de Pedrahira, and Alonfo Diaz, for he that was with Vazquez was a stranger, and no Citizen; though soon afterwards several others came and joyned with them, more out of sear than affection, as plainly appears: for they all left and deferted them with the first occasion which prefented. These poor Rebels, finding themselves sew in number, and that none came in to their affiftence; went directly to the Prifons, and opened the doors, to recruit their numbers; and marched directly with them to the Market-place, where they remained untill break of day, and then they found that all the Forces they could make, did not amount to above forty men. And though Palentino makes a long and formal flory of this business, and tells us, that they ran about the Streets crying out Liberty, Liberty, and that they produced great stores of Pikes and Musquets, and set up a Standard; and that Hernandee made Proclama-

#### BOOK VII. Royal Commentaries.

tion, that all people, upon pain of death, thould come in to their party; and that Lights were fet up in the Streets, and Guards placed, to prevent the escape of any person whatsoever. I say notwithstanding, that nothing passed more that night than what is before related; for, I being then a boy, had the Liberty to run about, and was an eye-witness of all that passed; for these people being fo few in number, could neither fet up Lights, nor appoint Watches and Guards in all parts of the City, which was above a League in Compass. The next day they went to the Governour's Lodgings, where they examined his Closet and Papers; amongst which (as they report) were found above eighteen several orders of the Juftices, all tending to the damage and prejudice of the Citizens; namely, that they should free and acquit the *Indians* of all personal Services, that none of them should be compelled to labour in the Mines, nor to receive or quarter Souldiers, nor to maintain them either fecretly or in publick, all which were Inventions to raife Mutinies, and incite the Souldiery to join with them.

The third day after this Rebellion Hernandez was employed in making Vifits to the principal Citizens at their own homes: and amongst the rest, coming to my Father's House, where I, and my Mother-in-law were onely present, he told us, amongst other things; that what he had done, was for the publick good and well-fare of all the Souldiers, Citizens and Planters, of the whole Empire. That the supreme Charge and Super-intendency of all these matters he reserved not for himself, but to bestow it on some other who best deserved it: And he desired my Mother to prevail with my Father not longer to conceal himself, but to meet him and the rest of his Associates in the Market-place, to consult and order mat-

ters at a time when the difficulty of affairs required his affiftence.

The like Discourses he used in other Houses where he made his Visits, believing that those who did not appear had absconded themselves, not imagining that they were fled to Los Reyes: but when my Mother-in-law affured him, that fince the Wedding night, the had not feen my Father, nor had he entred into his Houfe; which my Mother affirming with all the Oaths and Affeverations the could make, the defired him in case he believed her not, to make search in all the parts and corners of the House; he then was convinced, and said, that he wondered at it; and so cutting off all farther discourse, he took his leave, and went to visit other Houses, where he found the same verified, as in this place. For the truth is, they did not all fly away the fame night, but four or five nights after, as they found convenient; for having no Guards in the Streets, nor at the Gates, every

one escaped without much difficulty.

About eight days after this Rebellion was begun, one Bernardino de Robles, a bold and lude fellow informed Hernandez Giron, that Bultafar de Castillia and John de Carceres the Accountant were preparing to make their Escape and carry with them divers others, and that all their wrought Plate and other moveables they had fecured in a Monastery: which so soon as Hernandez understood, he presently called for his Lawyer Diego de Alvarado, and ordered him to examine the matter, and punish the Offenders according to their demerit. The Lawyer required no great Formality in the Process or of Witnesses to give their Testimonies; for he owed an old grudge to Baltafar de Castillia, on the score of a quarrel which about two months before happened between them in the chief Market place of the City, in which it was the fortune of both of them to be wounded; which the Lawyer not effecming a fufficient fatisfaction, was angry that he had not killed him; for, as we have faid, he prefumed more on his Weapon than on his Learning: and now having an opportunity to vent his Anger with Colour of Authority, he exercifed his Commission with all Severity upon innocent men, who, as report goes, were not guilty of the least offence: for the same night that he received his Warrant, he went directly to the Houses of those who were accused; and allotted them a short time, not sufficient to make their Confession, and then delivered them into the hands of the Hang-man John Enriquez to be strangled; who was the same Executioner who had beheaded Gongalo Pigarro and hanged and quartered his Captains and Lieutenant General. The next day after this Rebellion of Hernandez had broken out, this Bloudy Rogue shewed himself openly in the Marketplace, with bundles of Halters about him, and all the Instruments of death and torment; prefuming that there would now be work for him and employment for a man of his Office: he also drew out his brought Sword to cut off Heads; but he payed afterwards for this prefumption, as we shall find by the sequel: How-

917

918

foever, in the mean time he laid hands on these two poor Gentlemen, and franpled them in a moment: after which he stripped Don Baltasar, and left him as naked as he was born; but he suffered John Carceres to remain in his Shirt pernaked as ne was 100113 but its infinite forms as was Baltafar's; then he drew their Bodies into the Market-place, and laid them at the foot of the Gallows, where I faw them about nine a Clock that night. It is reported that Francisco Hernande. did the next day reprove his Lawyer, for being fo hafty in his execution of Jufice, before he had communicated the matter first to him; but this was onely a feigned pretence to gain efteem and credit with the People; but fecretly he was teigned pretence to gain etteem and create with the reopie; but lecretly he was pleafed with it, oblerving the terrour and conflernation this action had operated in the minds of the People, for fince they had not fpared his Majefly's Accountant, nor one of his Captains in the late Wars, who had a revenue of fifty thousand Ducats a year, with a great command over Indians; what could others expect of less condition; whereupon all the Citizens submitted to them, esteeming their condition fecureft, who were already fled, and had made their escapes: but the Affassinates grew more insolent and tyrannical than before.

#### CHAP. IV.

Francisco Hernandez names and appoints a Lieutenant General and Captains for his Army. Two Cities fend Ambassadours to him. The number of Citizens that were fled to Rimac.

**H**Ernander having by this time affembled about an hundred and fifty Souldiers belonging to the City and the parts adjacent; he began to appoint Officers and Commanders; and named Diego de Alvarado his Lawyer to be his Lieutenant General, and Thomas Vazquez, Francisco Nunnez, and Rodrigo de Pineda, to be Captains of Horse. These two last, being Citizens, were much in savour, and kindly treated by Hernandez, ever fince the beginning of the Rebellion; and to oblige and engage them the more, he conferred on them the Commands of Captains of Horse; which they accepted rather out of Fear than out of affection to his cause, or interest, or expectation of benefit, or honour from this preferment. His Captains of Foot were John de Pedrahita, Nunno Mendiola and Diego Gavilan, Albertos de Ordunna was made Standard-bearer, and Antonio Carillo Serjeant Major. So every one respectively repaired to his Charge and Command, to raise Souldiers for completing their Troops and Companies.

Their Enfigns and Colours were made very fine, with Inscriptions and Mottoes on them all relating to Liberty, so that their Army named themselves, the Army of Liberty. The report of this Insurrection being noised and bruted abroad in general, without any particulars; it was believed, that all the City of Cozco had joined unanimously in the rebellion; on which supposition, the Cities of Huajoined unanimoutly in the rebellion; on which supposition, the Cities of Huamara and Arequepa, sent their Ambassadours to Cozco, defiring to be admitted into the League and Society with them, and to be received into the protection of the Metropolis and Head-city of the Empire, that so they might join together to represent their case to his Majesty, which was very burthensome and oppressive by reason of those many grievous Ordinances which were daily sent them by the Judges. The Ambassadour from Arequepa was called —— Videcabrus, with whom I was acquainted; though Palentino says he was a Frier called Andrea de Tidavera, perhaps they might both be sent. He that was sent from Huamara a was called the nando del Tiemblo; and both these Ambassadours were received by Herander. Given with much kindness and respect, who began now to become propos of his with much kindness and respect, who began now to become proud of his cause and enterprise, which appeared so popular, that the whole Kingdom in a short time was ready to espoule and embrace it: and farther, to magnifie his Actions, he published abroad, that upon the News of what was acted at Cozco, the

people of the Charcas following the example thereof, had killed the Marshal de Alvarado. But to foon as the Cities of Huamanca and Areguepa were rightly informed, that this Inforrection at Cozco was not raifed by the Corporation, or by and with the content and counfel of the whole City, but by the contrivance of a fingle perfore, who being conficious of his past Crimes, had raised this mutiny to fecure himself from the punithment; and how few, and of what mean condition the Conformatous were; they altered their resolutions and opinions, and with joynt confert prepared themselves to scree his Majesty as others had done in Coxco. nomely Garcilaffo de la Vega, Antonio de Quinnones, Diego de los Rios, Geronimo Coftilla and Garci Sanchez de Figueroa, my Father's elder Brother, who, though he had no Effare given him, was yet an old Souldier, and one who well deferved of the Counney: thefe five Gentlemen efcaped out of Cozco on the fame night of the Rebellion, the others which we thall name, fled, three, four, or five nights afterwards. as opportunity prefented: fo Bufeo de Guevara a Citizen, and the two Efebalantes. his Kinfmen, escaped the second night. Alonfo de Hinogola, and John de Pancorvo. fled the fourth night; and A! of de Mefa the fifth night, having stayed to conceal and fecure his Silver, which the Rebels afterwards difcovered and converted to their own use, as we shall relate hereafter. My Master Garcitallo and his Companions, proceeding on their journey, met with Pero Lovez de Cacalla about nine leagues diffant from the City, where he lived upon his own Effate, of whom we have made mention in the Ninth Book of the First Part of this History Chap. - 6. and with him was his Brother Sebaffian de Caffilla; who being informed how motters had paffed at Cozco, they refolved to accompany these other Gentlemen for the fervice of his Majeffy: The Wife of Pero de Lorez, called Donna Francisca de Cunniga, was of noble defcent, very handsome, vertuous and discreet, was unwilling to be left behind, but defirous to accompany her Husband in that journey: And though the was a tender Woman, and of a weak conflictution of Body, yet the adventured to ride alone with a Side-faddle on a Mule; and paffed all the bad ways, endured all the fatigues, and held out as well as any one in the company. And every night, when they came to their Lodging, the took care to provide Supper and Break-fast next morning, with help of the Indians, and directed the Indian Women in what manner to drefs the Victuals: all which I have heard those who kept her company, discourse concerning this famous Lady.

These Gentlemen proceeding on their journey, and being come to Curabamba about twenty leagues from the City, they met Hernan Bravo de Laguna, and Gasparo de Sotelo Citizens thereof, who had some Lands and Indians in vassalage in those parts; to whom having given a report of what had passed at Cozco, they refolved to accompany with them, as did many other Planters and Souldiers. whom they met on the way, until they came to Huamanca; the Inhabitants of which City did wonder much to fee to many principal perfons and men of quality there; whose presence confirmed them in their first resolution to serve his Maiefly in union with perfonages of fo much honour as thefe; fo as many as could go at that time went, and were followed by others, as their conveniences ferved.

But to look a little backwards, we forgot to fay, that when my Mafter Gargiby and his Companions paffed the Bridge at Apprimac, they confidered that many people out of Cosco and other parts, were likely to follow them in fervice of his Majefly, and therefore it would not be fit to hinder their paffage by burning the Bridge, for that were to deliver them into the hands of the Rebels: wherefore they agreed to order two men to remain for Guards at the Bridge, and to fuffer all perions to pass who should come thither within the space of five or six days, and then to fet five to it; whereby they thould travel more fecurely and free of fear from purfuits of the enemy: which was accordingly performed, so that those who came within the space of those days found a passage contrary to expectation, for they seared much that they should find the Bridge burnt by the first who pulled. Other Civizens of Cozco went to Los Reyes by other Roads; for it happened that many of them at that feation of the year were at their Houses and Plantations with their Indians, namely, John Julio de Hojeda, Pedro de Orue, Martin de Arbicto, Rodrigo de Efquivel; all which paffing by the Plantation of Don Pedro de Cabrera took him with them, and travelled all together to Loc Reyes,

920

#### CHAP. V.

Letters are written to the chief Rebel, and the Governour is banished out of Cozco.

P Alentino, in the twenty fifth Chapter of his Book, coming to touch upon this paffage, faith, as follows:

About this time Michael de Villafuerte arrived at Cozco, with credential Letters directed to Francisco Hernandez from Pedro Lewis de Cabrera, who was then at Co. tabamba with some Souldiers and intimate Friends when the Insurrection was first made; and with them also were Hernando Guillada, and Diego Mendez, who were engaged in the Rebellion of Schaftian de Castilla: the Letters were to this effect: That fince it was not the fortune of Don Pedro to have been the first in this Insurrection, but that Francisco Hernandez had got the start of him, and preceded him by four days time, he defired him to profecute his defign, and endeavour to obtain a general address from the people, supplicating him to take upon him the sole administrate of the whole Kingdom: That he for his part, had already fet up his Standard in his name, and was marching towards Los Reges, with intention to force the Court of Justice to nominate him for Captain-General; and that so soon as he was invested in that charge, he would then advise him to seife on the Judges and fend them into Spain. This Letter was feconded by another from Don Pedro to Hernandez, fent by the Son of Gomez de Tordoja, giving him to understand, that he was certainly informed, that Garcilasso de la Vega, Antonio Quinnones, and others who were gone to Los Reyes, had no intent to sayour their Cause; for though they deligned to joyn with Don Pedro in the Rebellion, yet when they found that they denighed to positive the matter, and was the first in the Plot, they then fell off from farther profecution thereof; And that this was his design plainly appears; for when he first went from his Plantation, he caused Mass to be faid, which being ended, he made Oath upon the Altar, in hearing of the people, that he was going to Lims with no other intent or purpose than to seise on the Judges and to Ship them away for Spain. But Francisco Hernandez, knowing Don Pedro to be a fubtile and a double hearted man, confidered all these stories to be fictions of his own, whereby the better to fecure himfelf, and without any oppolition to pass over together with his Souldiers to the other party: wherefore. having taken away the staff of Justice from the Governour Gil Ramirez, he committed him to the custody of John de Piedrahita, with orders to convey him with a Guard of Musquetiers out of the City of Cozco, and conduct him twenty leagues on his way towards Los Reyes, which was accordingly done, without taking any thing from him: Moreover Inftructions were given to Piedrahita to find out Don Pedro and tell him, that he should not need to go to Lima, but rather to doe him the favour to come to Cozco: which if Don Pedro thould refuse to doe, he then required him to feife on him and bring him thither in fafe cuftody: but Don Pedro being too far advanced before, Piedrabita could not overtake him, and therefore returned back to Cozco without effect, e.c. Thus far that Authour.

But because those matters are not set down methodically as they passed, we shall describe them more orderly, and shew every passed, as it succeeded, and by what way Piedrabita guided the Governour: now as to Don Pedro de Cabrera, his circumstances were such as not to stand in need of any correspondence with Francisco, nor did he ever intend or design any such thing, being a person who both in Mind and Body was unsit for War; for he was the most conpulent man that ever I saw; and with such a Belly, that, as I remember two years after the Battel of Sacsalanana, a Tailour, who was a Negroe, and a Slave to my Father, but a very good Workman, made a Doublet for him of Cordovan with a Gold Fringe, which being almost sinssed, three other knavish Boys like my sess about ten or eleven years old, came into the Chamber where the Tailour was work, and finding this Doublet on the Shop-board, bordered with a Silk Galoon, we looked on it, and seeing it so wide, we all covered our selves within it, and still there was room for another of our size and bigness. And having so great

a Belly he could not ride on a Gennet's Saddle, which bath a high Pommel before. but as his occasion ferved he rode on a Mule, with a Saddle low before, used for racing; though his bulk was fo burthensome that he never engaged himself in exercises of Activity. And though in the Wars against Gonçalo Pigarro he had the command of a Troop of Horfe, it was given him as a reward for being inftrumental in furrender of the Fleet unto the Prefident, and with it, after the War was ended, he was farther gratified with a good allotment of Lands with vallalage of Indians thereunto belonging, as we have before mentioned: then as to his humour and manners, he was the most luxurious man in his diet, and the greatest glutton that ever was known; he was very pleafant and facetious in his converfation; he would tell fuch comical flories, all of his own making, as were very dehis Pages, Lackeys and Slaves, and enterrain himfelf with laughing at them: I could here recount many of his lefts, but let that of his Doublet pass for all, it not being fit to intermix too many of these trivial matters with others of more serions and weighty importance. His House was near to my Father's, and there was some kindred and alliance between them; for the Mother of my Lady Donna Flore de Figuera, was of the House of Feria, so that there was great intercourse between the two Houses, and they always called me Nephew: and afterwards in the year 1 c62, when we were at Madrid, and there occasionally discoursing of the death of this Don Pedro, we repeated and called to mind many of these particulars: which will ferve to flew how improbable it was that this Don Pedro, who lived in all the plenty, eafe and prosperity that his heart could defire, should turn Rebel, and engage in the deliperate Caufe of Hermandes. Given 5 for he for the most of the year lived in the Countrey with his Indians, and half a dozen good fellows with him, being merry without thoughts of State matter, or black defigns of Rebellion: fo that his whole defign of fending these messengers was onely to be truly informed of all particulars relating to this Rebellion of Hernandez, how many, and who were the Citizens that were fled, and who were those who remained, and fided with the factious party. For he and his Companions being refolved to go to Los Reges, they thought it necessary to inform themselves of all things at Cozco, so as to give a distinct account and not in a confused blind manner, both on the way and at Los Reges when they arrived there: and to take off all suspicion from the meffengers which he fent to Hernandes, he gave them Letters of credence, that he might permit them to return with the answer. Then as to the Road towards Los Reyes, Don Pedro had well fecured it; for Don Pedro's place of refidence, was feated fifteen leagues on the way from Cozco to Los Royes, the River Aparimac being between; of which when the Bridge was burnt, it cut off all paffage from the enemy; and thus Don Pedro and his Companions, having received information of all they defired, travelled fecurely to Los Reyes, and laughed at the Rebels.

The Orders given by Hernandez, to John Piedrahita, were to conduct the Governour Gil Ramirez de Andor with fix Mufqueriers, not by the way of Lima, which is Northward, but by the way of Arcopapa, which is to the South; with father Influctions that when he had brought him at the diffance of forty leagues from the City, that he should then leave him at liberty, and fuffer him to take his own courfe and way as he pleased: but this journey of Piedrahita was not made within the time of the first eight or ten days after the Insurrection, but forty days afterwards. And the cause why the Governour was sent by the way of Arcquepa, and not by the direct way, was to prolong his journey to Los Reyes, and make him to miss the company of those Citizens who were going to Rimac. By all which it appears, that the relations given to Diego Hernandez of these matters, were as the vulgar fort report them to be, who always speak with variety, and as they fansie and defire things to be, but what I have here said, I know to be true,

both having feen them, and heard them from undoubted witnefles.

#### CHAP. VI.

Francisco Hernandez causes himself to be chosen Captain, and Procurator-General of the whole Empire. The Judges appoint Officers for their Army, and the Marshal doth the like.

FIfteen days were now past fince the Rebellion first began, when Hernandez finding himself strengthened with a number of Souldiers, and dreaded by all, for the cruelty he had executed on Don Baltafar de Castilla, he thought it now time to fortifie his authority (as he foolish) imagined) with some specious name and title, which might found great in the ears of the people; who seeing him owned by the City which was the Metropolis of the Empire, might be more eafily induced to follow his cause and designs, which he knew not himself what they were, or what they were likely to prove. To this end he fummoned a general Affembly of the whole City, at which were prefent twenty five Citizens and Lords of Indians, as Diego Hernandez counted them, and I was acquainted with them all; amongst which there was but one head Constable, and two Justices, and none of the others had any Office or right to fit in that Affembly. The Court being fet, he acquainted them, that the reason he had to call them together, was to lay before them the frequent Orders and Commands fent from the Justices to the great damage and prejudice of the people, to free them from which, he proposed to them, as the best expedient, to elect him for Procurator-General of the whole Empire, and to authorife him in their names humbly to petition and supplicate his Majesty to take off fuch aggrievances as they should judge most oppressive; and to enable him farther in this Office, that they would elect him for Captain-General, and chief Justiciary of that City and of the whole Kingdom, to protect and govern them in War and Peace. All which was granted to him without any scruple or demurr; more out of fear (as Children fay) than shame or love, being over-awed by a Band of about an hundred and fifty Souldiers commanded by two Captains, called Diego Gavilan and Numo Mediola, who were drawn up in the Market-place at the door of the Tholfey, where the Council was affembled. So foon as the Court was rifen, Proclamation was made of the Power and Authority which was given to Francisco Hernandez; with which not being fully satisfied, he forced the Citizens and Inhabitants to declare themselves well contented with all his actions. and that what they acted was by their own free will and confent without any force or compulsion upon them. Whilst things were thus acting in Cozco, the news and intelligence thereof was carried to Los Reyes, which the Judges would not believe at first: conceiving it to be a strategeme of the Messenger, who was a great Friend, and as they fay, Foster Brother with Francisco Hernandez Giron, to try how the people would take it, and to fee how they stood affected to his cause and interest: and upon this belief they apprehended Hernando Chacon, being the person who brought the news, which when they found verified and confirmed from other hands and places, they then fet him again at liberty; and thought it time to provide for Wat, and to make choice of Officers and Commanders of their Army: We cannot here specifie the names of them particularly, because many of them refused the Commands which were offered to them, efteeming them inferiour to their worth and dignities, who deferved to be Generals and to command in Chief: wherefore we will pass over these Elections for the present, and onely say, that all was carried on with heat and faction, as is usual in turnultuous meetings, where every one commands and rules: by this time also news of the Rebellion raised by Hernandez. was come to Potocfi, where the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado was actually employed in doing justice upon Offenders guilty of the Murther of Pedro de Hinojofa, and Conspiratours with Don Sebastian de Castilla: but so soon as this news came, a stop was given to farther profecution of those who deserved death as well as those against whom Sentence was already given: and instead of punishment, it was thought fit to convert all into elemency and pardon, which tended much to the quiet of the

people, who were greatly troubled and fcandalized to fee fuch daily effutions of bloud and flaughters amongst their friends and acquaintance: Hereupon fuch as were condemned had their reprieves granted, and by way of punishment were to ferve his Majesty at their own cost and charges: amongst these was a certain Souldier called —— de Bilbao, whom a friend of his seeing at liberty, congratulated with him for the safety of his life and freedom, telling him that he was obliged to return thanks to Almighty God for this great deliverance: to which the Souldier made answer, and said, that he rendred thanks to his Divine Majesty, and to St. Pauer, and to St. Paul, and to St. Francisco Hernandez Giron, by whose merits and means he had been saved, and that he could not doe less in acknowledgment thereof than to go and serve him, the which he accordingly did, as we shall see hereafter.

Besides this Souldier above forty more were delivered out of prison most of which would have been sentenced to dye, and others at least condemned to row in the Gallies, which was the best they could expect; but those Citizens and Souldiers who were not so deeply concerned as others, the Marshal was pleased to set at Liberty without any farther process, but these prisoners resuled to accept thereof, but to be brought to their Tryal, as Palentino saith, Chapter the fortieth.

in these words.

BOOK VII.

Some of the Prisoners understanding that they were to be set at liberty without tryal, resulted to accept thereof without a sentence in their cause, because they became liable thereby to be taken up again and punished when the Judges or their Enemies were desirous to accuse them: wherefore, to make dispatch in this matter, he fined Gomez de Solis in five hundred pieces of Eight, to be paid as Fees to his Keeper and Guards: Martin de Almendras had the like Fine, as also Martin de Robles; others were condemned in two hundred, a hundred, sifty and twenty pieces of Eight, proportioning the Fine according to the ability of the person, rather than to the degree and quality of his Crime. Thus sat Diego Hernandez.

Moreover the Marshal gave order to provide Arms, and to make Pikes in those Provinces, where wood was plenty, and to make Powder in case necessity should require. Some sew days afterwards came two Commands from the Justices, the one suspending the execution of the Decrees formerly made for freeing the Indians from their personal services, which was to last for the space of two years, and to take off many other things which caused great Commotions and Difturbances amongst the Inhabitants and Souldiers of that Empire, and had been (as the Governours well knew) the fpring and original of those rebellions. mutinies and factions which raged in the minds of the people, the other Command was a Commission constituting the Marshal Captain General of the Forces raised against Francisco Hernandez, and with an unlimited power to expend his Majesty's Treasure in this War, as far as occasion should require, and to borrow or take up money, in case the Exchequer should fail. By virtue hereof the Marshal appointed Captains both of Horse and Foot, besides other Officers whom we shall name hereaster. He designed to make Gomez de Alvarado his Lieutenant General, but he refused it, because another Gentleman who was brother to the Marshal's Wife, pretended thereunto, called Don Martin de Avendanno, for whom the Wife made great instance; and as it were compelled her Husband, much against his own inclinations, to confer it upon him; and though he was a young man, and of little or no experience, he condescended thereunto rather than to raife War in his own Family. He also dispatched Warrants and Orders to the Curacas to gather what provisions they were able, and to appoint eight or nine thousand Indians to carry the baggage of the Army. He sent also into several parts to raise Men. Horse and Arms, and to take up all the Slaves they could find. And here we will leave them in these Preparations to see what becomes of Francisco Hernandez, and what he is acting, and carry on the business of both Par-ties, as the method of History requires. Whilst these things were in agitation in the City of Los Reyes and Posecti, Hernandez was not negligent of what concerned his interest, but ordered Thomas Vazquez with a squadron of about fifty Souldiers well armed to march to the City of Arequepa, and in his name to take the possession thereof, and to treat peaceably with the Citizens, letting them know, that the Corporation of Cozeo had made choice of him to be Captain General and chief Justiciary of all the Kingdom. In like manner he sent Franci-fo Nunnez, a Citizen of Cozco, to Huamanca, whom he had enticed by sair and flattering promifes and with the Command of a Troop of Horfe, to be of his Bbbbbb 2

924

Party: though in truth fear, rather than all his favours, induced him thereunto: and with him John Gavilan was fent with fourty other Souldiers, whose Orders and Instructions were the same with those of Thomas Vazquez; and that moreover they should tell the City, that though they had affured him already by their Ambassadours, that they would join and correspond with him in all his deligns, yet for farther confirmation thereof, he required them to call a Court, to ratify their for fartner communation thereof, the required them to can a Court, to rathly their former engagement, and to own and acknowledge him in that Sphere and Station wherein he acted. The truth is, *Hernandez* fent and employed these two Cap tains out of a delign to give reputation to his cause by the specious colour of union between him and two Cities, rather than from any expectation he had of bringing them over to his fide and party; for he was not ignorant that they had already retracted their former affurances, and repented of the Offers they formerly made him. Befides the Commissions and Instructions given to these Captains. he delivered letters to them for particular persons, who were men of power and interest in their Countrey, also Letters from himself, and from the City of Countrey to the Corporations of those Cities, desiring them to join with them in this cause, which was for the common good and welfare of the whole Empire: He also caused the City of Cozeo to write unto the City of Plate in the same manner. and to the fame effect, as to the other Cities: and Hernandez himself wrote Letters to many Planters in the Charcas, and to the Marihal Alonfo de Alvarado and to his Wife Doma Anna de Velasco, the substance and Contents of which was so ridiculous, as ferved onely for fport, and laughter; and were not thought worthy of an Answer. He that hath the Curiofity to reade them, may find them in the Hiltory of Diego de Hernandez. Chap. 27.

#### CHAP. VII.

The Justices nominate Officers for the War. The several Pretenders to the Command of Captain General. Francisco Hernandez leaves Cozco, and marches against the Justices.

N EWS coming to Los Rejes, that Francisco Hernandez increased daily in men, reputation and authority, the Justices thought it time to appoint their Captains and Officers for the War. Paulo de Menefes was named for Lieutenant General, and Don Antonio de Ribera, Diego de Mora, Melchior Verdugo, a Knight of the habit of St. James, and Don Pedro de Cabrera were made Captains of Horse; but the two last refused this Preferment, as too mean for men who had so good an opinion of themselves, as to believe they deserved to be made Generals of Armies greater than this. The Captains of Foot were Rodrigo Ninno, once condemned to the Gallies ; Lewis de Avalos, Diego Lope de Cenniga, Lepe Martin Lusitano, Antonio de Luxan, and Baltazar Velasiquez, who in the last rebellion of Don Sebastian de Castilla, escaped from the Justice of the Marthal Alonso de Alvarado; as hath been already mentioned. Lope de Guaço was made Standard-bearer General; and the Command of Horse refused by Melchior Verdugo was bestowed upon Pedro de Carate; And Alonso de Carate, a Citizen of Arequepa, was also made Captain of Horse, Francisco de Pinna was made Serjeant Major, and Nicholas de Ribera Junior, was made Captain of the Guards to the Jultices, with Title of Captain of the Guard to the Royal Seal, which was, as Palemino faith, to difguile the Presumption of raising a Guard for themselves. But when they came to make choice of a Captain General, a great Tumult and Sedition arose by three Pretenders, who were all men of Estates and Interest, and each abetted by a confiderable Party. The Persons in nomination were, Santillan, one of his Majelty's Justices, who had the best reputation of them all, and was allyed to many of the Nobility who had gained the Empire, and who appeared in favour

of his Election. The fecond who pretended thereunto was the Arch-bishop of Too Reves called Don Geronimo de Lo wfa: but what reason should incite this religious Person, who was of the Order of Preachers and Archbishop in the Church of God, to be General of an Army against Christians is not known; though Souldiers took the Boldness to affigu the cause thereof to Ambition and Vanity of a Prelate, whose duty it was to remain in his Church, praying for the Peace of those Christians, and for the Conversion of Intidels, by preaching the Gospel. rather than to appear a Fomenter of the civil War. The third Pretender was Dr. Saravia, one of his Maiefly's Juffices of the fame Tribunal; who, though he was fufficiently affured, that he was never likely to carry his pretention, yet out of opposition to Santillan, and from a spirit of Emulation, he was resolved to appear against him, and finding his Party too weak then to join them with that of the Archbishop's. In this suspense matters remained for several days, without any determination: untill atlength the Electors finding that time was loft in these quarrels, to the hindrance of affairs and to the weakning of the authority of the Army, they agreed as the best expedient to gratifie both parties, to make choice of two Generals; namely, Santillan, and the Archbishon of Los Reyes, singpoling thereby to have fatisfied the delires of Doctour Suravia and his Party. Whilft these things were in agitation News was brought to the Justices and Letters from the Citizens of Cozco, giving an account of the numbers and qualities of the perfons who were gone from thence to ferve his Majeffy. But fuch was the jealousie and suspicion which the Justices entertained of every person and action in that rebellion, that they even mistrusted each other and much more the advices and Intelligence which came from the quarters of the rebellious party: wherefore they fent them word not to advance nearer to. Los Reyes untill farther order. But no fooner had they dispatched away the Messenger with this Command, than they discovered their own Errour, and began to consider how preindicial it might prove to the fervice of his Majesty to reject and refuse admission to fuch principal persons who were coming to their Party, and had chosen to abandon their Houses, Wives and Children, rather than to remain in the power and at the disposal of the Rebels: wherefore they instantly dispeeded away another Messenger, with a kind invitation to them, fignifying in the most obliging terms how acceptable their coming would be to the City; and encharged the messenger to make such speed, as to overtake the former, and require of him his dispatches which he was to stifle, that nothing of the Contents thereof might be known; which being performed accordingly, the Citizens of Cozeo arrived at Los Reges where they were received with all the kindness and respect imaginable.

Royal Commentaries.

The Election of Captains and Generals being at length made and agreed, Orders were fent by the Judges to all the Cities of the Empire, giving them to understand that Hernandez Giron was in actual rebellion, to suppress which it was their duty to arme themselves, and appear for service of his Majesty: And a List was sent of the Names of all the Captains who were to command Horse and Foot in the feveral Plantations. Moreover Proclamation was every where made of General Pardon to all those who had been engaged in the late Wars with Gongalo Pigarro Or Don Sebaffian ac Caftilla, provided that within fuch a time, they came in for Service of his Majelly. For it was well known, that many of those people had concealed themselves amongst the Indians, not during to shew themselves in the Spanish Plantations. It was farther thought necessary to secure the Seas, for which Service Lope Martin was appointed to embark on a Galeon, then in Port with fourty Souldiers, and to fit and equippe what other Ships he could provide; Lope Martin accordingly acted, but his Command lasted not above eight days, for he was too paffionate and cholerick for fuch a charge, which required a person of a more phlegmatick constitution and better temper. Wherefore Geronimo de Silva was put into his place, which he executed like a Gentleman and a Souldier well experienced in affairs both by Sea and Land; and Lope Marrin returned to his command of a Foot-company, where we will leave him, to declare the things were acting by Hernandez Giron.

Who now perceiving himself strong in men, and in the increase of his forces to the number of four hundred, who were come to him, from divers parts, besides those he had sent to *Huannea* and Arequest he resolved to march towards the City of Los Rocs, to sight the Army of the Justices, as he called it: meaning that his Army was the Royal Army, and raised for service of his Majesty.

And though he had above four hundred men with him, well clothed, armed and mounted; ver it troubled him to observe, that he was not backed and seconded by the concurrence and authority of the feveral Cities, Towns and Villages, for whofe intereft, fafety and honour, he pretended to have raifed that War: But before he refolved on his march to Los Rejes, he was confidering with himself, whether it were not better to proceed first against the Marshal, whose party he looked upon to be weakest and ill affected to him, by reason of the great rigour, cruelty and everity he had lately exercised, to the great seandal and displeasure of all sides and parties, whom he had in fome way or other disobliged by the death of their friends, kindred or relations. Upon which ground many persons, skilfull both in the affairs of War, and the circumstances of those times, were of opinion, that in case Hernandez had in the first place attached the Marshal, it had succeeded better for him, in regard the best Governour in the World cannot rely on a discontented

people the which Palentino confirms, Chap. 60. in their words.

It was the misfortune of Hernandez, that he did not proceed first to Potoch rather than to Lime; for certainly, had he bent his course against the Marshal, he had in all probability subjected those Provinces, and conserved his men, who would never have gon over to one fo generally hated and abhorred by them, as was the Marshal; though they did revolt afterwards when they came to Lima, Nor was it believed, that the Marshal's men would have relisted or fought, nor indeed were they provided for it, because the Marshal had so many Enemies about him, than

all preparations for War moved flowly. Thus far this Authour. But God, who governs all things, would not permit Hernandez to take that course, which was best for him, for then the evils and miseries he would have brought upon the people had been irreparable: but being infatuated he refolved on a March to Lima, as Hiltory relates, leaving Alvarado the Lawyer his Lieute-nant General in the City, and to bring up the remainder of the forces, because they could not all go out together: but before Hernander left Coxco, he very generously declared, that he was willing to difmifs or difcharge any person who was desirous to remain behind, and rather flav at home, than adventure on that enterprise: the which offer he made upon confideration that preffed or forced men could never be good and fast friends, or fuch as he could rely upon in times of necessity; especially if such were Citizens and men of Estates, who would draw many after them in case of revolt. Onely he importuned and almost forced Diego de Silva to them in case or revoit. Onely he importuned and almoit forced Diego de Silva to accompany the Army, prefuming that his presence carried authority, and would much animate and confirm the Souldiery. Diego de Sylva complied accordingly, rather out of sear than Love, as appears in that the first opportunity he forsook his Party, and fled to the enemy, as we shall see hereafter. So that now Hernaudez had procured fix friends, who accompanied him out of Cocco, three of which were Thomas Varquez, John de Piedrabhia and Alosso Diaz, who were all engaged with him in the night of the substitute of the procured by the procured who were the substituted by the substitute of the subs him in the night of the rebellion; but the other three, who were Francisco Nunnez. Rodrigo de Pineda, and Diego de Silva he obliged, and engaged to him afterwards by fair words and promises, and by preferments and offices, the first to be Captain of Horse, and the second of Foot. Eight days after Hernandez was marched out of Cozeo, he was followed by his Lieutenant General with 200 Souldiers more; amongst which were 20 conducted thither some few days before, by Francisco de Hinojofa, who brought them from Contifugo: for the truth is, all those who went under the name of Souldiers, followed the Party of Hernandez Giron, whom they esteemed their Protectour against the rigorous Decrees and Edicts of the Justices, which were daily promulged, and published to the damage and prejudice of the Souldiery. Besides this Hinojosa, came another Souldier from the parts of Arequepa, called John de Vera de Mendoça, who had been formerly of the King's party; he was young, and a Gentleman, and very ambitious of the honour to be a Captain; which being refused to him by the King's Ministers because of his youth; he came over to Hernandez Giron with a companion of his called Mateo Sanchez, whom he named his Enfign, and both arrived at Cozco some few days before the departure of Hernandez from thence; and to obtain this preferment for himself and his Comrade by the grace and favour of the General, they came together into the Town, Mateo Sanchez carrying a Towel on a Staff, in refemblance of his Colours, which he as Enfign was to carry. But what was the Event of these matters we shall see in the following Chapter.

#### CHAP. VIII.

Iohn de Vera de Mendoca revolts from Francisco Hernandez. The People of Cozco go to feek out for the Marshal. Sancho Duarte railes Men, and calls himself General of them. He is reproved by the Marshal. Francisco Hernandez comes to Huamanca. The Scouts of the two Camps meet.

A Lourado the Lieutenant overtook his General about eight leagues from the City of Coxo, where he ftayed untill he came up to him; and then they all in a Body paffed the River Apurimac, and before night marched two leagues beyond it: but were four days in paffing the Bridge with their Men, Horfes, Ammunition and Provisions. During which time John de Vera de Mendoça considering that he had been already fifteen days in the Army, and no preferment given him, nor confirmation of the title of Captain, which he fo paffionately defired, he results to the title of Captain, which he for paffionately defired, he results to the title of Captain, which he for paffionately defired, he results to the title of Captain, which he for paffionately defired, he results to the title of Captain, which he for paffionately defired, he results to the title of Captain and the title of Capt nor confirmation of the title of Captain, which ne to pationarely defired, ne re-folved to leave Hernandez and return to the King's party, which appeared more like a Farfe in a Comedy than the action of a Souldiery, and for fuch we have in-ferted it in this place. John de Vera agreed upon this delign with four other young Souldiers like himself, who with his Ensign made fix in all; and they that pight passed the Bridge and afterwards burnt it, to prevent any pursuit which might be made after them. And entring into Cozco the night following, they sounded an alarm, which put all the City into a consternation and tumult, fearing lest the Rebels were returned with intention to doe them farther mischief, so that none durst flir abroad, or put his head out of doors that night. But so soon as it was day, being better informed, that it was onely Captain John de Vera and his Followers, who ftill carried his Colours flying, the Citizens went out to him, and agreed to go with him to find out the Marshal, who they knew, and were well affured, was fortified with a flrong Army : John de Saavedra a principal Citizen was made their Chief; and John de Vera de Mendoça would not be put by his Captain-ship, nor march under any Banner but his own, and though he came to the place where the Marshal was, he had neither the fortune to better his Colours nor advance his Title, but paffed for a Boy more forward and confident than discreet. Those at Cozco, who met and agreed upon this defign, were about forty in number, fifteen of which were Citizens who had command over Indians, the rest were Merchants and Officers whom the Rebels had left behind as useless persons: and these, such as they were, travelled towards Collao, where the Marihal Alonfo de Alvarado kept his head Quarters: who having understood that many of the Citizens of Cozeo were coming in fearch of him, he fent them Advice and Orders by no means to pass out of the limits of his Jurisdiction, but rather to expect him there, for that he was moving on the

Sancho Duarte, who was then Governour of the City of Peace, raifed Souldiers for the Service of his Majesty, and setting up his Standard, marched towards Cozco with above two hundred men divided into two Companies, one of Foot commanded by Captain Martin de Olmos, and the other of Horse of which he called himself Commander with title of General. Being come to the Bridge where the River empties it felf, he staid there some few days, and having there received intiver empties it tell, he traid there folio levels, and having there received melligence that Francisco Hernandez was departed from Cozco, and was on his march towards Los Royes, he continued his way towards Cozco in pursuit of Francisco Hernandez; for he, as the humour was at that time, desiring to command and not to be commanded, avoided joyning with the Marshal, that he might not be his Souldier, or fall under his Banner: which when the Marshal understood, he sent him the for that under this Dathner: Which when the mannar underflood, he tent min two Commands: the first was a Letter requiring him to return within the limits of his Jurisdiction, and to expect his coming thither: for that it was not to the service of his Majesty to have so many small Armies disjoined from each other: with this Letter he gave another more positive Command to the Messenger in a

different fivle, fubscribed Captain-General, directing more magisterially, that in case Sancho Duarte should not comply with every point commanded in the Letter. that he should certifie the same back to him: but Sancko Duarte upon these summons became very tractable, and returned again within the limits prefcribed him. though before fuch fummons he feemed to fet up for himfelf, and in an arbitrary

manner to follow his own humour and pretentions.

And here we shall leave him and see what Hernandez Giron is doing whom we lately left in Apurimae: Giron, proceeding on his way, understood in Athanylla that all the Souldiers and Citizens of Huamanca had declared themselves for the Kino's party, and that John Monfo de Budajoz, who had called himself Lieutenant-General of those Companies, was joyned with those few Souldiers which Francisco Numness had raifed in Cosco, and were gone together unto Huamanca: which Hornander. much refented, and complained thereof to his Friends, wondring that the Cities who at first had owned his cause and approved his proceedings, should with so much facility abandon him and ditown his actions. Howfoever he proceeded on his march to the River Villea, where his Scouts discovered several of his Maiefly's Army: for that the Juffices being informed that Hernandez was marching against them, gave orders to Captain Lope ALirin to advance with a party of thirty Souldiers to inform them of the enemy, and of the place where they were quartered. and with all fpeed to return with the advice; accordingly Lope Martin proceeded. and having discovered the enemy, gave an account of their condition and place where they lodged. But Francisco Hernandez proceeded on his march to the City of Huamanca, where he staid in expectation of Thomas Vasquez; for when he sent him to Arequepa, he told him, that he would not pass that City untill his return. Varquez, having made but one days stay at Arequepa, marched thence by way of the coaft, untill he overtook Francisco Hernandez; for he found that he had little to doe there; for though that City, upon false reports and misrepresentation of things, had understood, that the City of Cozco had unanimously concurred to chuse Hernandez for their Procurator-General, to represent the case and state of their aggrievances to his Majefty, and to lay them before the Lords Juffices, they then fent their Ambassadour to Cozeo (as we have said) to lignific their concurrence with them: but when they rightly underflood, that all this Infurrection was nothing but the Rebellion of a few desperate men, they then were alhamed of their melfage; and the whole City declared themselves resolved to spend their lives and fortunes in the fervice of his Majesty, so that Thomas Vazquez, finding none with whom to treat, returned without effecting any business; but that it might not be faid but he had done fomething, he killed Martin de Lexano upon the way, who had been his great Friend and old Comrade, to be before hand with him, and to prevent his killing him; for he suspected that he had a design to declare for his Majefty. He also hanged up another Souldier of good effeem and note, called Alonfo de Mur, because he fansied that he had a mind to escape, having received both Horfe, and Arms, and Money from Hernandez: when Hernandez heard that Vazquez was near the City, he went forth to meet him with his own Equipage and Retinue, and they entred both together without much order or ceremony; which was to contrived not to thew the fmall numbers which Vizquez, brought with him, Captain Francisco Numez, who came out of Cozeo with forty Souldiers, with defign to take polletion of Huamanca, and to perform all other things which he was commanded to doe, found matters there in the fame posture that Fasquez had done at Arequest; that is, that all the Inhabitants were fled and gone to the fervice of his Majefty; onely John Alouso de Badajoz, and Southo de Tudela, an old fellow of eighty fix years of age remained behind, who followed the fortune of Hernandez untill the end of his Tyranny and Rebellion, and then he was killed amongst the

With these two and some sew Souldiers more Francisco Nunnez went forth to receive their General, whom they found much out of humour to find those who at the first feemed to abett his cause and his interest, now to deny and revolt from him: but to comfort and cheer him up a little, two Souldiers of good effects and note, belonging to Lope Martin, revolted to him, one of which was afterwards made Enfign-bearer to his Lieutenant-General the Lawyer Alvarado; by whom-he was fully informed of the stare of the Camp which appeared for his Majesty. After which he marched out of *Huamanca* with above seven hundred Souldiers, towards the Valley of Sanfa, from whence he fent two Captains with their Squa-

#### drons into divers parts; one of which was John de Piedrahita with fixty Souldiers. and the other was Salvador de Logana with forty others. From his Majesty's Camp Geronimo de Costilla, a Citizen of Cozco, was ordered with twenty five Souldiers to four the Countrey, and discover the enemies quarters; It was his fortune to take that way by which John de Piedrabita was coming; but having intelligence that he was not above four leagues diffant, and that he was fixty men ftrong, he made his retreat, not being able to engage with fo great a number. But on the other fide Piedrabita having advice from the Indians (who as we have faid are Spies for both parties) that Geronimo Costilla was not far from him, he marched in the night

Royal Commentaries.

towards him, and by break of day beat up his Quarters, where, surprising him unawares, he routed him, and took three prisoners, and therewith returned to the Army.

#### CHAP. IX.

Three of the King's Captains take a Captain and forty Souldiers belonging to the Rebels: they deliver them up to one of the Justices. Francisco Hernandez sinding many of his Souldiers to revolt from him, resolves to engage the Royal

Ccording to the fuccesses of War, which are always various and doubtfull, A it was the fortune of Geronimo de Costilla in his retreat to meet with Geronimo de Silva, whom the Justices had fent after him with some recruits; and being fearfull that Hernandes was drawing towards them with his whole Army, they both indeed fit to retreat, and in the way it was their chance to take an Indian who was a domestick Servant to Captain Salvador de Loçana; to whom they put divers questions, and forced him to confess in what place his Master was, and what number of people he had with him: of which they fent advice to the Judges, and defired a fufficient recruit of Men to furprife and take them. The Juftices immediarely upon this notice dispatched away *Lope Martin* with fixty men more for their affishence, who joyning with *Geronimo de Costilla*, and *Geronimo de Silva*, so well managed their business, that though the enemy were good Souldiers, and well armed with Fire-locks, and had posted themselves in a fast place, yet upon promise of pardon for all their past offences to his Majesty they submitted and surrendred themfelves, and came quietly out of their Fort, fuffering themselves all to be taken, except one man, who made his escape to carry the news thereof to Francisco Hernandez, who was greatly troubled thereat, because he confided much in Logana and his Souldiers, who were the best and choicest men that he had in all his Army. The prisoners being carried to the King's Camp, the Justices would have hanged them all, but that the Souldiers began to mutiny, protesting that they would never more make excursions into the Countrey, nor act farther against the enemy, in case these men were executed; for that might provoke the contrary party to return them the like, and oblige the Souldiery to act on both fides in a desperate manner: the Captains also took up the matter in favour of their Souldiers, and petitioned the Court of Justice to moderate the Sentence: who thereupon to put them out of fight and view of the Army, fent Logana and his Souldiers to Altanirano his Majesty's Judge Advocate at Sea, to dispose of them as he thought fit; who by virtue of that Warrant hanged up Logana and other two of the most culpable amongst them, and banished all the rest out of the Kingdom.

Though this loss of Captain Logana and his Souldiers very much troubled and afflicted Hernandez, yet, not to shew himself dismayed, he proceeded forward with his Army, depending much upon the plots and strategems of War which he had contrived: and being come to the Valley of Pachacamae four leagues distant from the City of Los Reyes, he called a Council of War to refolve on matters which were to be acted: and there it was refolved, that by night they should surprise that part of the Army which was encamped without the City; and that they

Cecece

tion was agreed to be put in execution four nights afterwards.

Diego de Silva, a Citizen of Cozco, was present at this Consultation, with whom (as is faid before) Hernandez had prevailed to countenance and encourage his Son! diers with his prefence; and to shew the offeem he had of him, he always called him to be affiftent at every Confultation: during which time the Scouts from each party viewed and furveyed each others Forces, and carried the intelligence The Juffices and their two Generals prepared and put themselves into a posture of defence, to obviate any ill accident which might possibly happen: the Captains also did the like, exercising their Souldiers every day with Skirmishes between themfelves, and shooting at marks, and for better encouragement gave lewels and Rewards to the most dexterous Marks-men. In this Camp were numbred above 1300 Souldiers, 300 of which were Horfe,600 Musquetiers, and about 450 Pikemen.

And here it is to be observed, that so soon as the Justices had received news of the removal of Francisco Hernandez from Huamanca, and that he was on his march to meet and fight them. That the better to fecure themselves of the good will and affections of the people, and loyalty of the Souldiers of the Country, they refolved to suspend the execution of the late Decrees which were published, and by Proclamation to declare, that those Edicts which exempted the Indians from their personal services to the Spaniards, and which enjoined and forbad Spaniards to make use of Indian Women or Men in their Travels were all abolithed and made void for certain years: and in the mean time they generally agreed to make choice of two Procurators, who were to be fent into Spain, and there, in the name of the whole Empire, to lay before his Majesty the hardships and aggrievances which were imposed on them, and with all humility to supplicate a redress, in such manner as his Majesty should in his wisedom judge most fit and requisite to be granted. The perfons nominated and elected for this fervice, were Don Lewis de Cabrera a Citizen of Cozco, who by reason of his great Belly (as we have intimated before) was unwieldy and unable for action in the War; and the other was Amonio de Ribera a Citizen of Rimac, both which prepared for their Voyage into Spain, where Don Antonio de Ribera arrived in fafety, but Pedro de Cabrera made a stop by the way and came

not thither.

930

Two days after Hernandez was entred into the Valley of Pachacamac, a party of his Souldiers fallied out to skirmish with the enemy; who being engaged together, were affifted by others who came in to their aid, and the numbers of each fide increased, both of them being desirous to make trial of their skill and valour: among the control of the co creaged, both or them being actious troit make that of them skin and valour; among the reft Diego de Silva, to thew his forwardness and zeal for Hernandez, was one who appeared in the first Rank, but finding his opportunity, he revolted over to his Majesty's Camp, carrying with him four other Souldiers of good reputation, one of which was called — Gamboa, and was Enfign to Captain Nurno Mendiola, to whom by this flight he caused great mischief, as we shall see hereaster; and these were followed that day by divers others, which put an end to that skirmith. The like was acted by others the day following, and all the time he staid in Pachacamac his men deferted him in twenty and thirty in a company who revolted over to the King's party: which when Hernandez, observed, and that no remedy could be contrived to prevent it, he refolved to retreat back to Cozco before he was abandoned by all his Souldiers; so now the strategeme of the Cows was laid aside, in regard that Diego de Silva had discovered it, and that the Justices, as might be prefumed, had provided to countermine and prevent that delign. In pursuance of this refolution, Hernandez, to prove and try the inclinations of his Souldiers, told them plainly, that he gave free liberty and license to any person whatsoever, who was not fatisfied with his cause, to pass over to the contrary party: but none took advantage of this permission, unless some few mean and unserviceable fort of people, whom the Lieutenant General Alvarado stript of their Clothes, and devested of their Arms and Horses before they departed. And so Hernandez retreated out of Pachacamae in the best order he was able, being moved thereunto more out of an apprehension he had that his people would defert him, than any fear he conceived of danger from the enemy: for it was evident that fuch was the confusion of Counfels in the Camp of the Juffices by reason of many Rulers that nothing was determined and concluded in its due time and feafon. As will appear by what follows

#### CHAP. X.

Francisco Hernandez retires with his Army. In his Majefly's Camp is great Consustion by diversity of opinions. A muting is raised in the City of Piura; and how it was pacified.

Rancifeo Hernandez according to his former resolution withdrew his Forces from Pachacamae in such haste that the Southeast Les Landing Pachacamag in such haste that the Souldiers left behind them all things which were useless and cumbersome to them, which were all taken away by the King's Party, who upon retreat of the Enemy, without order from their Commanders, plundered every thing that remained: Upon this alteration of affairs, the Justices entered into confultation with the Field Officers; and fummoned unto the Council of War, befides the Captains, feveral Planters, who were men of Estates in the Kingdom, and were well experienced in the Affairs of that Countrey: but in fuch variety of opinions, there was great confusion, every one persisting in his own perfusion, preffed eagerly that his Counfel might be taken. Atlength after long debates, it was concluded that Paulo de Meneses, with six hundred select men. should purfue after Hermandez: the next day the detachment being made, the two Generals contradicted the resolution concluded at the Council of War, and ordered that no more than a hundred men should be drawn out, for that it would be too great a weakning to the Camp to be develted of the greatest number of the choicest men. Howsoever the Justices remained constant to their first Resolves, and again commanded that the detachment should be made of the fix hundred men; which was again contradicted by the two Generals, who were of opinion that a hundred men were sufficient to keep the Enemy in Alarms, and to receive fuch as were defirous to revolt. Between these contradictory Orders Paulo de Menefes was greatly confused, and much more troubled, because he was not permitted to take with him those Comrades and Friends of his in whom he most confided to ftand by him, and who were defirous to keep him company. And here we will leave them to declare those matters, which passed at the same time in

the City of St. Michael de Piura.

BOOK VII.

The Inflices, as we mentioned before, had fent advices to all the Governours of the Kingdom concerning the rebellion of Hernandez, and iffued out their Orders and Warrants to raife and arm Souldiers to refift and deftroy the Rebels. The Governour of Piura, called John Delgadillo, gave his Commission to Francisco de Silv., a Souldier of good fame and reputation, who lived in that City, with Inflructions to leavy Souldiers in Timpiz, and along the coaft, and to bring with him as many as he could raite. Francisco de Silva went accordingly and returned to Pinra with a party of about twenty fix or twenty feven Souldiers, who having remained there about twelve or thirteen days without any care taken to provide them with Victuals, or Lodging, and being poor men, and not able to maintain themselves, they came to the Governour with their Captain Francisco de Silva and defired his Licence to goe to the City of Los Reyes to ferve his Majesty. The Governour being prefled by the Intreaties and Importunities of all the Citizens of fented thereunto; but the next day, the Souldiers being drawn out, and ready to march, the Governour, without any reason for it, revoked his Licence, and gave a positive Command, that every one should repair to his quarters, and neither go out from thence, nor out of the City without farther order. Francisco Hernandez and his companions, finding that no entreaties could prevail on the Governour, they refolved to kill him, and plunder the City, and then depart and offer their fervice to Hernandez Giron, fince they were denyed leave to ferve his Majesty. The matter was foon agreed, and about twelve or thirteen of them well armed went into the Governour's house, and took him, and killed a Justice of Peace of the lower rank, and made feizure of Guns, Head pieces, Swords, Bucklers, Lances, Halbards, with a great provision of Powder, and then carrying forth the Royal Standard they proclaimed upon pain of death, that every man should repair thereunto; then they broke open the royal Treasury, and carried all the mo-Cccccc 2

ney from thence; the like they did to particular mens houses, which they sacked and plundered, not leaving any thing of value therein. And it happening, that a certain Souldier came at that time from Rimac, being banished thence, they canfed him to report, that Hernandez was marching with a very firong Army to Los Reyes, and that all the Kingdom had declared for him, and that the Justice Santillan himself, with many of his Friends and Relations were passed over to that party; besides a multitude of other Lyes which they caused him to report. which ferved these poor Rascals for the present, and puffed them up as full of vanity as if they had been truths, and made them to confider themselves no less than as Lords and Masters of all *Pern*, and when this Souldier declared his intention to follow *Hernandez*, they all became of the same mind, and presently proceeded to join with him.

The Governour they carried with them in Chains, and eight or nine Citizens and men of Eflates befides, with Collars of Iron about their Necks, after the manner of Gally-flaves. In this manner they travelled above fifty Leagues with all the boldness and infolence imaginable, until they came to Cassamarca; where they met with two Spaniards who lived by their labour and honest dealings, and from them they received true information of the flate and condition of Hernander. Giron, and how he fled, and was purfued by the Juftices; and that it was credibly believed that at that very time he was defeated and killed. With this News Francisco de Situa and his Companions were extremely dashed and confounded. and began to bewail their follies; and, to fave themselves, they designed to surprize some Ship, if it were possible, to make their escape. The Governour and his Companions were now freed of their Chains and fet at Liberty. but extremely incommoded. And the Rebels, being about fifty in number, divided themselves into little parties of about three or four in company to pass more freely without any notice taken of them.

The Governour finding himself at Liberty, summoned people in the King's name and took some of them, whom he hanged and quartered. And the Justices being informed of the Outrages committed by these Villains, sent a Judge called Bernardino Romani with Commission to punish the Offenders; who in purfuance thereof took and hanged almost all of them, and the remainder he sent to the Gallies, but Francisco de Silva and his Companions, escaped to Truxillo, where they entred into the Convent of St. Francis, and there difguifing themselves in that habit, they travailed to the Sea-coast, where they embarked on a Ship which transported them out of the Empire, and so saved their lives.

In those days came sad and lamentable News from the Kingdom of Chile brought by a Citizen of St. Jago called Gaspar Otense, giving an account, how that the Araucan Indians of that Kingdom had made an Infurrection, and had killed the Governour Pedro de Valdivia and his People, of which we have rendred a large relation in the seventh Book of the first part of these Commentaries. This disturbance amongst the Indians was of great consequence to all Peru: for it began towards the end of the year 1553, and hath continued to the end of this, being 1611, in which we are now writing these matters, and yet the War is not at an end; but the Indians are more proud, and stand more on their terms, than at first, being encouraged by the many Victories they obtained, and the Cities they destroyed; God in his Mercy put a good end hereunto, as is most for his Glory. Perhaps in the following Book, we may touch upon some later actions of the Araucans.

#### CHAP. XI.

Of some unhappy Missortunes which befell both Armies. The death of Nunno Mendiola, a Captain belonging to Francisco Hernandez, and also of Lope Martin, a Captain in his Majesty's Army.

BUT to return to the Affairs of Pern; We fay, that Hernandez Giron being departed from Pachacamac, marched with great care and vigilance, keeping his baggage close to him, and always ready, and in a posture to repulse the Enemy, in

case they should pursue, and fall on him in the rere: but after he had marched a or 4 days, and found that no purfuit was made after him; and had understood by or 4 days, and found that no parliar was made and finns, and had indefined by his Spyes; that the Councils held in the Enemies Camp were varieties, and com-monly contradictory, and that what the Juftices ordered, was again countermanded by the Generals; he took courage and marched more leifurely and with more eafe and fecurity than before. Howfoever things paffed not fo fmooth and fair neither between him and his most intimate friends, but that many quarrels and disputes arose amongst them, for being come to the valley called *Huarcu*, he hanged up two of his principal Souldiers, upon a bare fulpicion, that they intended to revolt; for amonest them a jealoufie onely was fufficient to take away the life of any man whatfoever; though he were the greatest Confident, and the most zealous for their cause. Hernandez, proceeding forward came to the valley of Chincha, which was a Countrey abounding and plentifull of all provisions; for which reason Captain Numo Mendiola advised Hernandez to remain there for three or four days for refreshment of his Souldiers and making Provisions which were necessary for their farther march; but Hernandez, would not admit of this Counfel; and looking at the fame time on Mendiols he fanfied, that his countenance changed at the refutal, and that he feemed discontented; which opinion others nourithing in him, endeavoured to increase and improve, and told him plainly that Mendiola was refolved to pass over to the King's prove, and told him planny that Filmhalis was refored to pass over to the King's party, which belief Hernandez eafily admitted, when he called to mind that Gambos who was his Enligh was already revolted with Diego de Silva, and thence he certainly concluded that it was with defign to make way for his Captain, and to treat and fecure conditions for him against the time that he should find opportunity to escape; upon which suspicion onely he ordered his Lieutenant General to take away his Horfe and Arms, and to discharge him the Army; which was accordingly executed; and not onely so, but with them also he was deprived of his life. And thus poor Captain Nunno Mendiola ended his days, which was a due reward of his demerit, having been one of the Conspiratours engaged in this rebellion. Notwithstanding which several Souldiers still continued to revolt, and came in to Paulo de Meneses, giving him advice, that Francisco Hernandez was in great disorder by reason that he was deserted by many of his Souldiers, so that he had scarce 300 men with him, though in reality they were above 500. Panlo de Meneses being encouraged with this News, entered into confultation with his friends of the manner how he might beat up the Enemies quarters in the night; which being agreed. and the Souldiers on the march, they called to mind, that they had made no provifion of Corn for their Horfes, which was a matter which should have been thought upon before: but whilft they were confidering hereof, a certain Souldier, who was one of those which had lately revolted from Hernandez, called Francisco de Cuevas, flept out, and told them, that he knew from whence to fetch a fufficient quantity of Mayz: whereupon Paulo de Meneses sent him away with a dozen of Indians to carry the provision. The Souldier accordingly went and dispatched away the Indians with their full burthens, ordering them to go before, and that he would prefently follow, to foon as his Horfe had eaten his Corn: when the Souldier found himself alone, instead of returning to Paulo de Meneses, he passed over to Francisco Hernandez; to whom he gave an account of the number of his Enemies, that they were marching against him, and of their defign to beat up his quarters, the night following: He then asked his pardon for having deferted him, faying, that it was the Providence of God which had directed him for good, and fent him to bring this Intelligence, that the Enemy might not take him upon furprize. Now it is faid, that the reason of this revolt of the Souldier again to Hernandez was occasioned by a word which fell from a certain Souldier belonging to Paulo de Menefes, who, discoursing with another concerning the Rebels, said, that so soon as the War was ended, the best of these Runagates would be called to an account and whipped, and fent to the Gallies: which being over-heard by this Souldier, he refolved to return to his former Captain, and to merit his Pardon, by the intelligence he brought him. Francisco Hernandez allarum'd with this information, remained all that livening and the night following in a posture of defence and ready to receive the Enemy: but when Paulo de Menefer and Lope de Martin and the other Captains found that Francisco de Cueva came not back, they presently suspected, that he was returned to Hermandez, and had given him advice of their delign to furprize him in the night; wherefore they changed their refolution, and ordered their Souldiers to march unto a place called Villacori, about five Leagues diftant from their former quarters

Royal Commentaries.

934

#### CHAP. XII.

The Justices send recruits to Paulo de Meneses: Francisco Hernandez returns upon him, and deseats him. The death of Michael Cornejo. The faithfulness of a Horse to his Master.

Panlo de Meneses going, (as we have said before) in pursuit of Hermandez, wrote to the Justice Samillan, and to Don Geronimo de Longia, Archbishop of Los Repes, who were the Generals of the Army, advising them that the Enemy was very strong, and that his Forces were weak; and therefore he desired them to send him recruits without delay, not doubting but to deseat the Rebels in that expedition. The Generals with all readiness complyed with his desires, and sen him a hundred men well armed and provided, amongst which were divers Citizens of Cozco, Humanaca and Arequepa; who made such haste in their march, that they arrived at Villacori, some time before Paulo de Meneses himself came this to the encouragement and satisfaction of both Parties at their meeting. They were well informed, that the Enemies quarters were not above five Leagues distant, and that Lope de Martin and his three Companions were upon the watch, and remained for Centinels, attending the motion of the Enemy. With which News they considently reposed and remained in security without sear or suspicion of danger: which was an errour in the Captains, who in War ought

ever to apprehend the worft, and provide against the surprise of an enemy, though distant and far removed; for example of which we shall lay before them the prefent misfortune. For Francisco Hernandez, having been informed from Labe Martin and his Companions of the quarters and condition of Paulo de Menefes, he prefently out his Forces in order to march against him with all possible diligence; and herein fortune favoured him very much; for though one of Martin Lope's Companions had made his escape, vet he was so affrighted with the apprehensions of death, that he hid himself in a Cave, and had not power to go forward with this information to Paulo Meneles, which was of the highest importance to him; for want of which. on confidence of fuch vigilant Sentinels as Love Martin and his Companions, both he and his Souldiers reposed securely without sear or suspicion of any surprise. About break of day in the morning a certain Souldier, who went out of the Camp to gather a little May in those Fields, heard on a sudden the noise of people coming towards him; and looking about him, efficied a party of about thirty Horfe, which Hermadez had fent for the Vanguard to amufe the enemy, and entertain them with skirmithing untill the reft of his Forces were come up to their affithence. The Souldier immediately ran in with the advice, and gave the alarm; but Paulo de Meneses supposing that the enemy was not more numerous than what the Souldier reported them to be, he kept his ground and would not retreat, untill feeing the enemy very near, and appearing on the Sands, and himself almost surrounded with Forces far greater than his own, he then gave orders to make a retreat with all speed, whilft he in person desended the Rere against the enemies attempt, in which many were killed and wounded on one fide and the other; and in this manner they continued fighting and skirmilling the greatest part of the day, untill the whole Force of Hernandez was come up; and then the confusion was great as well amongst those who pursued as those that fled, not being able by reason of the notife and dust to distinguish one from the other: this pursuit continued for the space of three leagues, in which Captain d'Avalos with five or fix more were wounded, and about fourteen or fifteen were killed, and amongst them Michael de Cornejo a very honest man, and a Citizen of Aregnepa, and one of the first Conquerours, to whom Francisco de Carvajal, Lieutenant-General to Gonçalo Picarro, made many acknowledgments of friendship for the kindness and generofity he had shewn him, as we have formerly mentioned. His death was occasioned by the Borgonion he wore, having the Visard close that down, whereby, and with the dust raised by those who pursued, and those who sled, and by the violent hear which is always in those Valleys, he was stifled and suffocated. He was much lamented by all that knew him, being a person of great goodness and honour, as appears by the entertainment and reception he gave to Francisco de Carvajal, his Wife and Family, when he found them in the Market-place of Arequepa destitute of Lodging, or Money, or Friends to entertain them. Not withstanding this success which the Rebels had in purfuit of their enemies, who fled before them, yet their lofs was greater by the revolt of many of their own Souldiers to the King's party; which caused them to give over the pursuit, and found a retreat, lest the example of those who fled thould be the cause of a general mutiny and defection amongst their Forces. John Rodriguez de Villalobos a Citizen of Cozeo, was one of those who revolted that day from Hernandez, whom though he had endeavoured to engage to him by the marriage of his Wife's Sifter, yet the loyalty he owed to his Prince was of greater prevalency with him than the bond and tie of alliance: but Hernandez feemed to make light of his defertion, fwearing, in contempt and difdain of him, that he was more troubled for a Sword he carried with him than he was for his person or any other concernment relating to him: And farther to shew his confidence, and the affurance he had to prevail, he again publickly declared, that he gave free liberty to any man who was weary of his fervice to pass over to the fide of the Justices, for he pretended not to entertain forced and pressed Souldiers, but willing and faithfull Friends. As to Paulo de Menefes himfelf, he left his Souldiers and fled to Chincha, which Palemino tellifies in these words:

Royal Commentaries.

When Paulo de Menefer, fays he, faw that his Souldiers fled, and that his Body of Horfe ran away in full carriere, he turned out of the way, and paffed through a fand Countrey towards the River Pifeo, and with three other Companions, who followed him, came to Chincha, &c. Thus far this Authour.

As the Rebels returned from the purfuit, they gathered up all the Arms, Coats, Cloaks and other things of burthen, which the King's party had feattered in the

way

936

BOOK VII.

way and thrown from their Horses and Mules to case them in their slight; like way and thrown from their Frones and Mines to the dien in their flight; like thofe who are in a florm at Sea, throw their Goods and Lading over Board to fave their Vessel and their Lives. And such was the fortune of these Royalits, who but even now being in a condition to threaten their enemies with a total destruction. tion, were in the next moment forced to flight and entirely defeated.

In this place it will be no great digreflion from our purpole, to relate a flory concerning the faithfulness of an Horle (which I knew) towards his Mafter, because it is rare and curious, and because such accidents as this seldom happen in the world. In this Battel of Spurs (as we may call it) there was a certain Gentleman engaged of his Majesty's party called John Julio de Hogeda, a Citizen of Cozeo, and one of the first Conquerours of that Empire, who, amongst other Horses which he kept, was mounted that day at Villacori upon one with black spots, and running kept, was mounted that day at Fullicors upon one with black hoots, and running full speed, as Puleonine faith, Higeda sell from his Horse, which seeing his Master on the ground, gave a stop amidst three hundred other Horses and Beasls of burthen, and would not stir untill his Master got up again and was mounted on his back; which saithfulness of an irrational Beast saved the life of his Master, and may be recounted for a flory without example; unless it were another of the like nature performed by the same Horse, of which I my self was a witness, at Cozco; where, after the War was ended, certain Gentlemen exercifing their Horfes after the Genet falhion, as they usually did in the common course every Sunday, it happened that a School fellow of mine, of mongrel race, whose Father was a Spahappened that a School-tellow of mine, of mongrel race, whole Father was a Speniard and his Mother an Indian, called Pedro de Altamirano, Son of Indiano de Altamirano, one of the first Conquerours, being mounted on this Horse, and running full speed by a Window on his left hand, he espied a fair young Lady looking our from the House belonging to Alons de Mesia, the tight of whom caused him to forget his race, and at the next course, having the Window on his right hand, he turned his head two or three times to see the beauty of the Lady. The third time are that the story along the Horse keeping scriptly the big Ridar chapeled him is his paffing the fame place, the Horfe being fenfible that his Rider checked him in his carriere, he strained harder than before to gain the Race; but the young Galland being more intent on the beauty of his Miltress than the Government of his Horse, he leaned too much on one side and fell to the ground: which when the Horse perceived, he gave a ftop in his full fixed, and ftaid without moving until the perceived, ne gave a 1top in nis iuii ipeed, and itaid without moving intill the Gallant arofe, and again mounted upon him, and then he continued his course, to the great admiration of those who were present. All which I my self saw from a Gallery of my Father's House; the which action may serve to confirm the truth of the former unto those who had not the faith to believe it at the first. And so we shall return to the Army of the Justices, where we shall find nothing but animolities, and troubles, and changes of Officers, and places of Trust.

## CHAP. XIII.

The Justices deprive the two Generals of their Office. Francisco Hernandez comes to Nanasca. A Spie carries the news of the many changes. The Rebels compose an Army of Negroes.

Such were the quarrels and diffensions in his Majesty's Camp between the two Generals, that the Captains and Souldiers were scandalized thereat, and troubled to fee on all occasions things diversly and contrarily disposed. The Generals being informed of these complaints and murmurings of the Souldiery, were perfuaded at the inftance of feveral principal perfons to dine one day together, in order whereunto with much intreaty they brought the Juffice Samithm from his order whereunto with much imicacy they orough the jurice samilator not his quarters two leagues off, where he was retired to a meeting with the Archberg, and after Dinner they were made Friends, to the great faitsfaction, as Palonino faith, of the whole Army. The fame day towards Evening news was brought to the Camp of the defeat and rout given at Villucori, at which they much admired, having according to their best intelligence received daily advice, that Paulo de Menser was much stronger than the enemy. The Justices, Captains and other Officers were highly sensible of the loss they sustained by this deseat, and sound by experience that the original of that and other misfortunes proceeded from the difcord and misunderstanding of the two Generals, to the great disgrace and discouragement of the Imperial Army. And though they endeavoured as much as was possible to palliate this loss, faying, that thought they encounted as many possible to palliate this loss, faying, that thole who came over from the enemy made reparation for the numbers of thole who were killed, yet they could not digest the loss of reputation which the Royal Army sustained by the contrariety of their opinions and opposite commands; and therefore calling a Counsel, the Officers by a Royal Mandate discharged the two Generals of their Commands, and conferred the Office of Commander in Chief upon Paulo de Menefes, and conflitted Pedro Portocarrero his Lieutenant-General: which likewise caused murmurings and discontent in the whole Camp; and men talked loudly, that it was a shame and reproach to them to make choice of an unlucky fellow who but the other day had loft a Battel, and had rather deferved ignominy and punishment for his ill conduct, and to be debased to the meanest Souldier in the Field, than to be raifed to the highest dignity and place of command. Howsoever the election was confirmed and the resolution notified to the two Generals, who made some demur thereupon, but they were over-ruled and forced to fubmit; and farther it was agreed to purfue the Rebels with eight hundred men, and for better expedition to march without Baggage or other incumbrance: but this determination met with delays like the reft, so that it was not put in execution till three days afterwards. For the Juftice Santillan being upon his return to Los Royes, was attended on his way with a numerous train of Friends and Relations to the number of about an hundred and fifty persons, to the great diminution of their Forces, and discompositive of their affairs: of which Samillan being made sensible by one of his Friends, who told him, that the taking many men from the Army would look like a Rebellion, and give his Adversaries occasion to pretend that he was jealous of his fafety, and fulficious of Plots and defigns againft him: he prefently apprehended the inconveniences, and difmit his Friends and Kindred, defiring them to return to the fervice of his Majesty in the Army, which was much more necessary than their attendance upon him: which they accordingly performed, so that Santillan entred into Los Reyes with no greater attendance than of his own Servants.

By this time Hernandez was come to Nanasca, being about fixty leagues distant from Los Reyes, to which place he had marched without let or hindrance whatfoever: for fuch had been the confusion and difference in his Majesty's Camp, that nothing could proceed to his hurt or interruption: and for his better advantage and information of every thing, the Justices gave ear to the proposal of one was a Serjeant in the King's Army, and had been a Souldier in the Plot and Corpiracy of *Diego de Roju*, who offered to adventure into the enemy's Camp in the fpiracy of Diego de Rojas, who offered to adventure into the enemy's Camp in the habit of an Indian, and to bring them from thence a true information of the flate of their affairs. The Justices affenting hereunto gave him free license; so that he as a sale and treacherous Spie went over to Hermandes, and told him, that he had clothed himself in that habit to pass more easily to his Army; for that in the King's Camp there were such quarrels and discords amongst the Officers, and discords amongst the Souldiers, who had no will or courage to fight, that nothing but destruction could be the end and issue to fave himself in his service. Moreover he reported, that the Justices were much troubled and consused upon the news they had received, that the City of St. Michael de Pinra was in Rebellion against his Majesty, and had declared themselves for Hermandes Giron; and that a certain Captain named Pedro de Orsina was coming from the New Kingdom with many men in savour also of Hermandes; all which being of great encouragement to his people, he caused thems, for better credit thereof, to be declared by publick outcy. But to qualifie this news a little, he told them, that the Marshal was coming cry. But to qualifie this news a little, he told them, that the Marthal was coming from the *Charcus* with a powerfull force of twelve hundred men, but they charged the Spie to make this report, of at least to moderate it, and say, that he came with no more than six hundred men, lest it should prove too great a discounter of the contraction ragement to the Souldiers. At the fame time letters were intercepted from the Camp of the Justices, conveyed by an *Indian*, directed to a Souldier; for which both of them were hanged, though the Souldier after he had endured the torment Dddddd

twice, would make no confession; and that after his death, in the Collar of his doublet a Parchment was found with a Pardon from the Justices for Thomas Var\_ quez. The which Pardon was prefently published by Hernandez, with Assirances in the name of the Justices of great Rewards and of Lands with Services of Indians to whomfoever should kill Hernandez and other principal persons who were about him.

But before the Defeat given at Villacori, Francisco Hernandez had raised a Company of Negroes confishing of about an hundred and fifty black fellows, which they had taken out of the feveral Plantations, Villages and Colonies which they had plundered, to which he afterwards added above three hundred Ethiopian Souldiers; and to encourage them the better, he formed them into Companies diflinct from the others. Of these he ordained a Captain General called Mr. John. who was an excellent Carpenter, (for I was well acquainted with him) and had been a Slave to Antonio Altamirano, as I have formerly mentioned. Their Lieutenant was Master Antonio, to whom a principal Souldier of the King's Camp had furrende. red his Arms, it is not fit to name him, though I was well acquainted with him: the report whereof coming into Spain, caused a Gentleman who had lived in the Indies, and was acquainted with this Souldier, to fend him a Sword and a Dagger handformely gilt, more in fcorn to upbraid his Cowardife, than on the fcore or in token of friendship, which occasioned much discourse after the Wars were at an end: Re. fides these chief Officers, he appointed their Captains, and gave them leave to make their connects, he appointed that Capitains, and gave them teave to make choice of their Enfigns, Serjeants, Corporals, Drummers and Pipers, and make their own Colours. All which the Nagree performed very handfomely, which was a means to allure and invite many of that fort from the King's Camp; who feeing their Relations and Kindred fo highly honoured and advanced in the Camp teeing their Relations and Kingred to highly honorited and advanced in the Camp of Hernandez, were induced to follow their example, and so were engaged against their Masters during all the time of this War. The Rebels made great use of these Souldiers, whom they sent abroad with a small party of Spaniards to forage and gather provisions; which the poor Indians in sear and dread of them, and to rescue themselves, their Wives and Children from their Cruelties, did readily adminifter and fupply them with; which afterwards was the cause of great famine and diffress in the Countrey.

#### CHAP. XIV.

The Marshal makes choice of Captains for his Army. He comes to Cozco, and marches against Francisco Hernandez. The unfortunate death of Captain Diego de Almendras.

IN the mean time, whilst matters were thus transacted in Cozco, Rimac and Villacori, the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado, who was in the Kingdom and Provinces of the Charcas, remained not idle or unactive: for as we have said before, he employed himself in raising men for his Majesty's service, and providing Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Horfes and Mules, and what elfe was necessary for the use of the Souldiers. He made Don Martin de Almendras, a Gentleman, who had married his Sister, his Lieutenant, and Diego de Porras, a stout and valiant Souldier his Standard-bearer general; Diego de Villavicennio was made Serjeant Major, in which Office he had been in the War which Prelident Gafca waged against Gonçalo Piçavro. He nominated Pero Hernandez Paniagua and John Ortiz de Carate, who had Estates in the Charcas for Captains of Horse, with another Gentleman of Noble extraction called Don Gabriel de Guzman. Gomez Hernandez, the Lawyer, was made Judge Advocate of the Camp, and John Riba Martin Chief Apparitor. Of the Infantry he constituted fix Captains, three of which had Estates and Plantations, namely, the Lawyer Polo, Diego de Almendras and Martin de Alarçon. The others,

who had no Estates, were Hernando Alvarez de Toledo, John Ramon and John de Arrygaga; all which Commanders so diligently applyed themselves to their charge and employment, that in a few days the Marshal had an Army composed of about eight hundred men, of which Palentino, Chap. 41. fpeaks as followerh.

Royal Commentaries.

His Forces were in number feven hundred feventy five men, all good Souldiers well armed and richly clothed, and with great attendance, the like of which hath never been feen in *Peru*. And indeed it was no wonder they should be so. coming from the Mountain or Hill, which is the richeft of any discovered as yet in this World. These are the words of *Palentino*, of which I am sure he speaks very true, for I faw them my felf fome few days afterwards in Cozco, and then they appeared unto me to be as brave and as well accounted as this Authour expresses: that being thus powerfull in Men and Arms, and provided of all things neceffary the Marthal marched towards Cozco; in his way to which, feveral Parties of ten and twenty in a Company came to join with him for the fervice of his Maiefly. And after he had paffed Arequepa with the difficulties before related, there came to him about forty Souldiers: And Sancho Duarte and Captain Martin de Olmos, who refided in the City of la Paz, came forth to the Marshal, with above two hundred good Souldiers, at which meeting they teftified great joy with vollies of shot and other Martial salutations. The Army marching forwards came within the jurisdiction of the great City of Cozco, where they were met by a small squadron under the Command of John de Saavedra; which though few in number, and not exceeding eighty five men, were yet confiderable for their Estates and Interest in the Countrey amongst which were thirteen or sourteen Citizens of Cozco, being all Conquerours of that Empire of the first or second Adventure: Of these men there were fixty Horse and the rest were Foot, most men of Estates, and such as had sled from the Rebels to Los Reyes, with intention to serve his Majesty. With the appearance of so many good and brave Souldiers, whom the Rebels once believed would have joined with them, the Marshal was animated and encouraged; and marched to the entrance of the City of Cozco, being then above twelve hundred strong; of which three hundred were Horse, three hundred and fifty Mulguetiers, and about five hundred and fifty Piques and Halberts: Every Troop and Company marched by it felf with five in a File or Rank: and afterwards drew up in the Market-place; where the Horse and Foot made a feigned skirmith for foort and diversion, and afterwards were all quartered within the Precincts of the City. The Bishop of Cozco, called Frier John Solano, attended with his Dean and Chapter came forth to meet and welcome the Marshal and his Army, and to give them his benediction. Howfoever, remembring the hardthips he had endured when he accompanied Diego Centeno in his long marches, he was unwilling to follow the Camp, but rather choice to remain in his Church, and pray for their fuccess, and the peace of the Countrey. From Cozco the Marshal isfued out his Warrants and Orders to repair the Bridges of the Rivers of Aburings and Amancay, intending to pass that way in quest of Francisco Hernandez of whom he had heard nothing of late, nor was it known what was become of him. Ar this time Advices were fent from the Justices of the ill success of Paul de Meneles at Villacori, and that the Rebels were encamped in the Valley of Nanasca: upon which intelligence, the Marshal altered his delign, and returned back the same way he came, to avoid paffing by Arequeps and the Charcas, which would have been a great hurt and damage to the Countrey, and a means to prolong the War. Wherefore the Marshal changed his Orders concerning the Bridges, which he commanded now to be burnt, to hinder the paffage of the Enemy, in case they should design to return that way again. The Marthal departing from Cozco marched fourteen or fifteen leagues along the Road to the Collies, and then took the right-hand way which leads to Nanasca, where he expected to meet Hernandez: but hearing no News of him, he marched towards Parihuanacocha, though in the way thither he was to pass a rocky defart of above thirty leagues over: In this paffage four Souldiers having robbed two Mules, one belonging to Gabriel de Pernia and the other to Pedro Franco (who were Souldiers of good reputation) and therewith fled over to Hernandez, the Marshal upon notice thereof presently commanded the two Souldiers to be strangled, suspecting, that they themselves had been consenting thereunto; which being esteemed by all to be a piece of great injustice and cruelty, caused murmurings and discontent in the Army, and a thousand Curses against the Marshal. As *Palentino* mentions, Chapter 41. These souldiers which revolted met with Dddddd 2

the Scouts of Hernandez Giron, and went with them to Nanasca, where in Dilvate they gave a true account of the force which the Marshal brought with him, and that he was coming to feek them by the way of Paribuanacocha: though in oublick, not to discourage the People, they reported, that his force was weak and inconsiderable: but Francisco Hernandez disabused his people, and told them the truth: for, as Palentino faith, he spake to them in these words.

Gentlemen, do not flatter or deceive your felves, but clinch your Fifts close, for I affure you, that you have a thousand men coming against you from below on one fide, and 1200 from above, which by the help of God, I esteem as nothing, for let me have but a hundred front and valiant friends, who will flick to me. and I shall not doubt, but to defeat them all. And hereupon having prepared for his departure; upon the eighth of May he left Nasca and marched to Lucanes by way of the mountain, with intent to possess himself of Parinacocha, before the Marshal

came thither, e.c. Thus far this Authour, Chapter 41.

Howfoever the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado continuing his March, entered unon the Defarts of Parihuanacocha, where by reason of the bad and craggy ways and tempeltuous weather, or the unhealthfulness of the Climate, above fixty of their best Horse dyed, though they were led by hand, and well covered with Clothing. without any reason given for the same; the Grooms said, that they were taken with a (hortness of breath like Horses that are broken winded, at which all people wondered, but none knew the reason; onely the Indians esteemed it ominous, and to be a forerunner of ill fuccess. Diego Hernandez, Chap. 42. speaking of this passage, faith. as follows. When the Marshal was come unto Chambibileas, and had there provided himself with all things necessary for his Camp; he adventured to pass the defart of Parinacocha, which is about 32 leagues over, which was fo full of boggs and morith places, fnow and rocky afperous paffages, and fo many broken cliffs and water galls, that many Horses perished in that desolate Land, which seemed at that time to be a corner of Hell, where was nothing but mifery and famine, &c. Thus far this Authour, whose Authority we have brought to confirm the truth of what we have before alledged.

The Marshal lest Captain Sancho Dugarte in Parihuanacocha sick of a Flux or Disfentery, of which in a few days afterwards he dyed: the Army still proceeding in their march the Scouts happened to take one of the Scouts belonging to Hernandez; and to fave his life, they reported, that he voluntarily was coming to ferve his Majefty, and from him the Marshal was informed, that Francisco Hernandez was not above twenty leagues distant from that place; for which reason he kept his people on the Watch, not to be surprized or to have their quarters beaten up in the night. When the Army was about two days march from Paribuanacocha, a bold action was performed by a certain Negro which alarum'd the Army, and was this:

Captain Diego de Almendras, according to his usual Custome, did often separate from the Army to shoot wild Beasts, of which there were very many in those Defarts; and being in this manner one day upon the ramble, it was his fortune to meet amidt those rocks with a Negro belonging to Serjeant Major Viltaricento, who had run away; and whom Almendras would have bound, and brought back to his Master. The Neger stood still, as if he would have submitted; but so soon as Almendras came near him, thinking to bind his hands with match, the Negro flooped down, and catched hold of the Ankles of his Leggs, and running his Head againft his Breaft, threw him backwards; and then with his own Dagger and Sword, he gave him fo many Wounds, that he left him dead. After which the Negro fled to the rest of his Kindred and Relations who were with Hernandek; and having recounted to them this brave exploit, by which he made his escape, they all rejoyced, and gloried in the action, every one boafting of it, as if it had been done by himfelf. A young man of mongrel race half *Spaniard* and half *Indian* being with Almendras, and feeing his Mafter on the ground, and ill treated in that manner, took the Negro by the Shoulders to free his Mafter from him; but Almendras being feeffile that he was mostally unusualed called to the treath a treath of the first him to the first him to the first half the state he was mostally unusualed called to the treath a first first him. ing sensible that he was mortally wounded, called to the youth to sly before he was killed by the Negro: and such was the Cry and Groans he made, as gave an allaarum to all the Army: he was afterwards carried to Parihnana to be there cured, but he dyed in his way thither, such was the end of this poor Gentleman, who lost his Life in hunting after another man's Negro; the which unhappy accident both Indians and Spaniards interpreted as an ill omen of their future Successes.

#### CHAP. XVI.

The Marshal receives intelligence of the Enemy: He sends Some Forces against them: A Skirmish happens between the two Parties. The general opinion of the Officers to decline fighting with the Rebels.

THE day following after this unhappy misfortune befallen Captain Almendran, the Marthal receiving advice that the Enemy was not far diffant he marched eight leagues farther with his Army, and then made a ftrong detachment, which was required to haften with all expedition, and to carry no other baggage or incumbrance, than onely Provisions for three days: and in this manner, as  $P_{d-1}$ lenting faith, they passed a defart Countrey full of marshes and boggs, and deep with Snows; and that night they lodged in the open Air, without Tents, or other covering; and having travelled eight leagues faither; the next day they came very weary to a People called Guallaripa, where they received News, that Francisco Hernandez had departed thence three days before, and was then at Chuquinga about four leagues distant from them, where he staid to refresh his Army, which was greatly tyred and discomposed by the Fatigues of a long march over mountainous and desolate Countries. At this time the Commissary Romero and Garica de Melo came to the Marshal with a thousand Indians that were Souldiers bringing Provisions and Ammunition to him from the Province of Andaguaylas; from them he received a relation of all matters concerning Hernander, and how he had strangled Diego Oribnel, a Native of Salamanca, having taken him as he was coming to the Marshal's Camp to ferve his Majesty. Thus far Palentino.

The Marshal having certain intelligence that the Enemy was near, he greatly defired to engage with them, and therefore refolved to detach two Captains with a hundred and fifty choice Musquetiers, who early in the Morning were to give the Enemy an Allarum, and receive fuch as would pass over to his Majesty's fervice. But the Captains and other persons of quality and interest, who were well informed of the strength of the place wherein Hernandez was encamped, would have diffuaded the Marthal from the defign, giving him very good reasons, why it was not fit or fafe to attempt the Enemy within their Fortifications, or to hazard the loss of an hundred and fifty of the choicest Musquetiers in the whole Army, on whose success the fortune of the day depended: but the Marshal tenlyed. that he himself would follow them in the rere, and succour them with the whole Army, and fecond them so warmly with his Troops, that the Enemy should be able to prevail little on them: and so he instantly defired licence of the Captains to draw out from their Companies a hundred and fifty choice Musquetiers, which he committed to the command and charge of his Lieutenant General, and of Captain John Ramon, with Directions to approach as near to the Enemy as was poffible. The Captains accordingly about midnight marched out with this detachment, and about three hours afterwards the Marshal followed them with the whole Army. Hernandez who was well advised of the near approach of a severe and incenfed Enemy, was vigilant not to be furprized unawares, and having his forces al-ways in a posture of defence, he kept Guards on the Avenues, which were but two, where it was possible to be attacked by an Enemy.

Before break of day in the morning the King's Forces came to the place where the Enemy was fortified; and without any noise endeavoured to surprize them before they who were on the other side of the River America could hear any thing of their approach: but whilft they moved thus foftly, they were discovered by an Indian belonging to Hernandee, who prefently ran to his Mafter, and told hin; that the Enemy was near at hand.

Francisco Hernandez immediately caused an Allarum to be sounded; and dispofed his people in fuch places as were most for their fecurity; and on both fides Vollies of Musquets were interchanged without damage unto either, for they fired at a great distance. About nine a clock the Marshall brought his whole Army in fight of Hernandez; and then the skirmish was renewed with more heat and courage than good discipline: for the Rebels having considered the situation of the place, ordered and disposed their Souldiers to the most advantage; It was no plain or open Countrey where they were to fight, but amongst Bushes and Trees, and great Rocks and Caves, by which the River Amancay passes. Hernander his Souldiers divided themselves into several parties and places covered and sheltered with Trees and Buthes. The Marthal's men boldly and openly descended from a Hill. Trees and Bulhes. The Marina's men boldly and openly detecteded from a Hill, and being come within Mufquet-flot, every one to fignalize himself the better, told his Condition, and his Name, who and what he was.

The Eurign of John Ramon named Gonçalo de Mata came so near the Enemy, as to call to them, and cryed out aloud. I am Mata, I am Mata; one of those who

lay close in the Bushes perceiving him within Musquet shot, answered him, I am ay close in the bunnes perceiving that within indigate man, I am a Matador, a Matador, or a Killer of him; and with that let fly at him, and floor him full in the Breaft, with which he fell dead to the ground: the like happened to others, of which many were killed and wounded, without feeing who hurt them: And though the Marshal re-inforced the detachment with fresh Forces, so that the Skirmilh continued untill three a clock in the afternoon, in which above forty principal persons were killed and wounded, yet no advantage was gained this Engagement: amongst these a young Gentleman of about eighteen years of age, called *Don Felipe Emiquee* had the missortune to be slain, and was much lamented by both Armies; and Captain Ayrenaga was wounded. The King's party having sustained this loss in the Skirmish, were not a little cooled in their courage and abated in their mettle. During the Fight two Souldiers belonging to Hernandez revolted to the Marshal, one of which was called Sancho de Vayona: and one Souldier of the Marshal's passed over to Hernandez, named —— de Bilbao, of whom we have formerly made mention, and how he declared, that wherefoever he first

faw Hernandez, he would fly to his Party.

942

The Skirmish being ended, and the Souldiers retired: Palemino, Chapter the forty fourth, faith; That the Marshal entered into consultation with Lorenco de Internation of the Comps to whom he fignified the great define he had to engage the Rebels, upon affurance that Bayona the Souldier (who was just then come over from the Enemy) had given him, that for certain they would never stand a shock, but turn their backs at the first charge: but Lorenço de Aldana and Diego Maldona-do being of another opinion, took him asside, and persuaded him to decline an Engagement, and to have patience for a while: fince he had fuch manifest advantages over the Rebels, both in men, and in the ground where they were enamped: and moreover, all the *Indians* and all that Countrey were disposed to favore and force him. vour and ferve him. As to the Rebels, they had no other refuge or fortification than those Rocks and Woods; in which being kept in by the *Indians*, and as it than those rocks and wroods; in which being kept in by the malant, and as it were befieged on all fides, they must in a short time be compelled by famine to one of these two things, either to abandon their fast places, and then they will either disband, or separate of themselves, or be easily routed by us; or the greatest part of them, will pass over to us, without hazarding the life of any of those Loyal Gentlemen who are engaged in this quarrel: all swhich will easily be effected. By standard the life of the standard and onely keeping a good waste and effected, by flanding ftill without action, and onely keeping a good watch and ward in case the Enemy should make an attempt, and especially upon that high point of Land which runs out upon the River, and which overfees both Camps which pais if he could make good, he would be better fortified and fecured than the Enemy. In this advice and opinion most of the principal Officers concurred: onely Martin de Robles (to whom the Marshal had given the Company which belonged to Diego de Almendras ) and some sew others were of a contrary opinion, and infifted much to give them battel: howfoever Lorenço de Aldana was fo earnest in the matter, that the Marshal promised and gave him his word, that he would not fight. And upon this resolution he dispatched a Messenger away prefently to the Camp of the Justices, to fend him some small Field-pieces with a recruit of Musquetiers, to play upon that point of the broken part of the Mountain which the Enemy had possessed; for that driving them out from thence, they would either be forced to yield, or else to fight their way in open field. Thus far Palentino, by which appears the great defire of the Marshal to engage the Rebels, contrary to the opinion of all his Officers, and to the great and weighty reasons alleged by them; which Council not being followed, occasioned the ruine and deftruction which insued; as will speedily appear in what follows. CHAP.

#### CHAP. XVI.

John de Piedrahita alarms the Camp of the Marshal. Rodrigo de Pineda comes over to the King's Party; and perfuades them to give the Enemy Battel. The debates thereupon. The Marlhal resolves to engage.

**S**O foon as it was night John de Piedrabita with a party of thirty fix Musquetiers divided into three Companies alarm'd the Marshal's Camp in three several quarters; which was not much regarded by them, and onely a few thor returned of thew that they were not afleep: fo foon as the day began to break *Piedrabita* retired without effecting any thing, onely he thereby gave occasion to *Rodrigo de Pineda*, a Citizen of *Cozeo* and Captain of Horse, upon pretence and colour of giving affishence to *Piedrabita*, to make his escape to the Marshal; of which *Palen-*

tino gives this account:

BOOK VII.

So foon, fays he, as Rodrigo de Pineda was come to the Marshal, he affured him. that many, if not the greatest part of Hernandez his Souldiers would have made their escape had it not been for the strick watch which is always kept, and that in the night when he came over, he found the River shallow and easie to be forded: upon this advice, the Marthal prefently called a Council of all the Captains and men of Interest and Estates then abiding in the Camp, and, having repeated to them all that *Pineda* had acquainted him with, he told them plainly, that he was resolved to fight the enemy, delivering his reasons for the same; but still many of the Council opposed this opinion, periffting, that it was not fafe to make an artempt on a Fortification with so much disadvantage: when the Marshal saw that he was opposed by so many principal persons, he desired Pineda to repeat himself before them all what he had before declared, and what was his opinion concerning the state of Hernandez his Camp, and how and in what manner he believed they would act. Then Pineda told them, that the Forces which Hernandez had, might amount unto three hundred and eighty men, of which two hundred and twenty were Musquetiers, but all ill provided, and most of them inclined to desert him. and revolt to the Marihal; and that he might have about a thouland Horses and Beasts of Burthen. And as to what he believed of the state of Hernandez, he was of opinion, that they would march away that night if not prevented, being affrighted, and forced thereunto for want of provisions: That in case they did march away, the pursuit after them, through craggy and mountainous Countries. would be very difficult and ruinous to the Army, as well as destructive to the Kingdom: and that the passage over the River was easie, and the way open to make an affault. Hereupon the Marshal declared positively his resolution that day to engage the enemy; and that he would not fuffer them to escape out of his hands as they had formerly done from the Justices; and prevent them from doing any farther mischief than what they had already committed; and that to follow and purfue after them could not be done without hardship, damage and suffering of the whole Army: but some made answer and replied hereunto, that whill Hernandez remained in that fast ground, it were more secure to let him escape from thence than to attempt him in that Fortification; for that it was probable, that having abandoned that place, his Forces would disband of themselves. without hazarding the life of one Souldier: but the Marshal was not fatisfied with this answer, and faid, that it was not correspondent to his duty, nor sutable to the honour of fo many brave Cavaliers and good Souldiers as were there prefent, to fuffer those Rebels to range and wander up and down robbing and spoiling the Country without controll, and therefore he declared himself resolved in despight of all opposition to give the enemy Battel. Herewith many of the principal Captains who were prefent at this Confultation in the Marshal's Tent, went out from thence much displeased and diffatisfied: and particularly Gomez de Alvarado faid, Come, fince we must die, let us go, for I am sure it will be my fortune to be killed. Thus far are the words of *Palentino*.

When

944

When the Council was rifen, feveral of the Inhabitants of Cozco and of the Charcus, being men of Estates, to the number of about thirty, returned again to the Marshal, amongst which were Lorengo de Aldand, John de Stavedra, Diego Maldonado, Gomez Alvarado, Pero Hernandez, Paniagna, Polo the Lawyer, John Ortis de Carate, Alonso de Longia, John de Salas the Agitant, Martin de Mensses, Garcia de Carate, Alonjo de Lonja, John de ouds the Esquant, Alarim de Menles, Goria de Melo, John de Berrio, Anton Ruye de Guevara, Gonçalo de Soto, Diego de Truvillo all of them Adventurers in the conquest of Peru, who taking the Marshal aside, did earnefly entreat him to retract his determination concerning the Battel; that he would confider of the fituation of the place wherein the enemy was posted, which would confider of the mutation of the place wherein the cherry was ported, which was very firong; and that his own was equal to it, and as advantageoufly feated as theirs: that he fhould observe and remember what Rodrigo de Pineda affured him of the scarcity and want of all Provisions in the Gamp of Hernandez, by reason of which they would be forced to quit their quarters there in the space of three days: that he should expect until the end of that time and see the iffue, after which he might confider farther, and take fuch measures as should then feem most advantageous and convenient: and in the mean time the enemy remained there before geous and convenient: and in the mean time the them, remained there before them, and could not take a flight through the air, but on the land onely; on which they might be intercepted and obstructed in their passage by orders and instructions fent to the Indiant, whenas on the contrary, it could not but prove destructive to attack the Enemy in 60 difficult a station; it was well known that the event of War hath been always doubtfull; and that to play fuch a desperate game was to deliver up their Souldiers to flaughter, and to stand still until they were all killed by the flot of the Enemy; That he should consider the state of his own all killed by the inot of the Enemy; I that he inolid confider the late of his own Forces, which were in a much more happy condition than the Enemy; for they neither wanted Provisions, nor the attendance of *Indians*, nor other necessaries conserve them in the Camp. That the onely game they had now to play was to stand still, and that then a Victory would follow of course, without loss or had rtand itin, and that then a victory would follow of courte, without lols of hazard of his men; and that it was not good to adventure, without fome cogent reafons, the lofs of what they had already gained. The Marfhal, not reflecting, or calling to mind, that on the fame River a Battel of the nature of this was loft (as before related) answered with some choler, that he had well considered all these particulars; but that it corresponded not with his duty, nor was it reasonable or futable to their reputation, to fuffer fuch a company of pitifull Rebels to march away with fuch boldness and infolence, and every night to alarm him in his Camp; which not being able to support any longer, he was resolved to fight them that very day, not doubting but that before Sun-fetting, he should kill and them that very day, not doubting out that before Sun-tetting, he infould kill and cut in pieces three hundred of their men: wherefore he conjured them to talk no more of declining the Battel, but that every one should repair to his charge and command, and acquit himself of his duty, upon penalty of being proceeded against as Traitours and disobedient to the command of their General.

There was now no farther place for Answers and Replies, the Die was cast and the resolution fixed, which caused many of the principal men to depart with a heavy heart, and to discourse amongst themselves, that the Marshal was prodigal of the lives of his Souldiers; for if he looked upon them as his Friends, his Kindred, or Sons, he would not expose them in that manner to be destroyed and flaughtered by the Enemy. But what could be faid more, it was their misfortune and unhappiness to be subjected to the command of a passionate and an inflexible General, who would not be perfuaded to accept of a Victory which was offered to him, but rather yield it to his Enemy at the expence of their lives and fortunes: this and much more was expressed, lamenting their condition, and presaging as it were that ruine which enfued within the space of fix hours afterwards. Thus in despair, the Captains, and most considerate of the Souldiers, prepared themfelves: though there were fome, who taking their measures from the numbers, and looking upon themselves as twelve hundred to four hundred or three hundred and fifty, were to certain of fuccess as if the Enemy had been already in their hands: but these did not consider the difficulties of the way; or that they had a deep and rapid River to pass, nor the turnings and windings, and narrow passages before they could come at the Enemy, whereby their Horse would becone useless; and that nothing but their Fire-arms could serve, of which the Rebels were well provided, and their Souldiers fuch excellent Marks men that they could kill a finall Bird with a fingle Bullet; amongft which there were fome of monerel race, between Spaniards and Indians, and particularly one called Granado of the Countrey

Countrey of Mexico (who had taught the rest) that could shoot either upon Rests, or at Arms length, as they pleased. Moreover, it was certainly believed, that Hernandez. Compounded his Powder with a certain fort of Poison: for the Chirurgeons reported, that the wounds made by the Rebels Gun-shot, though never so slight, were incurable, and which was contrary to the nature of such wounds, which are always more easily cured than those which are made by Lance, or Sword, or Halbert, or such like Weapons: but notwithstanding all these difficulties engage they must, which cost many a man his life, to the defeat and ruine of the whole Army.

#### CHAP. XVII.

The Marshal draws up his Men in order of Battel. Francisco Hernandez does the like in defence of himself. The several Assaults that were made. The death of many principal persons.

IT was prefently after mid-day when the Marshal gave the fignal for the Battel, and having drawn up the Souldiers in their several Companies, he gave orders to Captain Martin de Robles with his Company of Musquetiers, to march to the left, and attack the Enemy on that fide; the Captains Martin de Olmos and John Ramon were commanded with their Forces to march to the right, and to make the on-fet together at the same time, when they heard the Trumpet sound, which was to be the fignal for the Affault: the reft of the Infantry, with all the Horfe were commanded to descend by a very narrow paffage, there being no other way than that to go down unto the River, which, having passed, they were to draw up in a little Plain, and then in a Body to attack the Enemy with all the sury possible. Francisco Hernandez, who from his station observed all this motion of the Enemy, and that they were disposed to assault them in three several places; called to his Souldiers, and faid, Now, Gentlemen, we must either conquer or die, for the Enemy is coming upon us with all their fury: Hereupon a certain Souldier of good experience in the War, whom Hernandez, and his men called Colonel Villatua, perceiving that the General and his Souldiers feemed formewhat cold and desponding; bid them, as Palentino reports, to be of good courage, for that the Marshal could never maintain his Order, nor was it possible for him to pass the River without being overthrown; and that the place where they were posted was so strong as could not be taken by ten thousand men; and that all of them must be cut off and perish in the affault, with which saying of Villatva Hernandez and his men were greatly encouraged, &c. And indeed it proved according to the words of the Colonel: For Hernandez having drawn up fome of his Musquetiers and all his Pikemen in a narrow way, commanded by Piedrahita, and doelo, with orders to fight jointly in a Body or feparately, and to relieve each other, as occasion should require. Another great Body of above an hundred Musquetiers he divided into several parties, of sour and fix together, and lodged them in the close passages, and behind Rocks, Bushes and Thickets which grew by the River fide; where was no place to draw up men into a Body, but every one must fight by himself singly; And thence the Rebels could shoot with a stedone that fight by finner might; And thence the Rebels could mook with a feed-dy hand, refting their Mulquets on Bulhes, or Stumps and Branches of Trees.

Martin de Robics and his Company of Mulquetiers having paffed the River, efteemed themselves so secure of Victory, considering the small number of the Enemy, that they pressed has a stack them, intending to gain the honour of the Victory unto themselves, which they did with so much precipitation, that they would not flay untill all their men were paffed over, but attempted the Enemy with the Van or Front onely, whilft the reft were wading through the River with water to their middles, or to their Breafts, and some, intent on other mat-

Leeeee

ters, fuffered their Flasks of Powder to be wetted with hanging in the water : but others, more wary, carried their Powder and Musquets on their heads. Capbut others, more wary, carried their rowner and manages on their needs. Captain *Piedrabita*, feeing *Martin de Robles* in fuch hafte and diforder coming to attach him, fallied out with great courage, and gave him fuch a volley of floot as killed him feveral men; which drove him and his men back again over the River; num leveral men; which dove that and his hier back again over the MVer; with which Piedrabita returned very gravely to his former poft. By this time the Captains Marin de Olmos and John Ramon were come up near to the Fort of Piedrabita, who feeing how ill it had passed with Marin de Robles, were desirous to repair the difgrace and recover the honour which the other had loft: but the Enemy, being fleshed and encouraged with the late success, received the Assailants with the like Volley as they had done the others; and though the fight continued fome time, yet at length the Victory inclined to Piedrabita, and the contrarv party forced to retreat to the River, many of them being killed and wounded. and many of them repassed it again. Captain Piedrahita, being greatly animated with the success of these two encounters, returned to his former station, to be in a readiness to apply himself to those parts where necessity most required. Now whilft these two misfortunes had befaln the Marshal, caused by the hasty precipiwinit these two instortunes had became the Marinan caused by the harty precipitation of Marin de Robles, who would not attend the fignal of the On-ler, the Orders given him; the Captains and the other parties of Souldiers descended down to the River, and passed it with extraordinary difficulty; for in that part the water was so deep that the Infantry wetted both their Powder and their Musquets, and the Pikemen loft their Pikes in the stream. Now the Musquetiers of Hernandez, who, as we said before, were lodged in Ambushes, covered with Rocks, Thickets and Caves bordering on the Banks, feeing with what difficulty their Enemies were labouring to pafs the stream, they affailed them within the water, and killed many of them in the River before they were able to pass over; for, flooting with their Musquets on Rests, they feldom failed to hit the mark at which they aimed; and so many were killed and wounded both in that Pass and in the Plain where they designed to draw up, that they could not dispose their

Squadrons in the order intended.

The principal persons killed were John de Saavedra, the Serjeant-Major, Villavicencio, Gomez de Alvarado, Captain Hernando, Alvarez de Toledo, Don Ganriel de Guzman, Diego de Ulloa, Francisco de Barrientos a Citizen of Cozco, and Simon Pinto an Enfign. The persons wounded were Martin de Robles, Captain Martin de Alarcon, and Gonçalo Silvestre, of whom we have formerly made mention at large; and who lost a Horse that day killed under him, for which, two days before, Martin de Robles, (to whom the President had given a Revenue of forty thousand pieces of Eight a year) had offered the fum of twelve thousand Ducats, and he refused to accept it, having occasion of a good Horse at that time for this Battel. We have mentioned this passage before in the fixteenth Chapter of the ninth Book of the first Part of these Commentaries; but not having specified their names in that place, it comes opportunely and to the purpose to insert them here, and to declare that Gongalo Silvestre had his Leg broken with the fall of his Horse, but by the help of his Indian, who brought him another, though not fo good as the former, was carried off, and conducted by him to Huamanca, where he ferved him untill the end of the War with as much fidelity and affection as if he had been his own Son. Besides these persons of note before named, fixty common Souldiers of good efteem were killed likewife, who never came to dint of Sword, or push of Pike, but were shot and birded off at a distance.

These were the most remarkable passages which happened in this Battel, for what succeeded afterwards was nothing but consustion and disorder; for the greatest part of the Marshal's Souldiers refused to pass the River, for they had had enough of the first day's Skirmish, having tried the smartness of the Enemy's fire; the sear and dread whereof remained on their spirits untill the total deseat.

A certain Souldier, named *Perales*, revolted over to the Marshal's fide, and defired to have a Gun charged to shoot at *Hernandez*, for he said he knew him well, and had observed the colour of his Clothes: a Gun was accordingly given him, with which he made a shot, and killed *John Alonso de Badajoz*, whom he mistook for *Hernandez*, who had the same coloured Clothes, and was much of the same shape and proportion with him. Howsoever he publickly praised himself for the service he had done; but when the Victory appeared for *Hernandez*, he returned to him again, and told him, that he had been taken prisoner by the Enemy, but

upon the rout they had released him; but this piece of Treachery did not pass unpunished: for some sew days afterwards, when Perales was at Cozco with the Lieutenant General Diego de Alvarado, Hernandez was informed that Perales made his braggs and boasted that he had killed him; whereupon Hernandez wrote to his Lieutenant to hang him, which he accordingly performed, for I my self saw him hanging on the Gallows in that City. But to return again to the Battel, Piechabita observing the sear and consussion which was in the Marshal's Camp, fallied out of his Fort with about fifty men, crying out and singing, Victory, Victory, and firing as they went wheresoever they saw twenty or thirty in a company together; all which yielded themselves with their Arms and Powder, being that which they most needed; and in this manner they made Prisoners of above three hundred men whom they carried with them, and who durst not depart from them or leave them, left they should fall into another Parties hand, who would treat them worse than those of Piedrabita's men to whom they had yielded themselves Prisoners.

#### CHAP. XVIII.

Francisco Hernandez gains the Victory. The Marshal and bis Souldiers are put to slight. The Indians kill many of them on the way.

WHEN the Marshal Alwardo saw that many of his Souldiers declined the Fight, and would not pass the River; he in person led the way, in hopes to animate them to follow his Example: but all his Cries and Calls and Persuasions could avail nothing; for they all fled before Piedrabita, who was now in hot pursuit of them. Wherefore some of the Marshal's Friends told him, that it was in vain to endeavour to stop the slight of his Souldiers, being pursued by the Enemy; for that it was never known that ever any Army rallied again or stopped their course who had once turned their backs to the Enemy, unless some new succour appeared, or some strange accident offered it self for their encouragement.

This being faid, the Marshal shifted for himself and as many as could followed him, and the rest were scattered in divers parts where they thought they could best have resuge: some whereof went to Arequepa, some to the Charcas, others to the new Plantation, and Hummara, and others travelled along the Coast to join with his Majesty's Army under command of the Justices: some sew, not exceeding seven Souldiers, returned to Coaco, of whom we will give some relation hereaster.

On the way, which was far and long, which those who fled from the Enemy were to pass, the Indians killed many of the Spaniards, for they having no offensive Arms with them, were exposed to the mercy of all they met. Amongst those who were thus killed, was the Son of Don Pedro de Alvarado, who was a person of great quality, of whom we have given a relation formerly, and that he brought eight hundred men with him into Peru: this Gentleman was named Don Diego de Alvarado, a Son worthy of such a Father; and his untimely and unfortunate death was much lamented by all those who had any acquaintance with his Father: That which induced the Indians to adventure upon this insolence and cruelty, was a Command given by the Officers of the Marshal's Forces, (I shall mention no man's name particularly) who sansying to themselves an assumance of victory, in considence thereof gave Orders to the Indians to kill all those whom they should meet wandering and slying out of the battel; not expecting that this Command should fall on themselves, but on the Rebels onely whom they intended totally to destroy: but it had a contrary effect, and eighty of them were massacred by the Indians. The number of those killed in the Battel and in the first day's Skirmish was above an hundred and twenty, and (as Palentino saith)

948

At the beginning of the Fight Hernandez gave order to his Serjeant Major An. tonio Carillo to guard a narrow passage with eight or nine Horse, to intercept such as should steal away out of covardite, and sy from the danger. In the heat of all the Battel, Albertos de Ordunna, Standard bearer General to Hernandez came running to them trailing his Colours on the ground, and told them that they must thift for them felves, for that their General was killed, and their Forces defeated: whereupon they all fled and travelled eight or nine leagues that night: but the next day receiving intelligence from the Indians, that the Marshal was routed, and that Hernandez, remained Conquerour, they returned to their Camp with sufficient flame and reproach for their Cowardife; though they pretended to have gone in purfuit of the Marshal's men, of which many were fled by those ways: and to countenance them herein, and not to shame them, Hernandez was pleased to own, that he had given them Orders to purfue those who had taken their flight by those ways. The Victory being thus gained by Francisco Hernandez, his Lieutenant-General was desirous at the end of the Fight to shew himself brave, and a Man of action, though during the Battel, he neither acquitted himself like an Officer, nor as the meanest or lowest of the Souldiers: but now to doe something, when the Souldiers brought a Gentleman of Camora prisoner, named Romero the Commissary, who but four days before had conducted a thousand Indians laden with provifions to the Marshal's Camp, as we have formerly mentioned, of which when the Lieurenant was informed, he sent an Emissay of his (whom he used to employ upon such like Messages, called Alonso Gonzales) with Orders to put him to death, before he was brought into the General's prefence, well knowing that he would grant him his Pardon, in case any intercession was made for him, which the bloudy Hangman accordingly executed. Then they brought another Prifoner before Hernandez, called Pero Hernandez the Loyal, having deserved that Surname of distinction for the service, duty and fidelity to his Majesty, having always been engaged on his fide, but in the War against Gonçalo Picarro, and alfo served in quality of a Captain under John Vazquez Coronado, a Citizen of Mexico, when the feven Cities were discovered, as we have given a relation in our Hiflory of Florida; And now also he was engaged in the Army of the Marshal against Francisco Hernandez; he had also the Title of Loyal, to distinguish him from other feditious and rebellious Subjects of the same name, such as Pero Hernandez, who was concerned in the Conspiracy of Musu with Diego de Rojas, as we have already related. This Pero Hernandez the Loyal, as Patentino faith, was a Taylor, with which Francisco Hernandez reproached him after he had given him his Pardon at the instance and request of Christopher de Funes, calling him pitifull rascally Taylor, that should dare to rise from his Shopboard, to erect a Standard in the name of his Majesty. But this report of him was falle; for I knew him all the time that he was in Pern, for he lodged and dieted in my Father's house; for before he came into the Indies, he had been a domestick Servant in the Illustrious and most Excellent Family of Feria, from which by the bleffing of God my Father is descended by a younger Son. Wherefore in regard this Pero Hernandez had been a Servant to that Family, and a Vassal to those Lords, and a Native of Oliva in the Kingdom of Valencia; my Father was kind to him, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his own Brother: and on the other fide this Pero Hernandez behaved himfelf like an honest worthy person, and kept his two Horses, one of which he called Paxarillo, or Sparrow, for the swiftness of his running; I knew this Horse very well, and I had reason so to doe; for with his Horse after the Wars with Hernandez were ended, a strange accident full of danger befell me, but by the mercifull providence of God, I was preferved from death. This very man, Palentino says, was a Taylor; but it was a mistake of his, and must have been some other man, who was a Taylor, and that set up a Stan-

### BOOK VII. Royal Commentaries.

a Standard in Cozco against Hernandez: and not this Pero; for during all the time of this War, I remained at Cozco, and then in case this Pero Hernandez who lodged in my Father's house had set up any Standard or Colours; it could not have passed without my knowledge; and therefore in this matter I may rather be credited than this Authour. The Youth whom I mentioned in the twenty sisting applying a certain medicinal Herb thereunto I recovered his Sight which was in danger to be lost, was the Son of this honest Souldier, and was born in my Father's Countrey, and is called Martin Loyal, whom his Excellency the Duke of Feria, and the Right Honourable the Marquis of Villanueva de Barca Rota, do employ in their service whensoever they have occasion to buy Horses, or breed them up to the Manage; so he became an Excellent Horseman in dressing the Genet,

which was the Florfe that gained and conquered our Countrey, &c.

When Pero Hernandez the Loyal received the first Intelligence of the Rebellion of Harnandez Giron, he was then in the Antis, trading for the Herb called Cuci, which, with an Herb called Tunu, vields a great Revenue to his Majesty: And then leaving his employment, like a loyal Subject to his King, he went to the Marshal's Camp, where he remained untill he was taken Prisoner at the Battel of Chuquynea, and presented to Francisco Hernandez for a Person of Quality, and one eminent for the many Services he had formerly acted in fervice of his Imperial Majesty, for which reason Hernandez gave present order to have him executed; and accordingly the Hangman ordering him to kneel down, that he might put the Halter more conveniently about his Neck; and it happening at the fame time, that a certain Souldier asking the Executioner some questions, which whilst he turned about his Head to answer, and was in discourse with the Souldier, up rose this Pero, and ran with such swiftness, that a Horse could not have overtaken him; and directly coming to the presence of Hernandez, he cast himself at his Feet, and embracing both his Legs, he most earnestly prayed and begged his mercy: this Petition of his was seconded by all then present, and particularly Christopher de Funes, a Citizen of Huamanca, interceded for him, saying, that the poor Wretch had already tafted of death by the apprehensions he had conceived of it when the Halter was about his Neck; Francisco Hernandez, at the importunity of so many friends, rather than his own inclinations, gave him his Pardon. This particular passed in the manner before related; for afterwards in the time of peace, I have heard the Story repeated in my Father's honse, both in the presence and in the absence of this Pero Hernandez the Loyal; whose escape out of the hands of the Rebels unto his Majesty's Camp we shall relate in its due place.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIX.

The great Trouble and Disturbance which the News of the loss of the Marlhal caused in his Majest's Camp. The means which the Justices took to repair this Loss. The Disputes and Disserences amongst the Officers, whether the Army ought to march, or not to march against the Rebels. One of the Captains of the Rebels revolts to the King's Forces.

THE same rumour which at the Battel of Chaquinca affrighted Antonio de Carrillo, Serieant Maior to Francisco Hernandez and Albertos de Ordunna, and caufed them to fly upon a groundless report that Hernandez was slain; and which afterwards was contradicted, and the truth divulged of the Victory he had gained: the same rumour being spread amongst the Indians was related to the Spaniards who lived in the Countries thereabouts; who taking the News upon Hear fay, wrote it to the Juffices, with demands of a reward for their good tydings; but it was not long before winged fame brought the true relation of the fatal over-throw of the Marshal and his Forces, which raised great consternation and trouble in his Majesty's Army; and came to that height, that, as Palentino saith, Chap. 46. a Council was held amongst the three Justices, without any reason or cause for it, either to put the Justice Santillan to death, or to fend him Prisoner into Spain, upon pretence that this Santillan had caused the loss of the Battel; but Doctour Saravia differing from the rest in his opinion, nothing was determined against him. And indeed we are not to think it strange, that men should imagine some soul play in this matter; for this Victory of Hernandez was fo contrary to the expectation of all men who had any knowledge in the Affairs of Peru, that no man would believe but that the Marshal was betrayed, and sold by his own people, and confequently they pitched upon the persons whom they suspected and imagined to be the Contrivers of it: And herein they so considertly stood, and believed, that if an Angel from Heaven had come and revealed the truth, they would not have been persuaded into another belief; untill they saw many of those whom they suffice ted of this Treachery, and who were fled from the Battel, to come to his Majefty's Camp for refuge, showing the Wounds they received, and the Marks of their ill treatment; and then they were convinced of the Errour they had receiof their in treatment; and then they were convinced of the Enfort they had received, and begun to entertain a good opinion of their faithfulnefs and loyalty: foon as the people were recovered from their amazement, the Justices ordered Antonio de Quinnones, a Citizen of Corco, with a party of fixty Musquetiers, to march to the City of Huamanca for the defence thereof, and to receive such as were and this hard on the Party for the Par were fled thither from the Battel, and to hinder the Enemy from taking any refreshments or succours from thence, of which they might stand in need; and so it happened accordingly; for Hernandez sent Captain Cobo to the City for Provifions and Medicines to cure his wounded men; but Cobo having intelligence that Antonio Quinnones was coming thither, he retired from Huamanca without doing what he defigned.

At this time two Letters were brought to the Justices from divers parts almost at the same instant, one was from the Marshal de Alvarado, complaining of his ill fortune and the refractariness of the People who would not obey his Orders, nor follow his Directions: the other was from Lorenço de Aldana, which in very few words gave an account of the ill fuccess of the Battel, faying that it was done against the sense and opinion of all the principal Officers of the Army: as Palen-

tino writes, Chap. 47. in these words: Upon Monday last I wrote to your Lordship, fignifying what I then suspected and seared; for I had no sooner concluded my Letter, than Lucifer entered into the Marshal and moved him to resolve instantly to assault Hernandes in the Post where he had fortified himself against the sense and opinion of all his Officers, and particularly narticularly against mine: the which was performed with that disadvantage to us. particularly against time. The Arrier as period with the distribution of the Covert of his Fortification, many of our principal men and persons of Quafire are killed; the precise number I cannot tell, because the Marshal retired before Hernandez fallied out of his Fortification: they fay the Marshal is wounded. but I am fure it was neither with fighting nor giving encouragement to his Souldiers, &c. Thus far Palentino.

Royal Commentaries.

The News of the lofs which the Marthal fuftained being now confirmed by all hands; the Justices commanded that the Army should march, and follow Hermandes; and refolved, that the Court of Justice should accompany the Army, to give greater authority and reputation, as *Palentino* faith, to their Caufe and Proceedings and to take off the murmurings of the Souldiery, who perhaps might complain of the hardthips they underwent, whilft the Justices were folacing and enpain of the natural and materials and them them the property of the paint of the pa had no power or authority without the Precincts of that Jurisdiction; nor ought they to remove from thence without express command from his Majefty. But Doctour Suravia earnefly infilting that the Court was in this emergency obliged to move with the Army; Allamirano positively declared, that he was resolved

not to thir, for that the King had not given him a Commission to fight, but to sit not to fift, for that the King mat he would full be brought before him. To which Doctour Saravia replyed, that he would fulpend him of his Office in cafe he followed not the Army, and that he would fend Orders to the Officers of the King's Treafury to ftop the payment of his Salary; and accordingly the fame was notified, though afterwards it was made good by a particular Warrant

from his Majesty. Thus far Palentino.

BOOK VII.

After long Disputes of this kind, it was at length determined, that the three Justices, viz. Doctour Suravia, Judge Samillan, and Mercado, should attend the Royal Army; and that Altamirano, who had professed himself ignorant and unskilfull of Arms, and would wage no other War than civil Pleadings at the Bar. skinding of Patriss, and would rage no other visit than the Cath is and that should remain in the City of Los Reges in quality of Lord Chief Justice; and that mound remain in the City of Lor Reyer in quanty of Lord Chief Juffees, and that Diego de Mora, a Citizen of Truxillo, (who, as we have faid, brought a good company of Musquetiers to the Army,) was appointed Governour of the City, and his Company given to another Captain called Pedro de Carate. Things being ordered and disposed in this manner, and a fufficient Guard being appointed for the Sea-coaft, the Royal Army marched to *Huomanca*, on the way whereunto, a Souldier of great reputation, named John Chacon, came to them, having been formerly taken by the Rebels in the Rout at Villacori; but having the credit and esteem of a good Officer, Hernandez was very delirous to oblige him to be his friend. and for that reason had given him the command of a Company of Musquetiers: but John Chacon, being a person of Loyal Principles to his Majesty, secretly plotted with other friends to kill the Tyrant; but as at that time there was no faith or honefty amongst that fort of People; but that they fold and betrayed one the other, as they could best make their Market; so they discovered to Hernandez the Plot intended against him, of which John Chacon having intimation, he escaped before they could feize him, and ran away in the fight of Hernandez and all his Souldiers: howfoever in the way his Life was in great hazard; for (as we have faid before) the Indians having received Commands to kill all those who fled from the Battel, they had certainly also killed Chacon, had it not been for a Carbine he carried with him, which he often presented at the Indians, and thereby saved his Life: howfoever he came wounded to the Royal Camp, where he gave a large account of the State of Hernandez and his Forces, and of what they intended and designed to act; which information the Justices made use of for their better government, and with much fatisfaction they marched to Huamanca; where we will leave them to relate what Francisco Hernandez was doing at the same time.

CHAP.

952

#### CHAP. XX.

What Francisco Hernandez acted after the Battel. He fends Officers to several parts of the Kingdom to plunder the Cities. The quantity of Silver which they robbed from two Citizens at Cozco.

Feer the Battel Francisco Hernandez remained forty days within his Fortifi-cation, both to please himself with the thoughts of Victory, and to cure those of the King's Party who had received wounds in the Fight, whom he careffed and treated as kindly as was possible, to oblige them to remain his Friends, of which many followed him untill the day of his overthrow: during which time he dispatched his Lieutenant-General Alvarado to Cozco in pursuit of those who had escaped out of the Battel: and likewise ordered his Serjeant-Major Amonio Carrillo, to go to the City of Peace, to Cucuito, Potocsi and the City of Plate, and to travel over all the Provinces to gather what Men, Arms and Horses he could find. that by fuch an employment he might divert and recover himself from the melancholy he had conceived for his late thamefull flight out of the Battel of Chiquinca: and particularly he charged him to get what Gold and Silver he could find, and also the Wine which was hidden; for a certain Souldier, lately of the Marshal's Army. named Francisco Bolonna, told him, that he knew where a great quantity was concealed: to bring which, Antonio Carrillo, with a party of twenty Souldiers, taking Francifco Bolonna together with them, was ordered abroad; of which twenty Souldiers two onely were belonging to Hernandez, and the rest had been the Marshal's men: for which reason it was generally suspected, and secretly whispered, that Hernandez had fent his Serjeant-Major with these men to confound and destroy them, and not to the end declared; which accordingly happened, as we shall see hereaster. Likewife folm de Piedrabita was fent to the City of Arequepa, to provide what Men. Horfes and Arms he could find: and upon this occasion he gave him the Title of his Major-General of the Army of Liberty; for so Hernandez styled his Forces, calling them Reftorers of the People's Liberty: And then to Alvarado he named him his Lord Lieutenant, that with these swelling Titles these two great Officers might be encouraged with more pride and vain glory to act the part they had undertaken.

According to Orders Alvarado went to Cozco in pursuit of those who had fled from the Battel at Chaquinea; and the day before he entred into the City seven Souldiers of those formerly belonging to the Marshal came thither (the chief of which was called folm de Cardona) and brought the fad news of the Marthal's defeat, to the great grief and amazement of the whole City, who could not believe it possible for such a ruinous fellow as Hernandez to gain such a Victory: and being now affrighted with the cruelty of this Tyrant, they resolved all to fly, and abandon the City rather than to fall into his merciles hands. Francisco Rodriguez de Villasuerte, who was then High Constable, gathered what people of the City he could together, which, with the feven Souldiers that were fled, could fcarce make up the number of forty men, and with these he marched by the way of Collao: some of thefe took up their lodging for the first night about a league and a half from the City of which the High Constable was one, but others proceeded three or four leagues farther, by which means they preferved themselves: for this honest John de Cardona feeing the Conftable take up his Quarters fo near the Town, he stole privately away from them, and came to Coeco about midnight, where he gave information to Alvarado where Villasuerte and about twenty others with him remained about a league and a half from the Town: whereupon he commanded Alonfo Gonçalez the Hangman General with a party of twenty men immediately to march forth and take Villafuerte and his Companions; which was performed with that diligence, that the next morning before eight a Clock Villafuerte and his Companions were all brought back to Cozco, and delivered into the hands of the Lord Lieutenant Alvarado; who intended to have put Villafuerte and several of those with him to death; but in regard no crime could be laid to their charge, the

intercession of the Friends and Relations of Hernandez Giron in their behalf. prevailed for them, and obtained their Pardon. Amongst the many Evils and Impleties which this Alvarado committed by order and direction of his General in this City of Cozco; it was none of the leaft, that in a Sacrilegious manner he robbed the Cathedral Church, and the Monasteries of the Bells belonging to rhem. For from the Convent of our Lady of the Merceds, they took one of their two Bells, from the Dominicans they did the like; but from the Convent of St. Francis they took none, because they had but one, which at the earnest intreaty of the Friers, they were perswaded to leave. From the Cathedral, out of five Bells they took only two, and would have taken them all, had not the Bilhop with his Clergy appeared in their defence, and thundered out his Curses and Excommunications against them; for the Bells of the Cathedral were very great, and had been bleffed and confecrated by the Hands of the Bishop with Chrism and holy Oyl. Of these sour Bells they sounded six pieces of Cannon, one of which burst upon the tryal; and upon the biggest of their Guns they imprest the word LIBERTIE, which was the plansible name they gave for a pretence of their Rebellion.

These Guns which were made of hallowed and fanctified Metal, did never do any fervice, nor was any Man killed thereby, as we shall see hereafter. Besides this piece of Sacriledge, this Lord Lieutenant committed several Robberies and Spoils upon the Estates of those who were fled, and of those who were killed at the Battel of Chuquinca, and had the reputation of being rich, because they were better Husbands, and not so prodigal as others who lived in that City; and who, as it was believed, had many Bars of Silver in their possession: Alvarado by his Industry, and by threats and menaces affrighted the Indians into a discovery of two Pits which Alonso de Mefa had made in the Garden of his House; from each of which they drew out fixty Bars of Silver, every Bar being of the value of Three hundred Ducats. I my felf had the fortune to fee them taken out, for the House of Alonfo de Mefa being in the middle of the Street where my Father's House is, I went thither at the shout they made upon the discovery of so great a prize. Some few days after they took away from the Indians, belonging to John de Saavedra, an hundred and fifty Sheep of that Countrey, laden with three hundred Bars of Silver, all of the same size and value with the others. And now it was believed, that the reason why this John de Saavedra would not fly out of the City the night on which Hernandez began his Rebellion, as my Father and others would have perswaded him, was to conceal and secure his great quantity of Silver, which was the cause he lost both that and his Life with it. These two parcels of Silver, according to the usual valuation, amounted unto a hundred twenty fix thousand Castilian Ducats, of three hundred seventy five Maravedis to each Ducat. And though Palemino faith, That Diego Ortiz de Guzman had fome share in the loss thereof; for my part, I must say, That I knew nothing of it, nor did I ever hear, that any other was concerned besides the two before mentioned.

Royal Commentaries.

#### CHAP. XXI.

Of the Robbery committed by Antonio Carrillo, and of the manner of his Death. The successes of Picdrahita at Arequepa; the Victory which was obtained by means of the differences which arose there.

Nor had the Sargeant Major Carrillo been less notorious for his Robberies (had his Life continued) than were those before named; for he sacked and plundered the new Plantation, and the other Cities of the District of Collasingu; and in a very sew days he plundered the Caciques of that Jurisdiction

F f f f f f

of the Tribute which they owed to their Mafters, and of other things, which amounted to an incredible fum, as Palentino Chap, 49. declares, in these

words. Antonio Carrillo took the Collectors of the Monies belonging to Men who had Estates in that Country, with all the Caciques, and kept them Prifeners, threatning them with Punishment and Death, unless they delivered up the Moneys and Tributes belonging to their Masters; from whom, and from many Pits where Silver was buried in the Monastery of St. Francis, and other parts within the City and without, they robbed in the space of five days above the value of five hundred thousand pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver, besides

Wine and other things, &c. Thus far this Author.

All which was effected by the Directions and Contrivance of Francisco Bolonam, who was well acquainted with all the fecret concealments of those thines: and this Plunder and Robbery had proceeded farther, had not the discoverer thereof, by the checks of his own Confcience, and by the perswasion of John Bazquez Governour of Chucuitu, been instrumental to restore all the Plunder back again to the true Proprietors: for he and other Comrades of his killed poor Antonio Carrillo with their Swords and Daggers in his own Chamber, and reduced the City to the service of his Majesty, as formerly it had been: And in this manner the unfortunate Carrillo ended his days. But the Major General John Pjedrahita succeeded better in Arequepa than the Sargeant Major Carrillo had done, by reason of the dispute and difference between the Governour of Arequep., and Captain Gomez de Solis, whom the Justices had fent thither with Commillion to Command in Chief all the Forces which were raifed there against Hernandez: At which the Governour took great offence, esteeming himself a better Souldier, and more experienced in the War than Gomez de Solis. As Dicoo Hernandez relates, Chap. 51. in these words,

When Gomez de Solis was departed from his Majesties Camp with his own Commission, and another for his Ensign Vicencio de Monte, the news of his coming was brought to the City before his arrival, which caused many to prepare themselves to go forth and meet him; but the Governour Gonçalo de Torre. highly resenting to have another set over him, declared, That the Justices had no power in his Jurisdiction; and consequently, that Gomez de Solis was not authorized by fufficient warrant; nor was any person capable of such Command whilft he was Governour in that City; and thus publickly professing his dislike of this matter, would not confent that any person should go forth to meet, and

receive him, Oc. Thus far Diego de Hernandez.

Whilft these matters were in debate, news was brought, That John de Piedrabita was marching thither with a hundred and fifty Men, of which a hundred were the most expert Musquetiers of any amongst all the Forces of Hernandez; with affrightment of which, all the Inhabitants ran into the Great Church, carrying their Wives and Children, and Housholdstuff along with them, and fenced it about with a high Wall, to hinder the entrance of the Enemy thercinto: and at the corner of every Street they placed those few Musouctiers which they had in the Town, to fire on the Enemy from the Windows and Loop holes, without being feen by them. But in a Country where Civilwars are, there are always Factions, and Parties, and false Brethren, by whose means Piedrahita received information of the Ambush which was laid for him; wherefore altering his course, he entered by another Street, by way of the Bifhop's House, where he met with a finall reliftance, but nothing considerable. In the mean time came a Dominican Frier fent from Piedrahita, who affired them, That Piedrahita would not break with them, but defired to maintain a Friendship, and good Correspondence with them, leaving the Souldiers of one fide and the other free, and at their own choice, either to serve the King, or to joyn with Hernandez, as they were guided by their Inclinations, only the furplufage of the Arms, of which they had no ule, he defired might be furrendred up into his Hands. Gomez de Solis would not accept of these Conditions, it feeming an infamous action for him to refign Arms to an Enemy, though fuch as were superfluous; howfoever the next day he condescended to the Articles, and even begged for them, because that night they had burnt some Houses of his, (though his Estate was chiefly in the Charcas) with other princi-Bal Houses of that City. And though they made a Truce for three days, yet

the Rebels broke it fo foon as they heard that many of Gomez de Solis his Men were fled, and the reft refuled to fight, upon which they were fo encouraged. that they attempted the Wall and Barracadoe which was made. When Gomez de Solis, and other Men of Estates, who were with him, perceived that their Men would not fight, they fled, and made their escape in the best manner they could, leaving Piedrabita in possession of all the Riches and Wealth they had gathered, with which the Enemy returned fully laden and fuccefsful to their Captain General Francisco Hernandez: And though in the return, above twenty of those Souldiers formerly belonging to the Marshal, which Piedrahita carried with him, fled away and left him, yet he confidered them as nothing, being forced Men, nor valuable in respect of that immense booty and spoils which

they had taken, in Gold, Silver, Jewels, Arms, and Horses.

BOOK VII.

Hernandez, (whom we left in the Fortress, where he fought the Battel of Chaquinga) having remained there a Moneth and a half, for the fake of the wounded Men; marched afterwards in the best manner he could to the Valley of Antahuailla, being highly incenfed against the Indians of the Charcas for daring to fight against him at the Battel of Chaquinca, where they killed several of his Souldiers with Stones and Slings; wherefore being come into those Provinces, he gave orders to his Souldiers, as well Negers as White-men, to plunder the People, and burn their Houses, and to do them all the ruine and mischief they were able. From Antahuailla Hernandez sent for his Wife, and for the Wife of Thomas Vazquez, for whom the Souldiers made a Solemn Reception, and were so foolish and impudent as to stile Hernandez his Wife Queen of Peru. Having remained a few days in the Province of Antahuailla. and there vented their Anger and Spleen against the Indians, they marched towards Cozco, and having intelligence that the Kings Forces were coming after them, they passed the two Rivers of Amancay and Apurimac; which Hernandez furveying, and observing the many difficult passages which were there, and places so naturally strong, as might easily be defended against any Army which should affault him therein; he would often fay, That in case he had not fent away his Major General Piedrahita with his choice Men, he would have flav'd and given the Justices Battel in some of those strong and difficult passes: Whilest Hernandez marched in this manner, fix Souldiers of note, which formerly belonged to the Marshal, adventured to run away in fight of the whole Army, with their Horses, Arms, and other Conveniences. Nor would Hernandez fuffer them to be purfued; for fince they were no more than fix in all. he was contented to let them go, rather than to adventure others to fetch them back, left they also should follow their example. Those six Souldiers being come to his Maiesties Camp informed them. How that Hernandez was marching to Cozco, with intention to proceed to the Collao. Upon which intelligence the Justices gave order to the Army to march with all expedition, and yet with fuch due caution and circumfpection as was requifite, though by reafon of the many animolities and differences which arose amongst the principal Officers, the progress of matters was much obstructed, and his Majesties Service prejudiced and delay'd.

#### C H A P. XXII.

Francisco Hernandez dares not to adventure into Cozco; be carries his Wife with him from thence.

Rancifeo Hernandez paffed all his Army over the River Apurimae by way of the Bridge, to guard which, he left one Valderravano with a Party of twenty Souldiers; but not confiding in the Honesty or Conduct of the Man, he fent two days afterwards John Gavilan to take that Charge, and ordered Valderravano to follow him to his Head-quarters. John Gavilan having the Guard Ffffff 2

of the Bridge committed to him, he had scarce been there two days, before the Van of his Majestics Army appeared; upon fight of which, not staying env longer, or observing who they were, or in what number, he set fire to the Bridge, and burnt it, and afterwards returned to his Captain General with all expedition; which Action, as Palentino faith, to much displeased Hernandez, that he gave Gavilan very severe words for having so done: Though Lannot imagine, what reason he should have for it; for since he had no intention, as may be believed, to return again by that way, I know not what dammage his Party could receive thereby; and it is very evident on the contrary, that the enemy was damnified and forced to great trouble, and difficulties in their passage over. Hernandez marched by the Valley of Tucay, to enjoy (the) but for 2 days) the pleasures of that delightful Country; and being come with his Army within a League of Cozco, he turned off by the left hand; being perfwaded by the Aftrologers, Diviners, or Prognosticators, not to go thither: faying, that his untrance there, would be unfortunate, and prove his overthrowto evidence which, they produced many Examples, as well of Indian Captains. as of Spaniards, who had been defeated after their entrance into Gozco; but they did not specific those who had been successful, of which we could give many particulars, in case it were pertinent to our purpose. In confirmation hereof, Diego Hernandez, (chapters 32 and 45 Juames 4 Spaniards, and a Morifcan Woman, who were elterned skilful in the Art of Necromancy, and who gave out, that they held a correspondence with a familiar Spirit, which discovered to them all the fecret counfels, and actions which were resolved, and which passed in his Majesties Camp; which report served to keep many people so in awe, that they durst neither adventure to fly, nor act any thing to the prejudice of the Rebels, lest the Devil should make a discovery of their intentions. 1 my felf faw a Letter which Hernandez wrote to Piedralita at Cozco, when orders were fent him to go to Arequepa, as we faid before: And in that he tells him, that he should not remove out of the City on such a day of the Week, but on fuch a day; and that his name of Juan was not to be written henceforward with an U. but with an O. of which nature were many other things in the Letter, which I cannot fo particularly remember, as to deliver them in Writing, only I can fay, that he was generally esteemed for a Cheat, and an Impofter: And by this fort of Conjuring and Tricks, (as is usual) he haftned his own ruine and destruction, as we shall see by the sequel.

The Well-wifters of Hernandez, who were acquainted with the Correspondencies and Compacts which he had with Wizzards; made it a question amongst themselves, why he made no use of the Indians of the Country who were famous for Conjurations, and Diabolical Arts: To which answer was made, that their General had no Opinion of the Magick and Witchcraft of the Indians, which were fooleries, rather than any real contract, or dealing with the Devil. And herein they had some reason, as we have proved and evinced by several instances, in the first part of these Commentaries, Book the 4. Chap. 16. One of which, was their Prognostication of good or bad Fortune, by the palpitation or twinkling of the Eye; and another fort of Divination they took from the buzzing, or finging of the Ears, which, as we mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, fo we shall hear repeat it again; having the Authority of a Synod held in that Empire, whereby this vain Superstition is condemned by a Catholick Cannon; and Advertisements are given to Confessors, to let them know, that the Indians take their Superstitious Divinations from seeing and hearing: That of the hearing, I have observed many of them to use in this manner, when they found at any time a humming or buzzing in their right Ear; they faid, that some Friend or Kinsman was speaking well of them; and to know who this Friend was, they would clap the Palm of their right hand to their Mouth, and breathing hard upon it, they would think of some Friend, and then carry it close to the Ear; and if the humming did not prefently ccase, they would think of another Friend, and do as before; and then of another; and he, with thoughts of whom the humming went away, it was concluded, that he was the person who spake well of the Party.

onclined, that he was the period with part of the period with like manner, when they found a humming in their left Ear, they would fay, that an Enemy spake ill of them; and to find out who it was, they used the like application of their left hand, and he, with whom in their thoughts

the humming cealed, they concluded, fuch perion to be the cvil speaker, and from that time, they would conceive malice against him, and for ever process his Enemy. And upon such fooleries as these, the Friends of Hamas had no Art in Necromancy, nor was any Faith to be given to their Prognostications.

The Rebel Hernandez overtook his Army in a plain, which is behind the Fortress of Cozco, where, as Palentino faith, he made a vilit to Francisco Rodriquez de Villa fuerre, who was luftice in ordinary of that City; complaining highly of the Citizens of Cozco, and swearing that he would kill and delircy them, because they had done him all the mischief that they were able : but he had a mind to quarrel with them because they espoused not his Cause, nor followed him as he defired. From thence he marched his Army over those Hills which are Eastward from the City, as his Astrologers had directed, and carried his Wife with him to the great grief of all her Friends and Relations, faving. That he would not leave her in the power of his Enemy, to revenue themselves on her for the Crimes of which he himself was only guilty; and so he proceeded to the Valley of Orcor, about five Leagues from the City: And here I will leave him for a while, to speak of the Present which the Son of this Francisco Rodriquez de Villa fuerte made me in Spain, though I had formerly never feen him, nor had any other acquaintance with him than by interconfe of Letters. The fecond Son, I fay, of this Gentleman, was fent into Spain to fludy, and lived in Salamanca feveral years, where he improved greatly in all Sciences : he was called Don Feliciano Rodriguez de Villa fuerte, which name agreed properly with the Gallantry and Ingenuity of his Spirit. At the beginning of this Year 1611, this Gentleman did me the favour to fend me a little Box about the length and breadth of half a Sheet of Paper, all filled with Holv Reliques, wrapt up in feveral parcels with Infcriptions thereon, what, and of whom they were; and amongst the rest, there was a little piece of the Holy Cross, put into a Frame of Wood curiously Carved, and covered with a Glass, and gilded about the Cross, which was casic to be seen. With this Box of Reliques he fent me two Dials made by his own Hand, one of the Sun, with a Needle turning to the North, the Shadow on which perfectly shews the Hour of the Day. Another Dial was of the Moon curiously wrought according to the exact Rules of Astrology, with all the Circular Motions divided into twenty nine parts, which make up the Days of the Lunary Moneth : It hath also the true Figure of the Moon with its Increase and Decrease, its Conjunction and Full: It also by the shadow cast on it (the Gnomen thereof being altered according to the age of the Moon) shews the Hour of the Night; it hath also many other Curiosities which I shall omit in this place, all which was made by his own Hand, without any other aid or directions whatfoever, both as to the Material Part, as also to the Mathematical, to the great admiration of many curious Men, as well Virtuoli as others: And for my part, I cannot but glory and boast very much to see a Man born in my Country and my City, to have been the Master of so excellent a piece of Ingenuity and Learning, so much admired by the Artists of this part of the World; the which may serve for a demonstration of the Natural Genius of the People of Peru, and their capacity to receive all Arts and Sciences, as well those, who are of Mongrel Race between Spaniards and Indians, as all others born there, the which we touched upon before, and fignified how much some have been improved therein by the Industry and Authority of our Schoolmaster John de Cuellar, who was a Canon of the Holy Church of Cozco, who taught Grammar in that City, though but for a short time. Praised be our Lord God for the fame. Amen. Which having faid, we shall return to Peru, to relate the succels of his Majesties Army in their March, having left them formerly in the City of Huamarca.

#### XXIII. CHAP.

The Royal Army passes the Rivers of Amancay, and Apurimac, with more facility and ease than was expected. The Scouts and Van of the Army come to Cozco.

When the Kings Army marched out of Huamanca in purfuit of Francisco Hernandez, of whom they had received intelligence, that he had taken the way towards Cozco; they proceeded with all care and due circumfpection. having their Scouts and Spies before them: When they came to the River Amancay, they forded it over where it was most shallow; but for their Footmen. who were laden, and fuch as carried the Artillery, they made a Bridge at a place (with much ease) where the River is very narrow: At this place an unlucky accident fell out, which was this, Captain Antonio Luxan having passed the River, stooped down on the side of the Bank to drink, and taking up the Water with his Hands, as he was rifing up, both his Feet flid from under him on the Rock whereon he stood, and so he fell backwards into the Water, and funk down, and never appeared more, though all possible care and dili-gence was used to recover him; only about two years afterwards the Indians brought his Coat of Mail unto Cozco, at the time when my Father was Chief Justice of the City. The Command of his Foot Company was afterwards conferred on John Ramon, though he had lately lost his former Company in

Chuquinca.

The Army being come to the River of Apurimac received the news of this unhappy accident; and also was informed, That one of the Scouts named Francifco Menacho with about forty more of his Companions had passed the River, and that he like a brave and resolute Souldier had shewed and led them the way which never any had attempted before; and that he had boldly cast himself in at the place which is now called the Ford, and that he had passed and repassed it several times whilest the Camp was marching thither, the which rash and precipitate action in him gave boldness to the whole Army to follow his Example, and to pass over without loss of time, which would have caused great delay, had they attended there until a Bridge could have been erected: And for the better security of their Footmen with their Burdens, and for the Indians, who carried the Artillery; the Horse were ordered to slank them on the lide to break the force of the Currant, by which means all the Footmen and Indians who were laden, came fafely to the other fide without any loss or danger; as Palentino confirms, Chap. 50. And herein the Providence of God is much to be admired, for though an Army passed then without danger, yet fince that time no fingle person hath adventured upon it, nor durst any Man attempt to wade or ford it over. And now being got to the other side, they entered on a Mountainous and Rocky Way, full of labour and difficulty, and the second Day afterwards they came to Arimacrampu, seven Leagues distant from the City: And from thence they proceeded farther the very Night they came thither, though the Officers were much disquieted and troubled to see the Orders given by one Party, to be again prefently Countermanded by others of a different Faction; which was the cause that the Scouts and Van of the Kings Army, and of Hernandez his Forces, marched always in view each of the other; for the Rebels seemed not to fly, but to proceed on their way in an orderly manner, as if they apprehended no danger from their Enemy in the Rear: Thus at length they came to Sacfahuana four Leagues from the City, from whence those who were Citizens of Cozco, were delirous to be ordered abroad upon the Scout, with which occasion they made a visit to their Wives and Children at home, where they came about Noon, and the same Day in the Morning Alvarado the Lieutenant General of the Rebels had departed thence. That Night the Citizens would not lie in their own Houses, left the Enemy should fhould return, and furprize them, but they contrived to lodge altogether with fome few Souldiers, which they had brought with them, and fortified themselves in the House of John P.mcoroo, to which there was no entrance, or access, by any back pallage, but only by the Fore-gate of the principal Street: and at the distance of seven or eight paces from the Gate, they raised up a Breast-work, with Loop-holes to shoot out at with their Musquets, by which they could fire into three Streets, one on the right hand, and the other two on the fide, where they remained all night in fecurity, having placed their Centinels in all Avenues leading towards the House: I was with them all the night. and

Royal Commentaries

Воок VII.

was fent three or four times with Mellages to the Neighbours Houses.

The next day, being in my Father's Court-yard, about 3 a clock in the Afternoon, I faw Pero Hernandez the Loyal, come galloping in at our Gate, on his Horse Pawarillo; at which I was so over joyed, that, without speaking to him, I ran in to my Father to carry him the good news; on notice of which, my Father instantly ran to meet him, and they both embraced with great kindness: And Pero told him, that the day before the Rebels marching, something more than a League from the City; he took an occasion, on pretence of some necessities of Nature, to go aside from them, and taking towards the left hand of the way amongst some high Rocks, he hid himself there for a while, and then climbed up the Mountain, whence feeing the Rebels at a distance, he made his escape, and was come thither. After which he went with my Father to the King's Army, and there served until the end of the War, and then returned back again with my Lord Gargilasso into Cozco. Of all which I was an Eye Witness, and as such have given this faithful Relation.

## CHAP. XXIV.

His Majesties Camp enters into Cozco, and from thence marches forwards: An account is given how the Indians carried the Train of Artillery on their Shoulders. Part of the Amunition arrives at the Royal Army.

THE third day after the Citizens had made a vifit to their Relations and Concernments in the City, the Royal Camp made their Entry with the Troops and Companies in good order. The Infantry drew up in the Chief Place or Square, and the Horse skirmished with the Foot, according to the Rules of Military Discipline, and both charged each other with handsome Vollies, and quick Fire; for the Souldiers were become very ready and expert at their Arms. And though Palentino faith, that Don Phelipe de Mendoça, who was General of the Ordnance, brought his great Guns into the Parade, and fired them feveral times, and that the Musquetiers, marching the Round, made several handsome Vollies; but herein this Writer was much mistaken, as he hath been in many other Passages; for the Artillery could not be easily fixed, and put in order, so as to be used at every turn, and unnecessary occasion; for they were not drawn on their Carriages, but carried on the Indians Shoulders, and that with fo much difficulty, that to manage eleven pieces of Cannon only with their Carriages, was the work of ten thousand Indians : I my self faw them brought into Cozco, and was then in the place when they were again carried out; and the manner how they mannaged them was this.

Every piece of Ordnance was faltned to a large Beam of about forty foot in length; under this were fixed feveral cross Bars, about the bigness of a Mans Arm, at two foot afunder, and of about half a yard long on each fide the Beam; under which two Indians were placed, one on one fide, and one on the other, after the manner that the Palanquines are carried in Spain. The burthen they carried was laid on their Shoulders close to their Necks, where they

wore a Pad or Pannel to keep them from galling with the weight, and at every 200 paces they were relieved by a fresh Company. And here we may leave the Reader to consider, with how much trouble and labour these poor Indians carried these weighty Burdens over those Rocky and Mountainous ways which are in my Country; and over afcents, and defcents of three and four Leagues long, and so steep, that many Spaniards, whom I have seen travelling, have for ease of their Horses and Mules, alighted off from their backs, especially at a descent, which are many times so steep that a man cannot fit in his Saddle, but it will be on the horse-neck, notwithstanding the Crupper, which often breaks; and fuch kind of way as this we have from Quien to Cozco, which are 100 Leagues distant; but from Cozco to the Chareas the way is more pleafant, being for the most part a plain Gountrey. And hereby we may understand. that, what Palentino faith concerning the Artillery which Felipe de Mendoca brought into the Parade, and fired feveral times, was rather to speak fine things, as in a Romance, and to embellish his History, than that any such thing was really acted, or put into practice; as we have faid before.

His Majesties Army marched out, and encamped about a League from the City, where they continued about five days to put all things in a readinefs. and make Provisions of every thing they stood in need; and until the Indians of the neighbouring Places could bring in the Victuals and Stores they had gathered; there was need of Horse-Shoes and other Iron-works; and before the one could be forged, and the other got together, time was required: And this cettainly was the reason that detained the Army so many days; and not what our Author alledges, Chapter the soth, in these words, The Camp, faith he, remained in the Salinas five or fix days, in expectation of Indians to carry the Baggage; but they came not, but rather feveral of them fled to their own Homes; and because they belonged to Planters, who had their Estates and Lands near to Cozco, it was suspected that they were sentaway by order of their Masters. I am troubled to find this, and such like Passages in the History of this Author, which argues some kind of Passion or Pique he had against the Inhabitants of Cozco, whom he frequently blames on all occasions, in matters whereof they never were guilty: And indeed it were more reasonable to beliève, that these Citizens, and Men of Estates, should contribute all they were able to put an end to this War, rather than to do any act which might be a means to protract and hinder the final determination of it; nor could it be to the advantage of the Citizens, to be accessory to any Act (such as fending away the Indians) which might occasion the stay of the Army in parts fo near the City, from which they could not expect other than troubles, perpetual molestations, and damages to their Estates, during all the time of their quarters in that place. And moreover this Author feems to contradict himself, in saying, that the Army was detained in expectation of Indians to carry their Baggage, and for want of them they could not proceeed; and then afterwards, he faith, that many of them fled away, and yet the Army railed their Camp, and departed without them : But the truth of what pailed in this particular, was this; That, by order of the General, many of the Indians who were appointed to carry Burdens were difinift, by reason that the way afterwards being plain and without Rocks, or Mountains, or hollow Cavities, they stood not in need of the Service of so many Indians as formerly, and therefore discharged several of them as useless and cumbersom to the Camp. In fine, the Army, after five days stay, departed from their Quarters near the City, and marched in good Order, and always in a readiness to engage the Enemy, in case they should be attacked by them in any of those narrow passages which are between the City and Quequesana: But the Rebels had another Game to play, fuffering them to pass quietly and undisturbed, until they came to the People called Pucara, about forty Leagues distant from Cozco, only they found themseives something distressed for want of Provisions, because the Negers, who were Souldiers to the Rebels, having divided themselves into two bands on both sides of the Road, had droven all the Cattel away, and taken all the Provisions with them that they could find, leaving nothing behind for subsistance of his Majesties Army. And now the Scouts of both the parties met each with the other, and yet no Skirmishes, or Encounters passed between them; only the Justices received Intelligence, that the

#### BOOK VII. Royal Commentaries.

Rebel's Army expected them in Pueura, with intention to give them Battel; for at that time there were Fugitives from both Parties; fome of the King's Army flying to the Rebels, and fonce of the Rebels to the Rovalifts fo that by fuch an intercourse no Counsels or Designs could be concealed. The Justices being on the march to Pucara, fent away with all haste to have the Powder, Ammuniton, Match and Bullet to be brought to them, which had been left behind in Antabuailla, by the negligence of fome Officers: Howfoever by the care and diligence of Pedro de Cianca, who was appointed for that Service, such expedition was made, that the Ammunition arrived at the Army in good time, and the day before the Battel, to the great fatisfaction and encouragement of the Army.

#### CHAP. XXV.

The King's Army comes to the place where the Rebels had fortified themselves. They encamp in a Plain, and intrench; several Skirmishes happen, to the disadvantage of the King's Party.

THE Justices, as they were on their march, received the ill news of the unfortunate loss of Gomez de Solis in Arequepa; at which though they were much troubled, yet being that which could not be remedied, they diffembled the resentment of it, and proceeded on their way to Pucara, where the Enemy had fortified themselves to great advantage, in a place so situated, and strong by Nature, that they could not be attacked on any side : it being encompassed about with a Mountain so steep and cragged, that it was not passable without much difficulty, and seemed to be a wall made by Hand and Art; the entrance thereunto was very narrow, with windings and turnings to the right, and left, but the lodgment therein was wide and capacious, sufficient to receive their men, and beafts, with all the appurtenances belonging to their Camp. They had ftore of all Provisions and Ammunition, for after so figual a Victory as that obtained at Chaquinca, they could want nothing; and moreover their bands of Negers, or black Guard, brought daily in such Provisions as they found in the neighbouring Parts. On the other side, his Maiesties Camp was pitched in an open plain, without any natural Fortification or defence, and ill-provided either with Victuals or Ammunition, (as we have faid); howfoever not to lye open, and exposed to the Enemy, they intrenched in the best manner they were able; casting up earth breast high round the Camp; which was not difficult to be done, by the help of fo many Indians, who having been formerly employed in carrying the Artillery, did now serve for Pioneers, and other Offices belonging to the Camp; and by their labour in a very short time a Trench was cast up quite round the Army, Francisco Hernandez. observing in what manner his Majesties Forces were encamped mounted a battery of Cannon on the top of a Hill, from whence he could shoot into the Enemies Camp; and oftentimes in bravery would shoot over into the plains; and thus continued firing day and night, to the great diffurbance of the Justices and all their Army: and howfoever (which is strange) the Bullets, as if they had been pellets of wind, did no hurt either to Man or Beaft : The which we must attribute to the Mystery of Divine Providence, which would not permit those Guns made, and founded out of the confecrated Metal of Bells dedicated to God's Service, to be useful in such bloody Tragedies, as was observed by considering men, both in one Camp and in the other. Both Armies being thus encamped in fight of each other; the Officers and Souldiers defined to fignalize their valour by some seats of Arms; in the first Skirmishes two Souldiers of good Reputation on the King's fide were killed, and five or fix others ran Gggggg

away to Hernandez, and gave an account of the State and Condition of the Royal Army; and how that some few days before their coming to Pucara. the General Paulo de Menefes, in discontent, would have laid down his Commission, by reason of the Factions and Differences which were continually a. mongst the Officers, who would not obey his Orders, but rather contradicted. and opposed them; so that he defired rather to have no Charge, or Office at all, than one so incumbred, by the refractory humour of Souldiers, who would not obey, but pretend to Command: And accordingly Memeses would have acquitted himself of his Charge, had he not been perlwaded to the contrary by Doctor Saravia, who told him, that in the present Conjuncture he should rather lose his Honour by such an Action, than gain Reputation. This was joyful neds to Hernandez and his Souldiers, who hoped by fuch Diffentions as thefe.to make their Benefit, and fuch advantage as should with time facilitate their Victory.

On occasion of these Skirmishes, some pleasant sayings were uttered by both fides; which being (as Diego Hernandez faith) the Jefts of Souldiers, they may come pertinently to be inferted in this place; and which we shall explain more clearly than this Author, who, in the 51 ft. of his Book, speaks confusedly, and

darkly, as followeth.

As some Souldiers came forth to skirmish, it was the Fortune oft-times for Friends and Acquaintance to meet, and they instead of fighting would enter into discourse, and expostulate the matter : Scipio Ferrara who was of the King's Party, met with Pavia, who had been fellow Servant with him in the Family of the good Vice-King, Don Antonio de Mendoça: and he began to use persualive Arguments unto him, to bring him over to the King's Party; to which Pavia made answer, that the Party with whom he was engaged, had honeftly won him by War; and fo if they were defirous to regain him, it must be in like man-

ner by War. cot.

This Pavia faid in reference to the Battel of Chaquinea, where he was taken by the Rebels, and kindly used and treated by them, which made him to say that he could not deny them, but if the King's Party were defirous of him, they must win him, as the others had done. In like manner, Captain Rodrigo Ninno CRtertained Discourse with John de Picdrabita, perswading him to come over to the Service of the King, with Promifes of great Rewards and Promotions from the favour of the Justices: to which Piedrabita made answer, that he knew very well how the Justices did use to reward those who deserved their favours, which might incline him at another time to a different resolution, but for the present he had a prospect of the Game he intended to play. This was the reply of Piedra. bita, depending with others of Hernandez his Confidents, on the vain Delufions and Predictions, which Witches, and Men pretending to Necromancy, had infathated them with, affiring them of Victory over the King's Forces: tho' a few days afterwards he was undeceived, and changed his mind, as we thall fee hereafter. And this Author proceeds, and farther fays, That the like Conferences palled between Diego Mendez and Hernando Guillada, and also between Captain Ruybarba, and Bernardino de Robles his Son-in-Law: But no Benchit, or effect, refulting from these Discourses, the Justices commanded for the future, that no Man, upon pain of Death, should entertain any Communication with the Enemies Party. However it was agreed between Captain Ruybarba, and Bernardino de Robles, to meet again the next day, and to finish their Discourse; and the better to know each other, they appointed to wear their Scarlet Cloaks. Bernardino de Robles came attended with 10 or 12 Officers, and Souldiers, and treacheroufly feized upon Ruybarba, and carried him before Hernandez, giving out amongst the Souldiers, that he came in voluntarily, and of his own accord; which when Ruybarba heard, he denied it, and faid, That whofoever reported, that he came in with his own Confent, did not fay true; which, with License of Hernandez, he was ready to make good, either a Foot, or Horfe-back, against any Man whatsoever, unless against his Son-in-Law, by whose Treachery he was betrayed into the hands of his Enemies. Francisco Hernandez was over-joyed to see him brought in, and went with him to his Wife Doma Mencia: See, Madam, faid he, what a Prifoner I bring you, look to him well, for I commit him to your Charge, I accept, faid Donna Mencia, of the Truft, and shall take care of him, as you require. After this Randona made a Sally abroad, and had fome Discourse with John de Yllanes, Sarjeant Major to Hernandez: Randons thinking to take him by the fwiftness BOOK VII. Royal Commentaries.

of his Horfe, let loofe his Rein, and spurred after him in full speed; but his Horse being faint, and low, he was too far engaged to get off, and so was himfelf taken. As they were carrying him away Priloner, he told them, that he had promifed the Justices not to return without a Prisoner of the best quality amongst the Enemy, and for that reason he had given chase to the Sarjeans Major. At which faying some of the proudest of them were so offended, that they protested not to fight, unless Randona was first put to Death, for that such infolent and daring Perions as these, ought not to be suffered to live. Hereupon they immediately committed him to the Tent of Alvarado the Lawyer, and advised him to make his Confession; and in the mean time Alonso Gongalez kept the door, to advise them in case Hernandez should pass by, that they might kill him before he could come to interpose his Authority : Toledo the Lawver, Advocate General to Hernandez, and Captain Ruybarba prevailed with Hernandez to spare Randona, and grant him his Life. To which he assented. and in token thereof fent his Gloves by the Messenger, who carried the Pardon. Alonfo Gongalez having intimation, that the Act of Grace was coming, he enter'd into the Tent, and charged the Priest to make an end of his Work, for he would not flay longer; whereupon the Father haltning the Absolution, fo foon as it was ended, Gongalez cut off his Head with a great Knife; which having, done, he went out of the Tent, faying, That he had made good the word of this little Marquess, who had promised the Justices, to bring the Head of an Enemy, or to leave his own with them: and causing his Body to be drawn out, it was exposed to publick view, to the great trouble of many of the Spectators, but more especially to the sorrow of his Friends in the King's Camp, when the news thereof was made known to them.

This Randona, as we have faid, was a rash Souldier, more Couragious than Wife: his Horse was very good, but he used him ill, being always on his back. flewing how well he could prance, and carvet; which was the reason, as Palentino faith, that he fail'd him, when he had most use of his Service. We may fee also how wise he was to tell the Enemy what he had promised to the Justices; upon which the Executioner General Alonfo Gonçalez took occasion to exercife his Cruelty. Palentino on these passages proceeds and says, That the suffices sent several Pardons to particular Persons, by the hands of Negers, and Indian Domestick Servants, who continually passed between both Camps, carrying intelligence from one to the other, all which were brought to Hernandez. who caused them to be publickly cryed, and with Scorn and Contempt declared as infignificant and of no value: Moreover they cut off the Hands and Nofes of those who brought them, and tyed them about their Necks, and in that manner returned them to the King's Camp again. Thus far this Author, and therewith

he concludes this Chapter.

#### XXVI. CHAP.

The treacherous practices of some false Souldiers. Piedrahita gives an Allarm to the King's Army. Hernandez resolves to give Battel to the Justices, and in what manner it was prevented by them.

Cluch Affronts as these were daily offered to his Majesties Camp, during all D the time that Francisco Hernandez was lodged in Pucara: For scarce a day palled without fome remarkable difadvantage to the King's Forces, who continually loft Men, Horses, and Arms: For many of the Souldiers being of a Mutmous and Seditious temper, and false and perfidious in their dealings, Gggggg 2

961

did ottentimes appear to go forth and skirmish, and with that occasion yielded themselves Prisoners, and called for Quarter to the Enemy, saying, I submit and furrender my felf, together with my Arms: And this was the fubtle delign of these Souldiers to save themselves; for in case the King overcame, they had to alledge, That they were taken Prisoners by the Rebels: and if the Rebels were victorious, they could plead, and fay, That they had revolted to them, and had contributed to the fortune of the Day. The Inflices suspecting this piece of policy amongst the crasty Souldiers, they gave Orders, forbidding all Skirmilles for the future, and all Communications and Conferences with the Enemy, though on pretence of Kindred, Friendship or Alliance, for that no good effects did ever refult from fuch Interviews. Fromcifco Hernandez observing, that an end was put to the Skirmishes and Conferences between the Souldiers; he gave Orders to his Major General, Captain John de Piedrahita, to allarm the Kings Camp, thinking thereby to provoke them to fight; and with eighty Musqueteers to assail them by Night; and gave them particularly in charge to observe with what readiness and vigilance they were received by the Enemy; and with fuch Allarms they intended coultantly to molest and disturb them, until in this manner harrassing the Souldiers, they should with watchfulness and continual Duty tire them out. and defeat them. Piedrabita accordingly allarmed the Enemy with his Souldiers as far as he durst adventure; but to little effect; nor did the Kings Forces return any answer, seeing that all was but a Bravade, without any real Delign to engage: howfoever Piedrahita returned to Hernandez boasting much of the great Actions he had done, and how he found the Enemies Camp without Guards or Centinels, and fleeping with fuch fecurity, that in case he had had but two hundred and fifty Musquetcers with him, he should not have doubted but to have defeated the Enemy, and have taken the Inflices and all their Captains Prisoners. Besides which he vapoured, and told many other Stories of the like nature, as is the custom of Bravadocs, who talk more than they do; and though Piedrabita was an eminent Captain in this Rebellion. and had been fuccessful in many Encounters; yet in this last he did nothing more than what we have mentioned, and talked more than what he

Francisco Hernandez founding himself much upon the Reports he had received from his Major General, conceiving them all to be true, and also upon the Informations which were given him by certain Souldiers, who were revolted from the Kings party unto his, did really believe that the Kings Camp was in great want of Powder, Match, and all forts of Ammunitions: in confidence of which, he resolved one of those Nights to attack the Enemy, seeing that they defigned not to assault him within his Fortifications; which he interpreted to be such a piece of Cowardise and lowness of Spirit in the Enemy, that he effected them already his own, and conquered by him. Hereupon he called his Captains to a Council of War, laying before them the state of the Enemies Camp, with the Circumstances of it, and his Opinion to attack them, defiring their Concurrence with him; alluring them of Victory, not only becaufe the Enemy was weak and discouraged, but also from certain Predictions which Wife-Men had foretold of these matters, which he termed Prophecies, though they deserved no better name, than of Witchcrafts and Sorceries. The Captains however were of a different Opinion, and faid, That there was no necessity of engaging the Enemy, and that their business was only to remain quiet, and on the defenive part, which they could easily do, being well fortified in a place inacceffible to an Enemy, and provided with all things neceffary for their subsistance: when on the contrary, the Enemy laboured under great wants of Victuals and Ammunition: And in case they desired to reduce them to greater extremities, they had nothing to do but to march away to the Charcas; where having feized all the Silver of the Country, and therewith paid the Souldiery, they might afterwards march along the Coast by the Sea side, to the City of Los Reyes, which they would find open to them, and without Souldiers or Garrison to defend it. Moreover the Enemy wanting Horses, and Beafts of Burden, and Iron to Shoe them with, were not in a condition to make a purfuit after them; and in case they did, they might easily worlt tkem, whenfoever they made Head to oppose them. And fince that, by

this method, things had fucceeded well, it were not good to change the course of their proceedings, lest therewith they should change and alter the Current of their Fortune: An Example whereof they had seen and proved by the Enemies stocces at Chaquanea. How consident, said they, were they of Victory, and with what heat and courage did they askill us, and how on a sudden were they overthrown and deseated? Notwithstanding all this Discourse, Hernandez declared his Resolution to beat up the Enemies Quarters that Night with the force of all his Army; and that he would never turn his Back to the Justices; for some Wife Old Woman had fererold good success to him in that place; wherefore he intreated them all, not to contradict or oppose him in this matter, but to prepare themselves for that night's Enterprise.

Royal Commentaries.

Thus ending the Consultation, the Captains arose very much discontented, and out of humour, seeing such a Resolution taken as was contrary to the common Opinion of all the Officers of the Army, and which was fo full of hazard and danger, that they feemed rather to be led forth to Slaughter, than to the doubtful chance of War: And though the General observed sadness and a cloud on the Brow of all his Captains, yet depending on his Sorceries and Enchantments, nothing could alter the Resolution he had taken; but Orders were given to prepare for an Allault after Midnight, about fetting of the Moon, and because it would be then dark, every one was to be cloathed in White, to diffinguish themselves from the Enemy. After Sun-set a Muster was taken of all the Souldiers, whereby two Souldiers appeared to be wanting, who formerly belonged to the Marshal, and were suspected to be revolted over to the King's Party; but some, who were willing to please Hernandez, did aver, that they were informed by Indians, That one of those missing, who was the most considerable of the two, was seen and met on his way towards the Charcas; and the other of less account, was a Man fo filly, and without Sense, that the Justices would never give credit to any Report he should make them. These Stories were sufficient to satisfic Hernandez, who with an unparallelled temerity gave orders for all things to be in a readine's against the hour appointed. The two Souldiers, who were fled, came though late to his Majesties Camp, where they gave intelligence of the intention of the Enemy to attack them that Night in two Bodies, for perceiving that they did not attempt them within their Fortification, they relolved themselves to be the first Asiailants. The Justices, Officers, and Counsellors, who were of the most Ancient Conquerours of Peru, and who by long experience in War, were become great Souldiers, were of Opinion, that it was better to falley out of their Intrenchment, and to draw up their Forces in the open Field, rather than to fight within their Trenches, which were strait, and filled with Tents, Mules, and Indians, which would be incumbrances, and obstructions in the time of Battel. And though many things were urged against this design, saying, That Cowards, and Men of little Courage, would fight better under the shelter of a Mud-wall, than in open Field; yet by Gods Mercy and Providence, the first Resolution prevailed, and both Horse and Foot were drawn forth into the Plain, which formed a very handsome Squadron, well furnished and provided with Musqueteers, and lined with Pikes and Halberds, and eleven pieces of great and heavy Cannon.

966

## CHAP. XXVII.

Francisco Hernandez proceeds forth to Battel: He misses of his design, and retreats back again to his Camp. Thomas Vazquez revolts over to the King's Party. Hernandez the Rebel declares a Prediction which was made concerning himself.

THE time being come, that the Rebel calculated to be the aufpicious hour, he fallied out of his Fortress, with 800 Foot, of which (as Palentino favs) 600 were Musqueteers, and the rest Pike-men; his Horse were few. and not exceeding thirty in all: His Neger Souldiers, or black Guard, to the number of 250, he fent by another way, joining about feventy Spaniards with them, to lead them on, and to govern and direct them in what they had to do: But in these they reposed no great Considence, intending them only to divert. and amuse the Enemy, who in the Night could not distinguish the difference of one from the other. The Orders were, that these Negers should assail the Inflices in the Front, and Hernandez in the Rear; and in this manner they filently marched towards his Majesties Camp, with their Matches and Lights covered. In like manner the King's Squadrons were all drawn up in posture of battel, and remained quietly, and without noise with their Fires covered. The black Guard came first to the Intrenchment before Hernandez, where finding no resistance, they entred in, and killed all the Indians, Horses, and Mules, which they found there, together with five or fix Spanish Souldiers, who out of Cowardise had left the Army, and hid themselves within the Intrenchment. Hernandez coming afterwards, fired a whole Volly of that into the Fortification, without receiving any return from thence; but finding that the King's Party fired all their Musquets upon them, with their whole Train of Artillery, from another place; they were much amazed, in regard that contrary to their expectation, the Enemy had quitted their Intrenchments, and drawn up in open Field: Howfoever no great hurt was done on either fide, for the Night being very dark, every one shot at random, and without any aim: Had these Vollies of above 1300 shot passed by day, and so near each to other, it had been impossible, but that the Fields should have been covered with the Bodies of the llain. The Rebel perceiving that he was disappointed of his defign, gave himself over for lost, and so retreated back to his Fortification in the best order that he could. Howfoever he could not retire in fuch, manner, but that 200 of his men for fook him, who formely belonged to the Marshal, and who now making use of this occasion to escape, threw down their Arms, and revolted to the Justices. In the mean time, the King's Forces would have pursued the Enemy in their flight, but were countermanded by their General, and other Officers; who ordered that no man should stir out of his Rank, but should keep his ground; the which Rule was happily observed; for a Party of Horse percciving the the Enemy intended not to fight, fallied out upon them to obftruft their retreat; in which Action a Cornet of Horse was killed, and three Civizens of Cozco were wounded, namely Diego de Silva, Antonio Ruyz de Guerand, and Diego Maldonado the Rich; the Wound of this last was never cured to the day of his death, which happened to be eleven or twelve years afterwards; for it was always kept open by the advice of Chyrurgeons, and Phylicians, who were of opinion that the nature of the Wound was fuch, that it would prove mortal, in case it were closed up and healed. By this resistance which the Rebels made, they made good their retreat, and returned to their flrong Hold; and greater had the flaughter been, had they been intercepted in their pallage thither. And now Hernandez having not much reason to boast of his faccels, abated greatly of his pride and haughtiness, when he found that his Magick Spells failed, and that he was delinded by the vanity of Prophelies, in which he most confided: Howsoever not to discourage his Souldiers, he put a good face upon the matter, but could not so well distimble, but that his melanchiolly was discovered through all his distinster.

This was the whole Action of this Battel, and all that passed; for Palentino faith, that of the Justice, fide five or fix were killed, and about thirty wounded, Of the Rebels about ten were killed, and as many wounded: The Prisoners, which this Author fays were 200, were fuch as had been Souldiers to the Marshal, and who with this occasion returned again to their Duty; but of Hernaddez his Souldiers, not above fifteen were made Priloners. Those who were killed and wounded in the King's Camp, were for the most part killed and wounded by their own men; for the night being dark, as we said, the Rear-guard, commanded by Captain John Ramon, firing at random to affright the Enemy, happened to kill and wound their own People; the which is evidenced by the Wounds they received, which were all in their backs and hinder parts: among st which a Gentleman was flain, called Suero de Quimones, Brother to Antonio de Quinnones a Citizen of Cozco; and a Coufin German of his, called Pedro de Quinnones, was likewise wounded. The day after the Battel nothing happened considerable on either side, only towards night the King's Forces, upon a report that the Rebels defigned again to beat up their Camp, drew out, and put their Squadrons in posture of defence, as they had done the Night before; but the intelligence was false, nor was there any ground for it, for the unfortunate Hernandez was rather contriving within himfelf, how he might fly, and escape Death, than of a manner how he might make another assault on the Enemy. The third day after the Battel, Hernandez to shew his Spirit and Courage, gave orders to his Captains and Souldiers to draw out into the Field, and skirmishwith the Enemy, and provoke them to an engagement; but this bravade produced nothing of moment; only it gave occasion to Thomas Vazquez with ten or twelve more of his Friends, to revolt over to his Majesties Forces, bringing with them a filver Helmet belonging to their Major General Piedrahita, which he fent: as a Token and Assurance of his intention also to leave the Rebels, which he deferr'd for a while, until he could decoy and bring more Companions with him. The coming in of Thomas Vazquez and his Friends, and the news they brought with them, was extreamly welcome to the Justices and the whole Army, who now began to look on the Rebels as totally overcome, and an end put to all their Violences and Cruelties: For this Thomas Vazquez was esteemed the principal and main support of all their Actions, and one of greatest interest, by whose failure it was expected that all their defigns would come to ruine : Hercupon those who fallied forth to skirmish, made their retreat back to their Quarters: And left the Souldiers should be discouraged, and become over sensible of the loss of Vazquez, he made them this short Oration, which we find in Palentino, Chap, 55. in these words.

My Masters, and Gentlemen, I formerly acquainted you with the cause, and reasons which induced me to commence this Enterprise, which was grounded on the agrievances, and oppressions under which this whole Kingdom groaned; for both Citizens, Planters, and Souldiers had their Estates taken away, and were deprived of the fervices and vaffallage of their Indians, without any remedy or course of Justice. Those who were principally engaged in this Enterprize with me, and complotted with me herein, have abandoned me at the most critical time of any, amongst which is this Thomas Vazquez: But I befeech you not to be troubled for this his treacherous desertion of us, for he is but a Man, and no more. I would not advise any person to trust to the Pardon they shall give him, for the next day they may hang him with that about his neck. Consider well therefore, Gentlemen, your present case, for we have a better game to play, than Thomas Vazquez, and all those who revolted with him, whom notwithstanding all their kindnesses and caresses to them at present, they fhall fentence to death and execute, so soon as I come to fail, and am subdued. I am not troubled for my self, being but a single man, and it by my life I could refeue and fave yours, I would facrifice it immediately for your preservation: But I am well assured, that whosoever escapes the Gallows, will at least be condemned to perpetual flavery in the Gallies.

Confider

Confider therefore your condition, and encourage one the other, to confult vour fascies by a valiant pursuance of our first Engagement: Our case is not desperate, but hopeful; for having 500 men on our side, 2000 against us can never hurt us, unless we prove false to our selves: See then to she main point, and confider what will become of you if I miscarry. These and many other things to this purpole, were spoken by Hernandez to his Souldiers, who, notwithstanding all that was faid, could not but be sensible of the loss they fulfained by the revolt of Vazquez, &c. Thus far Palen-

That which Hernandez said concerning the Pardons, That they would be hanged with them about their Necks, was fulfilled with more certainty than all the Predictions and Prophesics in which he trusted: for the neither Varquez, nor Piedrahita were hanged, yet they were both strangled in the Prison, notwithstanding their Pardons, which they sued out of Chancery under the Great Seal, and notwithstanding the Pleas they made, that a Man having obtained his Pardon, and not committed any offence afterwards. ought not to fuser Death or any other Punishment. Thus what Hernandez foretold of this matter was accomplished, which we having anticipated out of its due place, we shall not need to repeat, or enlarge upon it hereafter.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Francisco Hernandez syes away alone. His Lieutenant General with a hundred men take another way. They are pursued by Paulo de Meneses, and are taken, and brought to Justice.

Notwithstanding all that Hernandez had said to his Souldiers, he was yet so troubled and confused within himself for the loss of Vazquez, that he refolved that very Night to run away, and leave his Souldiers; for suspition and jealousie had so seized on all the faculties of his Soul, as to afflict him with all those torments, which the Divine Ariosto describes in five Cantos of his Poem; which caused him to believe, that his own Souldiers would kill him, in hopes by such a piece of Service, to escape the punishment they had deserved, by joyning with him in all his bloudy Murders and Treasons against his Majesty. As Palentino faith, Chapter 55. in these words.

In Fine, Hernandez refolved to leave his Men, and run away that night, upon a secret intimation given him, That his Captains were conspiring his Death, &c. And tho' in reality there was no fuch Plot or Design, but that every man would certainly have died with him, had he trufted to their Fidelity, as will appear hereafter: Yet so violent was the Jealousie he conceived of this matter, that he would not entrust this secret to his Wife, though a Woman both Noble and Vertuous, nor to any of the most faithful and intimate of all his Confidents: But so soon as it was Night, telling his Wife, and those then present with him, that he was going about some business relating to the Army, he called for his Horse Almaraz, which he so named from Almaraz his Kinfinan, from whom he had bought him; and mounted on him, faying to those standing by, that he would prefently return; and so parted from them, not knowing or defigning any place whereunto to repair; for fo prevalent was the fear which possessed him, that he could not be at rest or repofein his own mind, until he had quitted his Friends and Souldiers: Nor did any thing appear comfortable or pleafant to him, but only folitude. Thus did this miferable Hernandez wander without any Companion; only two or three Friends followed him by the track, whom when he heard coming, he stole away from them, and hid himself in a hollow Cave:

and in such a blind manner did he wander all night, not knowing where he went. that upon break of day in the Morning, he found himself near to his own Fortification; which when he perceived, he presently drew from thence, and desperately enterd into the Wilderness of a Snowy Mountain, not knowing which way to come out from thence; though at last by the goodness of his Horse, he made a shift to get thorough, the' not without much danger of being drowned or swallowed up in the Snow. This was all the noise, or Ceremony that was made at the departure of Hernandez from his Army; tho' Palentino tells us a long story of the Discourse which passed between him and his Wife, with the Tears and Sorrows with which they parted; which in reality never was. for fuch was the Violence of his Jealousie, that he would entrust none with the Secret, The Lieutenant General who remained in the Camp, refolved with fuch as would follow him, to go in quest of Hernandez, of which a hundred of those the most Guilty, and deepest engaged in the Rebellion followed him; howfoever feveral of the Chief Leaders, and who had been as Criminal. as any in the Rebellion, namely Piedrahita, Alonfo Diaz, Captain Diego Gavilan, with his Brother John Gavilan, Captain Diego Mendez, and Enlign Marco del Sauz, with several others of the same Quality, who were as black in their wickedness as any whatsoever, knowing that Hernandez had deserted his Camp, came all over to the Justices, and claimed his Majesties gracious Pardon; the which was accordingly given to them, and passed under the Great Seal; and all of them were received with great fatisfaction, and a kind welcome by the luftices, who notwithstanding remained all the night drawn out in posture of Battel, expecting the event of these matters, for they feemed not to trust to the reports of those Fugitives. The day following the luftices being well afford of the flight of Francisco Hernandez and his Souldiers, gave orders to the General Paulo de Meneses with a detachment of about a hundred and fifty men, to make purfuit after them, and to take, and punish them according to their demerit. The General was in so much haste, that he could not stay to get together above a hundred and thirty Souldiers, with which he followed the Path and Track of Diego de Alvarado Lieutenant General to Hernandez, who having about a hundred Spaniards, and twenty Negers in his company, could pass no way, but. Tidings were given of the places where they quartered and lodged: So that after having been in pursuit of them for the space of eight or nine days, he overtook them; and tho' they were fewer in number than the Enemy, by reason that many Souldiers, who were ill mounnted, and whose Beafts could not endure fuch long marches, were left behind, yet the Rebels vielded themselves without making any resistance or defence. The General presently did justice on the Chief Leaders, namely Diego de Alvarado. John Cobo, Diego de Villatva, de Lugones, Albertos de Ordumna, Bernardino de Robles, Pedro de Sotelo, Francisco Rodriguez, and John Henriquez de Orellana; the last of which, whose name was honourable, yet he availed himself much on the Ossice he had to be the Executioner and Common Cryer; this man was he, who, as we have faid, hanged Francisco de Carvaial, and was now made the Executioner of Alvarado and others. by order of the General Paulo de Menefes; who faid to him, fince thou art skilful in this Office, I would have thee hang these Gentlemen thy Friends, and the Justices will give thee a reward for thy pains. This Hangman hereupon whispered in the Ear of a certain Souldier, whom he knew, and told him with a low voice, I believe that my reward will be to be hanged my felf, after I have executed the Sentence of Iustice upon these. And indeed the matter happened just as he said, for after he had done his Office in hanging his Companions, and had cut off their Heads, who were about eleven or twelve Souldiers, he was himself strangled by two Negers. Paulo de Meneses fent the Prisoners he had taken to Cozco, under a secure Guard, with nine Heads of those whom he had killed. I faw them all in the House of Alonso de Hinojosa, where Diego de Alvarado lodged when he acted the part of Lieutenant General to Hernandez; and to imitate Francisco de Carvajal, he always rode upon a Mule, for I never saw him on Horse back. And now since we are almost at an end of the Violences and bloody Tragedies acted by the Rebels: I cannot omit one Story,

Hhhhhh

which

Royal Commentaries

which shews the impudence of those Souldiers, which was this, The very next day after the flight of Francisco Hernandez, my Master Garçillasso de la Veva being at dinner with eighteen or twenty Souldiers, for he commonly kept an open Table for such a number; it being the custom in the time of War. for all Men of Estates, to be hospitable in like manner according to their ability: he observed amongst his guests a certain Souldier belonging to Hernandez, and who had been with him from the beginning of the Rebellion, to croud in at the Table with all the boldness and freedom that an honest Gentleman might prefime to use; he was by his profession and trade a Black-smith, but in the War he was as richly cloathed as the greatest Gallant of them all. My Father feeing him sit down with much Considence, said to him, Diego de Madrid. fince thou art feated at the Table with these Gentlemen, eat thy Dinner, and welcome: But come no more hither, I charge you; for he who yesterday would have cut off my head, if he had been able, and therewith have gained a Reward from his General, is not company for me to day, nor for these Gentlemen, who are well-wishers to my Life and safety, and devoted to his Majesties Service. To which Mardid made answer; Sir, if you please to command me. I will arise at this instant: No, said my Father, I do not bid you rise now; but if you have a mind so to do, you may use your pleasure. Hereupon the Smith arose, and quickly departed, leaving sufficient Subject of Discourse to the Guefts, and to admire and quarrel at his impudence. Thus were the Souldiers of Hernandez hated, and detefted by all mankind; for their Rebellion and Treason against his Majesty was not to be parellell'd in any Age. whereby a company of pitiful Rascals pretended to deprive him of his Empire, and to affaffinate and murder all the Gentlemen of Estates, that they might possess and inherit their Lands, and Indians. The Wife of Francifco Hernandez remained in the Power of Captain Ruybarba; and his Sifter in Law was committed to the care of John Rodriguez de Villa Lobos, to carry her to Cozco, and there to deliver her into the hands of her Kindred and Relations, which was accordingly performed.

Royal Commentaries. BOOK VII.

#### CHAP. XXIX.

The Major General Don Pedro de Portocarrero is sent in search of Francisco Hernandez. Other two Captains are sent by another way, whose Fortune it was to take the Rebel, whom they carried to Los Reyes, and entered with him into the City in manner of Triumph.

The General Paulo de Memeses having sent the Prisoners he had taken to Cozco, with the heads of those he had cut off; and hearing no news of Hernandez himself, he resolved to return, and render an account to the Justices of what he had acted in this Expedition. The Justices having routed, and dispersed the Rebels, marched to the Imperial City, where they received intelligence, that Hernandez was gone towards Los Reyes; upon this advice, they dispected Don Pedro Portocarrero the Lieutenant General in pursuit of him, with 800 men, by way of the Plains: And two Captains, who were come from the City of Huanacu with two Companies to serve his Majesty in this War, were ordered to make search after the Rebels by way of the Mountains; and that he might not scape either by one way, or the other, they shad a Commission given them, to execute speedy justice on all such as they should take: The Captains, who were John Tello, and Michael de la Serva, having eighty men under their command, performed every thing according to the Instructions

Infructions they had received: And being come to the City of Humania, they were informed that Hernandez was gone to Rinue by way of the plains; and according to that Intelligence they followed him, and after a few days March, they were advifed that he was quartered about fifteen Leagues from them, with 300 Souldiers, of which 150 were Musqueteers. The Captains, not affrighted with his numbers, continued their pursuit after him, and the next day they were told by the Indians, that they were only 200, and so daily the report of their numbers decreased, until they were said to be no more than one hundred. This variety of reports given by the Indian concerning the number of the Enemy, had something of truth, and foundation in it; for Hernandez being fled, his Souldiers dispersed themselves by twenty and thirty in a Company, and at length came to meet together, and form a body of about 200 men, most of which had belonged to the Marshal, but afterwards taking affection to Hernandez, they followed his Fortune.

But in regard they were men running away, and possessed with a fear of Enemies pursuing after them, they were forced to hide themselves in Woods, and Caves, wanting all things necessary for their convenience and support; so that when the King's Forces approached near to them, they were not above one hundred in all: For the Indians in the first report they gave of them accounted them to be more than they really were, in the fecond relation they reckned those whom they found wandring on the way, and in the last, those who were met and joyned in a Body. So we may believe that if Hernandez had not forfaken and abandoned his Souldiers, he might still have conferved himself and them, for it would have been very difficult to have taken, or destroyed them. The Captains being now about three Leagues distant from the Enemy, dispatched away a Spaniard, who was very diligent and nimble, together with an Indian for his Guide, to view the Enemy, and bring certain intelligence of their strength. The Spy having taken an exact furvey of their numbers, wrote a Letter advising that they might be 80, aud no more. Hereupon the Captains hastened their March all they were able, until they came within fight of each other, with Drums beating, and Colours flying, and attended with about eighty Indians, whom the Curacas had fent for Service of the Spaniards. The Rebels having discovered the Enemy coming upon them, and feared to be surprized, and surrounded by the Horse who were forty in all, took up to the Mountain, and sheltered themfelves under fome Rocks, which ferved them for a Parapet or Fortification. The Captains notwithstanding resolved to attack them in their strong holds. trusting to a Band of 200 Indians ill armed, who voluntarily and of their own accord were come in to them, with intent to destroy the Rebels or Aucus as they called them, who were the Peft and trouble of the Country. The Captains being now within Musquet-shot of the Enemy, four or five of them, amongst which an Ensign to Hernandez was one, came to them, and instantly defired not to fire upon them; for that without force, or the death of any man, they intended to yield themselves Prisoners; and upon these terms they flood, when about ten or twelve more came in and fubmitted the? the Indians all the time pelted them with Stones until the Captains commanded them to defift: After which all the Souldiers of Hernandez came in, and jurrendred themselves, leaving him with 2 friends only, namely with his Son-in-I aw de Almaraz, and a Gentleman of the Country of Estremadura, called Gomez Suarez de Figueroa.

Francisco Hernandez, finding himself thus abandoned and forsaken by all his Souldiers; came forth with intent to be either killed or taken, as the Enemy should think fit; which when the Captains saw, they approached near the Rock, and with all their Men surrounded him to take him Prisoner; the first that came near him were three noble Persons, namely Stephen Sylwistre, Gomez Arius de Avila, and Hernando Pantoxa: The latter of which taking hold of Hernandez by the Felmet, and he defending himself with his Sword, Gomez Arius clapt his hand on the hilt, commanding him to deliver up his Arms, which Hernandez refuling to do, and still striving, Sylvesfree thrust the point of his Lance to his Breast, telling him, that unless he did as Gomez Arius bid him, he would immediately kill him.

Hereupon Hermodez refigued his Sword to Gomez Arias, and having fet him Hhhhhh b up up on the Horse behind Arias, they carried him away Prisoner, and being come to the place where they intended to lodge that night, Gomez Arias defired that the Prisoner might be committed to the custody of the Sheriss, who was to take care to keep and focure him from an cleape. The Captains confented hereunto, and ordered that he should be committed to Prison, and being under a Guard of Souldiers, they marched with him by the way of the Mountain, until they came to the City of Los Reyes. The Captains Michael de la Serna and John Tello, intended to have executed Justice on many of the Rebbels that they had taken, according to their Commillion, but feeing fo many Noble Persons amongst them, and some poor silly fellows, they were touched with a remorfe and compassion for them, and so banish them into divers parts out of the Kingdom. But that after these Acts of Mercy, they might seem to execute fome piece of Severity, they put one of them to death, named Guadramings, who had been concerned in the Confpiracy of Don Schaftian, and was the holdest, bloodiest Villain of any of those who adhered to Hernandez, and fo his Life fatisfied for the Crimes of his Companions. The fame of the taking Hernandez was foon spread and divulged into all parts; upon news of which the Major General Don Pedro Portocarrero, and Captain Baltatar Velazquez (who some few days before had by order of the Justices marched out of Gozco with thirty Souldiers, and two Colours in fearch of Hernandez) made what hafte they could to joyn with the other party, who conducted the Prifoner, that they might partake of the glory of that Victory which others had acquired, and might enter into Los Reyes with triumph, as if they also had been concerned in that happy exploit. In this manner they met fome few Leagues before they came to the City, and made a triumphant entry with all four Colours flying, but in regard the two Captains only were concerned in the taking of Hernandez, they with their Companies marched in the middle between the party commanded by the Major General and Captain Balt.star Velazquez: the Prifoner was placed in the midst between the four Colours, and on each fide, and before him, went the three Souldiers, already named, who took him. After these followed the Infantry in rank and file, and in like manner the Cavalry. In the rear of all came the Major General and the three Captains. The Musquetiers in token of rejoycing and triumph fired several Vollics as they marched; and indeed the joy was universal to see an end put to that Rebellion, which had given a diffurbance to the whole Empire, and had brought ruin and mifery, as well on the Indians as the Spaniards; which was fo great and enormous, that if it were rightly fcann'd and confidered, it will appear, that we have not described the tenth part of the destruction and ruin it had produced.

#### CHAP. XXX.

The Justices make Laws to prevent future Insurrections. They entertain a troublesome Conference with Souldiers, who pretend Rewards for their great services. Justice is done upon Francisco Hernandez Giron; his Head is sixed on the Gallows, and taken thence by a certain Gentleman, with the Heads of Gonsallo Pisarro and Francisco de Carvajal. The strange death of Baltatar Velazquez.

HE Justices coming from Pucara, where Hernandez was deseated, made a stay at Cozeo for some sew days, to order several matters conducing to the good Government of the Empire; which for above a year had

heen in confusion, and subjected to the Arbitrary Lust of Tyrannical Rebels. by which it was reduced to fuch mifery, as cannot be expressed. Captain John Ramon was made Governour of the City of L. Paz, where his Estate lay, and his Jurisdiction over Indians: And Captain Den John de Sandoval was fent to the City of Plate, and to Command that, and the Provinces thereunto belong ing : And Garcilaffo de la Vega was made Chief Justice and Governour of the City of Cozco; and the Lawyer, Doctor Mojaraz, was appointed Deputy, and Co-affesfor with him, and to continue in that Office during the Will and Pleafure of the Justices; but the Governour not being pleased to have his Deputy at the disposal of another Power, and not at his own, defired to have that Clause amended, which the Justices accordingly ordered: And Doctor Mojarac, by the good and tractable disposition of the Governour, and by the good Correspondence which passed between them, so well acquitted himself, that after the space of three years, which determined his Office, he was promoted to another place, not inferiour to the former; which was much different to the Lot and Fortune of his Successour, as will appear hereafter.

During those few days that the Justices made their Residence in the City of Cozco. several Captains, and Souldiers grew very importunate with them, to grant them Lands, and Commands over Indians, in reward of the many Services they had done his Majesty, both in these present Wars, as in those preceding. To which the Justices made answer, that as yet the Wars were not at an end. fince the Chief Rebel of all was not as yet taken, and that many of his Souldiers were still actually in Arms, and dispersed over all the Kingdom: and that fo foon as things were a little fettled in peace and quietness, that they would then take care to reward them in the name and behalf of his Majesty. And in the mean time, they advised them not to hold Cabals, or private Confultations together, left thereby they should give occasion to scandalous Tongues to report matters tending to their dishonour and prejudice. The Justices being by this answer freed from the Molestation of these Importunities, News came, that Francisco Hernandez was taken, which caused them to hasten a dispatch of their business, that they might come speedily to Loss Reyes, to pass Judgment on this Arch-Rebel. Doctor Saravia departed fix or feven days before Santillan and Mercado, his Brethren of the Bench. The Captains, John Tello, and Michael de la Serna, who brought Hernandez Prisoner. Committed him to the Royal Prison, belonging to the Chancery, and took from the Keeper a formal Receipt and Acknowledgment of his being delivered to his Cuflody, which was drawn up in full and ample

Two or three days afterwards, Doctor Saravia came to Town, having made great hafte to be prefent at passing the sentence of Death on the Prisoner, which was executed eight days after the Doctor's arrival, as Palentino declares,

Chapter 58, in these words.

BOOK VII.

His Examination being taken, at the conclusion thereof, he declared, That all Men, Women, and Children, Friers, Church-men, and Lawyers, of that Kingdom, had all generally been of his Opinion. In fine, he was brought forth to Justice at Noon day, and drawn upon a Hurdle faithed to the Tail of a poor lean Jade, with the Cryer going before, and with a loud voice said, This is the Justice which his Majesty, and the Right Honourable Don Pedro Portocarrero, Major General, command to be executed on this Man, who hath been a Traytor to the Royal Crown and Dignity, and a Disturber of this Kingdom; by vertue of which Anthority his Head is to be cut off, and fixed on the Gallows of this City; his Houses are to be demolished, and the Ground sowed with Salt; and a Pillar of Marble theremerstead, declaring the many Crimes of which he was Guilty. How-soever he died in a Christian manner, expressing great Sorrow and Repentance for his Sins, and the Evils, and Mischiefs of which he had been the Author. Thus sar Palentino, with which he Concludes this Chapter.

In fine, Francisco Hernandez ended his Life, as we have said, his Head was fixed upon an Iron Spike, and set on the Gallows, on the right hand of that of Gonçalo Piçarro, and Francisco de Carvajal; his Houses at Cozco, where he contrived his Rebellion, were not demolished; the Rebellion of Hernandez.

from

from the time that it first began to the end thereof, and till the day of his Death, continued for the frace of thirteen Months, and fome few days. It is faid, that he was the Son of a Knight of the Habit of St. John; his Wife afterwards entered her self a Nun in a Convent in the City of Los Reves. where she lived with Religious Devotion. But about ten years afterwards. a Gentleman called Gomez de Chaues, a Native of the City of Rodrigo, heing much affected with the Vertue, Goodness, and Devotion of Donna Mencia de Almaraz, the Widow of Hernandez, defired to perform some Action, whereby the might please, and oblige her; and supposing that none could be more acceptable than to take her Husband's Head from the Spike on which it was fixed; he, with another Friend, brought a Ladder by night to the place, where the Head was, and not distinguishing the Head of Hernandez from those of Pigarro and Carvajal, to be sure of the right, they took them all three away together, and buried them privately in a Convent. And though the Juffice made diligent enquiry after those who had committed this piece of Robbery, yet no discovery was made there-of: For in regard the fight of the Head of *Picarro* was an Eye-soar to the People, to whom his Memory was still grateful: Inquisition was not made with such strictness, as the Commands of the Officers required. This Relation was given me by a Gentlemen, who spent several years of his Life in Service of his Majesty in the Empires of Mexico, and Peru. his Name is Don Lewis de Camaveral, and now lives in the City of Cordona, Howfoever at the beginning of the year, 1612, a Frier of the Seraphical Order of St. Francis, who was a great Divine, and born in Peru, called Lewis Geronino de Ore, discoursing of these Heads, gave me another Relation; and told me, That in the Convent of St. Francis, in the City of Los Reyes, five Heads were there deposited, he named Picarro. Carvajal, and Hernandez Giron, but for the other two, he could not lay whose they were: Only that that Religious House kept them there in Deposite, without Burial; and that he was very desirous to know the Head of Carvajal, having been a Man of great Fame, and Reputation in that Kingdom. I told him, that he might have known that b, the Inscription engraven on the Iron Grate, on which the Head was 1x-0; but he answered, that the Heads were taken from the Iron Spike, and laid promifcuously together: All the difference between these two Rel tions is; that the Friers of the Convent would not bury the Heads, for fear of being concerned in the Robbery, but only kept them in Depofite, or Cultody, to be forth-coming in case they should be demanded by the course of Justice. This Religious Frier travelled from Madrid to Cadız, by Order of his Superiours, and Command of the Royal Council of the Indies, to dispatch away twenty four Friers, and to accompany them himself to the Kingdoms of Florida, to preach the Gospel to those Gentiles: I cannot say certainly whether he went with them, or whether he returned after he had dispatched those Apostles. He desired me to give him one of the Books I' had wrote of the History of Florida: And I presented him with three Copies thereof, and four of these our Commentaries, with which the Good father was much pleased, which he testified by the many thanks he gave me. May his Divine Majesty prosper them in this undertaking, to the intent that they may draw those poor Wretches out of the dark abyss of Idolatry to the knowledge and Service of the true God.

And here it will not be from our purpose to relate the strange manner of the death of Captain Baltasar Velazquiz, so that Hernandez Giron nay not go to his Grave alone, and without some Company. It happened some months after the former passages that Baltasar Velazquiz residing in the City of Los Reyes, and behaving himself like a brave young Captain, he had two Imposthumes which broke out near his Groin, which he out of bravery neglecting to Cure, apply'd things to repel and drive them in, not suffering them to operate and break outwardly, which had been the only safe remedy; but the Corruption seffering within, caused a Cancer in his Bowels with so much heat, that he was almost roasted alive. The Phylitians not knowing what to apply, gave him Vinegar to restresh him, which served

only to encrease his slame, and to burn so violently, that no Man was able to hold his Hand within a half yard distance from his Body. And thus died this poor Captain, leaving many Stories to the World of his brave Actions and Exploits, to which a stop was put by a death so violent and miserable as this.

Royal Commentaries.

BOOK VIL

The Captains and Souldiers who pretended to places and rewards for their past fervices, residing at that time at Cozco, no sooner received intelligence of the imprisonment and death of Hernandez Giron, than they immediately went to the Inflices to demand Rewards for their past Services: And being in the City of Los Reyes, they with much importunity made their pretentions, alledging, that by reason of their expences during all the late War, they had confirmed all their substance, and were become so poor, that they had not wherewith to support their necessary charges: and therefore it was but reafon and equity to perform the Promise given them; which was, that so soon as the Rebbel was subdued, they should be gratified in such manner as was equal: That now the Rebbel was dead, they expected a compliance; for they had nothing more remaining than their pay, which was little, and the arrear (as they accounted) was very inconfiderable. The Justices made answer. That it was not the part of Loyal Subjects to his Maiesty to raise a Mutiny on the score of Reward, and of Moneys due to them: That they, and all the World knew, that a Vice-king was hourly expected from his Majesty with Commission to govern that Empire: That it would be convenient to expect until that time, left his Excellency should be displeased with the Justices and the Souldiers for being Carvers to themselves of their own Wealth and Fortune. Wherefore they desired their patience for three or four Months, before which time it was impossible, but a Vice-King must arive: and in case within that time, no news came thereof; they would then by their own Authority proceed to make a division of Lands to them, being very sensible of the want. they must have of a subsistance, and that in the mean time they were greatly troubled, that they could not comply with their defires for the prefent: And therefore fince the time was fo short, they ought to expect the coming of the Vice-King, and not fuffer their impatience to disoblige him, who would be ready to reward their expectation with greater plenty than was in their power; and that a precipitation of their desires would cause them to lose that Reward. which their Actions and Sufferings had long fince deserved. With these and fuch like Discourses the suffices moderated the violence of the Petitioners. And it pleased God, about fix Months afterwards, that news came of the coming of a Vice-King, for whose reception all things were prepared; and in the interim the Pretenders surceased their importanties in expectation of his Excellency, who was the first that ever came to Pern with that honourable Character and Title.

The End of the Seventh Book.

# Royal Commentaries.

# BOOK VIII.

#### CHAP. I.

How the Indians and Spaniards celebrated the Festival of the most Holy Sacrament at Cozco. A relation of a quarrel which the Indians had on that occasion.

Ince the Method of History requires, that every thing should be related in its due time and place, we shall here at the beginning of this eight Book, describe two particular passages which happened in Cozeo after the Wars with Francisco Hernandez were ended, and before the arrival of the Vice-King, whose Presence was instantly desired, and expected in that Kingdom. One of those Matters, which according to this rule, we are to mention, is the pompous and solemn celebration of that Festival, which We Catholicks call, Corpus Christi, performed in the City of Cozeo. After those Wars were ended, which the Devil had raised to obstruct the increase and propagation of the Folly Gospel; the last of which was that of Francisco Hornandez Giron, and may God in his Mercy grant, that it may still be the last, and succeeded by no other of that Nature. The Solemnity of that Festival is now observed with as much magnificence, and perhaps with more, than at that time: For those Wars were concluded at the end of the year 1554, and we are now in the year 1611, from which time to this present in which we are writing this Chapter, lifty seven years have passed of Peace and Tranquility.

My intention is only. to write the Hillories of those times, and to leave the succelles of the present to the labour of other Pens: In those days there were about 80 Citizens, or men of Estates in Coxco, who were all Gentlemen of Noble Rank and Extraction; for by the Name of Citizens, we understand those who had Lands given them, with Indians belonging thereinto subjected to them in validating. Every one of these Gentlemen with great Curiolity adorned his Chair, or Sedan, which his Indian Vassals were to carry on the day of Festival; the Ornaments thereof were Fringes, and Embroideries of Silk and Gold, and studded with Emerolds, and other Precious Stones; therein were placed the Image of our Lord, or Lady, or some other Saint or Saintes, according to the devotion of the Spannard, or Indian, whose care it was to dress up the Sedans; which were something like those, which the Co-fraternities use in Spannupon such Festivals.

979

The Caciques who lived in the parts adjacent to the City came thither to bear a part and share in the Solemnity, attended with their Kindred, and Nobility of their Provinces; and attired in all the finery and gallantry with which they used to dress themselves at times of their own most Religious Feasts; of which we have given a Narrative in the first part of these Commentaries; every Sept or Linage carrying the Enligns or Signals of their own Race and Families, in which they take much pride, and flew great oftentation.

Royal Commentaries.

Some of them came in the habit (as Hereules is painted) with the Lions Skin, the Head of which ferved him for a Cap; and this is the most hononrable dress, for they value themselves very much to be descended from a Lion: Others appeared with great Wings extended at a large breadth like to Angels. which they took from the Fowle called by them Cuntur, which is much in efteem with them, and from which they also glory to derive their descent, Others were habited in Cloathes painted with Rivers, Fountains, Lakes. Mountains, Caves, and the like, having a Tradition amongst them, that their Forefathers had their original from fuch places. Others had strange devices with Gold and Silver, and Coronets of Gold: Some appeared like Monsters. having their Hands like Claws, or the Paws of Wild-beafts which they took in hunting. Others feigned themselves to be Fools and Idiots, endeavouring in all guiles to please and divert their Kings and Governours. Some would act the part of Riches and Grandure, others personated Misery and Poverty; and every Province assumed some thing, that they thought might administer to divertisement and delight, and which might serve to make up the solemnity of the Festival; well knowing that variety was pleasing, and contributed much to the satisfaction of the Mind. By such Scenes and Representations as these, with which the Indians did use to celebrate the Feasts of their own Kings, did they now, though with more oftentation appear, and bear a part in shewing honour to the Most Holy Sacrament, which is our true God, Redeemer, and Lord of all; the which they performed with such Devotion and Sincerity, as plainly demonstrated them to be a People freed from the Superstition and Vanity of their Gentilism.

The Clergy and Citizens were not wanting also to contribute their part to render this Festival the more great and glorious; to which end a Scaffold was erected in the Yard leading to the Church, on that fide which fronts the Chief Market-place, where the Most Holy Sacrament was exposed in a rich Circle of Gold and Silver. The Officers of the Church placed themselves on the right-hand, and those of the City on the left: with them were several of those Incas which remained of the Royal Line; to whom they gave a place of Precedence, in token that that Empire was their Patrimony.

The Indians of the several Districts passed in their Chairs, or Sedans, with their Kindred, and Attendances; every Province finging in their own Motherlanguage, and not in the general Tongue which is common to the Court, the better to make a difference between one Nation and another.

With them they carried their Drums, Flutes, Pipes, and Cymbals, and other forts of rural and barbarous Musick; and several of the Men were followed by their Wives, who ferved to bear a part in the Chorus.

The substance of their Songs were Praises to God, returning him thanks for having brought them out of Ignorance, to the light of true Knowledge. And rendring also Thanks to the Spaniards of what condition soever, whether Spiritual or Temporal, for having instructed them in the Doctrine of the Christian Faith.

Other Provinces, according to the Custom in the times of their Kings, sent

the Men only, without the company or fociety of their Women.

To the upper fide of the Church-yard, or Cymeterie, which is about feven or eight Steps higher than the Market-place, they ascended by Stairs to adore the Most Holy Sacrament; every Sept, or Race in distinct divisions, being separated from each other ten or twelve paces diffant, to avoid diforder and confusion; and having made their Adoration, they descended by another pair of back Stairs, which was erected on the right-hand of the Scaffold. Every Nation proceeded according to its Seniority, which was taken and measured by the time that the Incas had made the Conquest of them : So those who were the last subdued, were placed the first in the Procession; and those who were the more antient Subjects followed, until at length, in the last place, the Incus them felves came immediately before the Priefts, mixed with a number of poor People, to fignific their Humility in a low and mean condition, having lost their Empire, their Houses, Inheritance, and all their Revenue particularly belong-

This being the order directed and observed in the Procession, divers Indians from the Canaris intruded themselves amongst the croud; for though that Province is not within the Precincts and Jurisdiction of Cozeo, yet those People also claimed a priviledge to appear at the Solemnity; and in their Chairs or Sedans, made a distinct Company by themselves, because many of their Nation lived in the City, of whom the Head and Chief was Don Francisco Chilleho Cannari, of whom we made mention formerly, and fet forth, how that in the time of the Siege, when Hernando Piçarro was greatly distressed by the Prince Manca Inca, this Canarian killed in the publick place an Indian Captain belonging to the Inca. who challenged the best man of the Spaniards to a fingle Combat. This Don Francisco ascended the Stairs of the Cymterie in a disguise, covered with his Mantle, and his Hands under it, and in a Chair plain, without any trimming either of Silk or Gold, but painted with divers colours, and in the four Pannels thereof were described the four Battels between the Indians and the Spaniards.

Being come to the height of the Cemyterie to the right-hand, where the Officers of the Corporation were placed, and with them my Lord Gargilaffo de la Vega. who was then Governour of the City, and his Deputy Monjaraz, who was a very able Lawyer, and a person of great Prudence and Discretion. Behold on a fudden this Indian Camari threw off his Mantle, which ferved him for a Cloak, and delivered it to one of his Servants, and fo remained in curpo, with a close Coat girt to him, according to their Custom, when they are preparing to fight, or to perform any other Action, or Feats of Activity; in his right hand he held by the locks the Head of an *Indian* carved in Wood, and painted. So foon as the Incas faw it, four or five of them bruftled up to the Canarian, and catched him up from the Floor, intending to throw him headlong from the Scaffold, which caused a tumult amongst the Indians, who remained on each side of the Scaffold, where the most Holy Sacrament was exposed; so that the Deputy Monjaraz was obliged to interpose his Authority for keeping the Peace. And demanding of the Incas, for what reason they were so much offended? one of the gravest amongst them made answer, saying, This Dog Auca or Rebbel, instead of coming to celebrate this Festival, comes with a Head, to revive the memory of those things which had better been forgotten.

Then the Deputy asked the Camarian, What was the meaning thereof? To which he reply'd, Sir, I cut off the Head of an Indian, who challenged any of the Spaniards to a fingle Duel, at that time when Hernando Piçarro, and Goncalo Picarro, and John Picarro my Lords and Masters, with 200 Spaniards more, were belieged in this Market-place: and in regard there was no Spaniard, but who thought it a dif-reputation to him, to engage fingly with an Indian; I took up the Quarrel my felf, and obtained leave to accept the Challenge, and engage in the Combat; which I performed with fuch good fuccess, that I overcame the Indian, and cut off his Head in this Market-place; and then pointed with his Finger to the very plat of Ground where the Duel was fought: Moreover, faid he, these four Pictures which are in the four Pannels of my Chair, are a description of the four Battels in which I was engaged on the side of the Spaniards against the Indians; so that it is no wonder, if on such a day as this, I should boast and glory of those Exploits, and Feats of Arms which I have performed in fervice of the Christians. To which the Inca again reply'd, Thou Dog and Traytor, didft thou do this Action by thy own courage and bravery, or by virtue and affiftance of this Pachacamae, before whom we are now prefent, and by means, and under the aufpicious conduct of the Spaniards Fortune? Dost thou not know, that thou, and all thy Linage were Slaves to us, and that it was not by thy Prowess and Valour that thou didft obtain this Victory, but folcly by virtue of that power we have before mentioned? If thou wilt make tryal of the truth of what I fay, fince we are all Christians, get thee to the Market place, and provide thy felf with Arms, and there shall meet thee one of the meanest of our Servants, who liiiii 2

thall out thee into flices, and confound thee, and all that belong to thee Doft thou not remember, that about this time, and in this very place, we cut off the Heads of thirty Spaniards, and that one of our Incas difmounted two men, and wrested their Lances from them, and had done the like to Gove galo Pigarro, had he not refcued himfelf by a more than ordinary Agility and Prowefs? Doft thou not know, that we put an end to our Wars against the Spanjards, and raised the Siege of this Town; and that our Prince did voluntarily refign his Empire, and retire into Banishment, upon no other Morive than the altonishment we conceived, to fee the many Miracles which the Pachacamac wrought in favour and defence of them? Dolt thou not know, that during the fiege of this City, we killed near 800 Spaniards in the way to Rimac? And were it not now a brave thing, and a Gallantry fit for the Honour of fuch a Weaft as this, to raife up the Heads of all those that were flain, with the Head of John Picarro, who was killed above, in yonder Fortress, and expose them to the view of all these Spectators? It had been well, if thou hadst considered these particulars, and many others which I could now relate, before thou hadst acted fuch a scandalous piece of folly as this. And then turning to the Deputy, Sir, faid he, do me that Justice, which the nature of this Infolence requires. that we may not be affronted nor trampled on by our own Slaves.

The Deputy Monjaraz having heard the Reasons alledged by one, and the other, ordered the Head which Cannari carried in his hand to be taken from him, and the Mantle which was girt close, to be stripped off, requiring him on pain of a sar greater punishment, neither to discourse, nor treat of such matters as these, either in publick or private. With this reprehension given to Cannari, all the Ineas and Indians both Men and Women were sully stissified; and the word Anea, Anea, was raised, and taken from one to a nother, which resounded over all the Town: And then the Procession was carried forward without interruption, according to the accustomary Ceremonics. It is faid, that the compass which they take in carrying the Procession now, is twice as sar as it was formerly; for now they go out from the Great Church, and return round by way of St. Francis, which is much farther, than when they only settled a compass round the two places of Cusipata and Haueaypata, which we have often mentioned.

Bleffed be the Divine Mijesty, who hash vonchlased to bless this Countrey with these holy Footsteps, and to enlighten the Gentiles, who were formerly benighted in the daily of Innorance.

#### CHAP. II.

Of a strange Accident which fell out at Cozco.

Some years after the Wars of Francisco Hernandez were ended, another Accident happened at Coxco, which was very strange; the which having received from the report of some intelligent, and religious persons, who understood, that I should say, that a Narrative thereof would tend to the service of our Holy Mother the Roman Church, were pleased to Transinit a Relation thereof, that I might insert it in this our History; and accordingly as an obedient, tho' an unworthy, Son of such a Mother, I have thought it my Duty to recount that matter in the manner following.

Eight or nine years before the late Troubles, the Feast of the Evangelist St. Mark was annually celebrated in Cozco, in such manner as the Inhabitants of that City were able to perform. The Procession was carried forth from the Conventof the B. St. Dominick, which as we have before mentioned, was founded in that Houle, which in the times of Gentilism, was the Temple Dedicated to the Sun. From this Convent the Procession was carried to a certain Hermitage, adjoining to those Houles which were belonging to Don Christoval Paula Inca. A Certain Priest called Fa-

ther Porras, who had been an ancient Inhabitant of the Country, and one greatly devoted to that Bleffed Evangelift, being defirous to celebrate the Festival of that Saint, was accustomed every Year to bring a tame Bull with him to the Procession, decked with Garlands, and composed of variety of Flowers. In the year 1556 all the Clergy and Corporation of the City with a multitude of other people coming to folemnize this Feast, the Bull being as tame, and gentle as any Lamb, walked in the midft, and went and returned without any diffurbance to the Procellion, Being come back to the Convent, the Church not being capable to receive the Multitudes of People which crouded thither, the Indians and the more common fort, remained without, and made a Lane for the Procession to pass. The Spaniards entered into the Church, leaving a way to come up to the Chancel: The Bull which walked immediately before the Priefts, in that tame and gentle manner, as we have faid before, being entered three or four Paces within the Porch of the Church, on a fudden runs at a Spaniard called Salazar, and took him up on his Horns, and withour any hurt to him, toffed him out at one of the Doors of the Church: The people affrighted with this unufual rudeness of the Bull, were put into great disorder; but the Bull returning gently back, took his place again in the Procession, and walked up gently to the Chancel. The people of the City much admiring at this Novelty, and thinking that there must be fomething more than ordinary in the matter, enquired with all diligence to discover the Mystery thereof: And upon a strict examination of the thing, it was found that about lix or feven Months before, this Salazar had maintained a Law-fuit against the Church-men, and that he had incurred the Censure of Excommunication, and had never been absolved from it. But upon this Accident he defired Absolution, and obtained it; having declared his intention. never more to fall into the like Error of Contumacy again. I was then in the City, when this matter passed, and was present at the Procession, and heard the Story thereof related more at large by others, than we have done in this Chapter.

#### CHAP. III.

The Marquis of Cannete is designed for Vice-King of Peru. He lands upon the Continent. Several Negers, or Blacks, who were Fugitives, are reduced. The burning of a Galcon, with eight hundred people therein.

CO foon as News was brought to his Imperial Majesty then in Germany, of the death of the Vice-King Don Antonio de Mendoga, he nominated the Count de Palma, to fucceed him in that Employment, but on some just grounds and reasons, he excused himself; the like did the Count de Olivares, who was unwilling to accept of that Government. Those who lived in the Indies, did believe that the Great Men, who were commodious at home, were unwilling to accept an Office fo far distant from Spain, and from the Court: Tho' a Vice-King who had refided there for fome time, was of another opinion, and faid, that the Government of Peru would be the best Employment the King had in his Gift, were it not fo near to Madrid; where the Court resides. His meaning, was the complaints of the many oppressions he exercised on the People, would come sooner to the. Court than he defired. At length his Majesty pitched upon Don Andres Hurardo de Mendoça, Marquis of Cannete, and chief Constable of Cuenca, to be his Vice-King in Pern, who having accepted the Office, and received his dispatches, departed for Peru, and arrived at Nombre de Dios, which he made the place of residence for the Ministers of Justice, and for the Oslicers of the Imperial Revenue He there rewarded some of the Ancient Conquerors of the Isles of Barlovento, and of the

main Land, whom, as Palentino faith, he found very poor, and necessitous: but he could not befrow on them Lands, with validlage of Indians, because the Natives of that Country had been all deltroyed; but he gave them Money, and some Oslices of benefit. He made a Provision for Pedro de Orfina, who was a very Noble Gentleman, a great Souldier, and Captain in the new Kingdom, where he had performed many great exploits, and Peopled a City named Pamplona: but by the Severity, and Injuffice of a Judge, who feized upon all his Eftate, Orfua was forced to fly, and (as John de Caff all anos writes) to take refuge in Nombre de Dios, where the Vice-King Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça met him, and gave him a Commission to feek, and suppress the Fugitive Negers, called Cimarrones, who lived in the Mountaines, and robbed, and pillaged all Merchants, and Travellers who passed those ways, murdering and wounding in a manner not fufferable, so that there was no passing in less than twenty in a Company. The number of these Negers increased daily, for when any of them received the leaft hard word from his Mafter, he prefently for fook his Service, having fo good a Sanctuary, and Receptacle to fly unto. For this Enterprise, and Design, and to suppress these Negers, Pedro de Orsua raised Men; they were called Cimarrones, which is a word proper to the Language of the 1se of Barloveno, and to these Robbers several of the Souldiers of Hernandez Giron joyned, being such as were banished and fled, all which, or as many of them as were concerned in this matter, were pardoned by the Vice-King. The Negers finding themselves hardly beser, and distressed, offered to treat and accept Articles of Accommodation; which for quietness fake and for peace were granted to them; and accordingly it was concluded, That all those, who had unto that time fled from their Masters, should be Free-men, and continue in their state of Freedom; but for those, who should for the future escape from their Masters, the Cimarrones should be obliged to surrender them up again to their Patrons, or pay the price demanded for them. That a Neger Man, or Woman, being ill treated by their Mafter, he, or they paying the price, which he, or fhe, or they cost, the Mafter, or Mafters, shall be obliged to set them at liberty. That the Negers shall People, and Inhabit that Countrey, which they at present posses, and shall live peaceably as good Common-wealthsmen, or Natives of the Country, and not dispersed within the Mountains, as formerly; and that they shall have free Trade and Commerce with the Spaniards: All which, in order to Peace and Quietness, was agreed, and confirmed on one fide, and the other; and the Negers gave Pledges and Hoflages for security of the Peace. Their King, called Ballano, delivered his own Person for a Hostage, and his Subjects never redeeming him, he was transported into Spain, where he died.

Now in regard a little before the Vice-King began his Voyage, a fatal accident happened to a Ship in the Ocean, I have thought fit to infert it

in this place, as not altogether impertment to this History.

Geronimo de Alderete, was sent from Chile into Spain, on occasion of business, in behalf of the Governour Pedro de Valdivia; and during his Residence at the Court, advice coming of the death of the Governour, he Petitioned his Majesty for the place, and obtained it. And being ready to depart for Chile, he took his Sifter-in-Law with him, an honest Vertuous person, and one of those, who are called Devout Women, and with her he embarked on a Galcon, where were 800 Persons, and which was Admiral of six other Ships, and failed from Spain two Months before the Vice-King. This Religious Woman being very devout, defired leave from the Master of the Ship, to keep a Candle in her Cabin by Night, for reading her office, to which the Mafter condescended, considering it was for her Devotion, and that she might pray for the whole Ship, and also was Daughter-in-Law to the Governour. Being at Sca, and failing with a fair wind, it happened that a Phylitian belonging to another Ship, came aboard the Galeon to visit a Friend of his, who was there; and being old Acquaintance rejoyced to fee each other: Towards Evening the Physitian desirous to return aboard his own Ship, was perswaded by his Friend to flay that Night with him, for that the Weather was very fair, and likely to continue; and lo the Boat was towed that night at the Stern of the Ship, intending next morning to make nie of it, and return. But it happened, that that night

this devout Woman being at her Prayers, or rather fell alleen in the middle of her Office with her Candle lighted, gave a fatal Example and Inflance how dangerous it is on any occasion whatsoever to break the Rules and Orders of the Sea, which are made for conservation of the Ship, and those embarqued thereon: one of which is, That upon no pretence whatforver, any light shall be continued in the Ship by night, unless it be that only which is placed in the Biddacle for the Compass, or in the Lanthorn on the Poop: For fo it was, that the Candle taking hold of the Timber of the Ship, the flame broke out at the fides, before it was discovered, and burnt fo violently, that it was impossible to be quenched; which when the Mafter perceived, he ordered the Marriner, who was at the Helm, to draw up the Boat by the fide, wherein the Physician had the day before come aboard: and then went to the Governour Alderete, and without any noise privately told him the misfortune of the Ship; and so he, and one of the two Sons he had aboard, with the Governour and the Marriner stened into the Boat, without calling or crying out to the others, left the People crouding into the Boat, and every one endeavouring to fave him-

Royal Commentaries.

felf, they should all be loft.

BOOK VIII.

In this manner did the Master save his own life, and as an expiation of his fin for breaking the Laws of the Sea, which ought inviolably to be observed. he facrificed one of his Sons. The Fire having such an abundance of matter administred to its nourishment, such as Pitch and Tar, increased so violently, as foon awakened all the People in the Ship; and being feen by the other Ships of the Fleet, they came as near as they durft, and put out their Boats to fave as many of those as they could, who should throw themselves into the Sea: but the Fire coming to the Guns, which were all shotted, they discharge ed fo fiercely, that the Ships were forced for their fafety to retire at a diflance, and fuffer all the 800 persons then aboard to perish; some being burnt. and others drowned, who for fear of the flames had thrown themselves into the Sea. The news of which was the occasion of great forrow and lamentation over all Peru. Jeronimo de Alderete, so soon as it was day, got aboard one of his Ships, and immediately commanded a Flag to be put out on the main. Top-Mast head; that they might see he was still alive, and had escaped both the Fire and the Water. And so giving out his Orders to the other Ships to profecute their Voyage to Nombre de Dios, he returned to Spain to renew his Commission and Instructions, all his Writings having been consumed by the Fire; and having procured his Dispatches, he again put to Sea with the Fleet which transported Marquis de Cannete the Vice-King to Peru, as Palentino reports, though he mentions nothing of the disaster of the Galeon.

#### CHAP. IV.

The Vice-King arrives in Peru. He puts new Officers into places of Trust. He writes Letters to the several Governours.

The Vice-King Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça, departed from Panama, and with a fair Wind arrived at Paira, which is on the Confines of Peru, from whence he dispatched his respective Orders to the Kingdom of Quito, and other parts thereabouts. He also wrote to the several Governours of the Empire; and fent a Gentleman, who was a Kiniman of his Family, on a particular mellage to the Royal Chancery at Los Reyes; but being a Youngman, he made too long a stay at St. Michaels Town, entertaining himself in Divertiscments, neither decent nor honest; upon notice

whereof, the Vice-King fent him express Orders to proceed no farther; and when he himself came to that City, he commanded him to be taken into Custody with intent to fend him Prisoner into Spain, resolving never to pardon and Messenger Officer of his, who did not diligently observe the Commission and Orders he had given him: He also fent away Don Pedro Luys de Cabrera into Spain, with other married men, who had left their Wives at home. But the Truth is, it was more the fault of the Wives, than of the Husbands, who had fent for them, and given them credit for confiderable Sums of Money to defray the charge of their voyage: But these Women being delighted with Sevile, which charms all those which have resided in it, have resused to obey the Husbands Summons, and prevailed with the Justice to fend Commands to recal them into Spain. There were three of these Women, whose Husbands I knew in Peru, and were men possessed of considerable Estates in Land, to the value of a hundred thousand Ducats of yearly Rent, all which upon their deaths would have descended to their Wives, had they resided upon the place, but boing absent, the Right and Propriety devolved to the King: I could name particularly their Names, but out of respect to their Reputation tis better to conceal them.

The Vice-King proceeded forward on his way, with all the gentle demeanour and courtefie imaginable; rewarding some, and giving fair words and promifesto all, who demanded a remuneration for their past services. All which he acted with Art and Design, that a report of his Candour might fore-run his coming, and the minds of men quieted by a prepoffession of his intentions to gratifie and reward every man as he deferved. It was also the talk of common fame, that the Vice-King intended to select a Cabinet Council of four Persons, of the most intelligent, and experienced men of the Empire. who were impartial and unbiaffed, and who by long and antient practice in Affairs, were able to render an account of every Man's Services, and Merit.

The Persons commonly named, were Francisco de Garay Citizen of Huanacu; Lorenzo de Aldana of Arequepa, Garçilasso de la Vega, and Antonio de Quinnones of Cozco; this was the fancy of the common people, it being well known, that every one of these men was endued with a Talent sufficient to govern Peru, in case the Reins were committed to their hands: And with this imagination the Inlightrants of this Empire, both Clergy and Seculars, comforted and pleased themselves; saying, that such a Prince must be sent from Heaven, into whose heart God had infused the thoughts of making choice of such Coun-

Palentino in the second Chapter of his Book, hath these words. The Vice-King, faith he, proceeded on his Journey to Los Reyes, declaring as he went, his Intentions to reward every man as he deserved; but the common voice of Fame gave out, that he would confer his Favour on all, without reflection on any thing that was past. This report brought multitudes of people to Truxillo, and many of those who had been Delinquents, and faulty in their Duty to his Majesty, towards all which the Vice-King carried himself very fairly, and gave out in his discourse, that by those men who had revolted from Hernandez Giron to the King, that Country had been faved: And in this manner he amused the minds of the people, that those who formerly durst not adventure to Cozco, and other parts, without a strong Guard and much circumspection, were become at last considere and assured of safety, by indulgence from the Vice-King. Thus far this Authour. To which we are farther to add, and fay,

That upon the News of the arrival of the Vice-King, the Inhabitants of Cozen were greatly pleased and satisfied; every one depending on the report which common Fame spread abroad of his Clemency and good Intentions. Howfoever Thomas Vazquez and Piedrahita lived retired at their Country-houses. more out of shame than fear of their fafety: For the' they had followed the Rebellion from the first beginning of the Insurrection, and concerned in all the Blood and Murders had been committed, yet having renounced the cause of the Rebel at a critical time, and in such a conjuncture, as gave him the fatal blow, his Majesties gracious Pardon under the Great Scal of the Chancery was conferred upon them; on confidence of which, they came freely to the City, when their occasions called them thither, tho' with a modest Train, and with such Equipage, as became men who, being under a Cloud, had retired into a kind

BOOK VIII. Royal Commentaries.

of voluntary Banishment among st their Indian Vastidis. And with such caution did these men live, that during the three years that my Father Gartillasso de la Vega was Governour of Cozco, I never faw them there, unless it were Toba Piedrabita, who upon fome extraordinary occasion of business, came by night to make my Father a Visit, and give him a relation of his Solitary Life, but never in the day time appeared publickly on the place. Howfoever Alonfo Diaz, who was a Citizen, never ablented himself from home; but lived quietly in his own house, tho' he had been another of those who had concerned himself in the Rebellion of Hernandez. And this was the truth of this Story, which our Authour makes fuch a ftir about, and would infinuate things feandalous. and offentive to the Hearers.

The Vice-King came to the City of Los Reyes, in the Month of July 1557. where he was received with that Pomp and Grandure which was due to his Royal Office, and to the Quality of his Perfon, having the title of Marquis given him from his Lordship over Vallals: for the other Vice-Kings had been Marquifes, yet none of them before assumed the Title of their Marquisate, with relation to Indians who were in vallallage to them. Eight days after he had taken the Chair of his Office, he again renewed his Possellion of the Empire, in the Name of King Philip the Second, to whom the Emperour Charles the Fifth had refigned the Kingdoms, and Signories which appertained to him: what Motives he had to make this relignation is not known, but it is believed that his want of Health, and indisposition of Body, were the cause, and that the weight of Affairs of State were too burdensome in that feeble condition. This exchange of Government under the names of two different Kings, was attended with all the State, and folemn attendance that was required; the perfons present, were the Vice-King, the Judges of the Bench, all the Officers Ecclefiastical, and Civil, Don Jeronimo de Lonysa Arch-Bishop of Los Reyes, all the Friers of the feveral Convents then in that City, which were four, namely, that of our Lady of the Merceds, St. Francis, St. Dominick, and St. Augustine. The Ceremony in the Parade, and Streets being over, they went to the Cathedral Church, where the Arch-bishop in his Pontifical Habit celebrated High Mass. The same passed in all the other Cities of that Empire, every one shewing the great satisfaction, and contentment he received on occasion of that Solemnity, which was celebrated with the Feast of Bulls, and throwing darts; and endeavouring to out-vie each other in Gallantry, and richneis of their Liveries; which is still the common vanity of that Country.

The Vice-King Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoça having taken possession of the Government, dispatched new Officers, and Governours to the several Jurisdictions of Peru: Amongst which a certain Lawyer, a Native of Cuenca, called Baptifto Munnoz, whom the Vice-King brought with him, was fent to Cozco. Altamirano one of his Majesties Justices, who had refused to follow his Majesties Army and Standard into the Field, was made Governour of the City of Plate; others were dispeeded with Commissions to the Cities of Huamanca, Arequeps, and de la Paz: where many things passed of great importance: We shall give an account of some of them in the following Chapter.

# CHAP. V.

The Orders which the Vice-King issued forth to prevent Mu-tinies, and Insurrections. Thomas Vazquez, Piedrahita, and Alonso Diaz, are put to death for having been engaged in the Rebellion of Hernandez Giron.

P Alemino, in the fecond Chapter of his third part, faith, that fo foon as the Vice-King entered into the City of Los Reyes, that he fet Guards and Centinels on all the ways leading to the feveral Cities of the Empire; with orders

orders to examine carefully all pattengers, as well Indians, and Spaniards, and to take from them what Papers, and Letters, they carried with them, fo as to differver what Plots and Conspiracies were then contriving against the Government All which are the words of this Author; as is that also which follows, the truth of which I can my felf avouch, having been an eye witness of many passages thereof. The Vice-King gave Order, that no Spaniard what foever should travel without a particular Licente or Pass, under the hand of some Justice of the Peace belonging to the parts where he lived; in which Pass or License, the reasons were to be specified, and the Buliness, or Occasions, which caused the Party ro travel: And particularly care was taken, that no Spaniard upon prefence of coming to the City to any Feltival, should be permitted to pass: Tho' for the prefent this Order had little effect, in regard, that before it could be published multitudes of People had crouded to the City, to partake in the common joy, which was evidenced at the reception of this Vice-King. He commanded, that all the Cannon and Arms found in the City, should be taken up, and conserved in a common Magazine; all which was ordered to prevent Conspiracies, and diffurbances which had been caused by former Rebellions; but the Country had been so lately wearied, and haraffed by Civil Wars, that there was no thoughts amongst the people tending to a ruine from whence they had so newly escaped. And now let us leave the Vice-King for a time, to discourse of, the Governours, which he had fent to Cozco and to the Charcas.

The Lawyer Munnoz, approaching to the City of Cozco with Commission of Governour, was met, and received by my Father Gargitassion, who, so soon as he was entered within the Priviledges and Jurisdiction of the City, delivered the White Rod of Justice into his hand; which when he had received, the first question he made him was; how much the Fee was for setting his Hand, or Firm to any Writing? To which he made answer, that he knew not, having never demanded such a Fee or Duty. No, said the Lawyer, that is strange, for Justices ought not to lose their right of what nature so ever, tho' never so inconsiderable. The standers by wondred much at this Dialogue; to which some made answer, that twas not strange for men who came from Spain, with no other intent, than to gain what they could with a good Consence, to know the utmost

value of their Office above the Income of their Salary.

So foon as the Governour had received the Rod of his Authority, and made his Pursuivants, he employed two of them upon a Service without the City; one he fent to apprehend Thomas Vazquez, and the other Piedrahita, both which in 5 or 6 days being brought Prisoners to Cozco, were committed to the publick Prison. Their Friends and Relations offered to give bayl for them, and to bind themselves in considerable Bonds for their good behaviour, and that they should not go forth beyond the Precincts of the City; supposing that the seizure made of their Persons, was to the end that they might be confined within the Walls of the City, and not permitted to ramble abroad in the Countries amongst their Indians and other People. My Father offered to become Bayl for one of them; but he was answered, that the Commission and instructions which this Governour brought, was much different to what they imagined; for had their confinement to the City been only defigned, there would not have needed all the formality used in sending for them by Officers, and committing them to Prison: The truth is, the islue was according to what Francisco Hernandez had formerly prefaged, and as we have before intimated; for the next morning they were found dead in the Prison, having been there strangled, notwithstanding their Pardons which they had fued forth from the Royal Court of Chancery. Their Plantations, and Lordships over Indians were all consistented: That belonging to Thomas Vazquez, which was one of the best Mannors, or Lordships near the City, was conferred by the Vice-King on Rodrigo d'Efqueval a Native of Seville, who had some small Estate, but with this addition he was made great and confiderable. In like manner the Effate of Piedrabita was difpoled, and forfeited, as was that of Alonfo Diaz, whom they likewise put to death: befides which Executions, there were no other Processes of Justice made against the Rebels in punishment for the late War. Howsoe're, the Governour Munnoz profecuted his Predecellour in that Office, and laid four Articles to his charge. The first was, That he sported (after the Spanish manner and custome) with Darts on horse-back, which did not become

become the Justice of that Town. That he went often abroad to make private Visits without the Rod of Justice in his hand, which gave an occasion to many persons to despise and expose the honour of the Government to Contempt. The third was, that in Christmas time he gave leave to the Citizens, and others, to play at Cards and Dice in his House, and that he himself plaid with them; which did not become the gravity of a Governour. And laftly that he had taken a Clerk who was not a Free-man of the City, nor had obferved the formality which the Law required in that case. For answer unto which, he replyed. That as to the sport of throwing Darts, it was a passime which he had need all the days of his Life, nor would he leave it off fo long as he lived. tho? he were placed in an Office of far higher Dignity and Honour, than that in which he was constituted and invested. To the second, he said, that fometimes he went without his Rod to the next Neighbour, or house near at hand, where he was familiarly acquainted, and where he was sufficiently assured to receive no affront for want of the Badge, or Enfign of his Authority. That as to the Play and Gaming at Christmas, it was very true, that he did allow thereof in his own house, and did himself play; which prevented many differences, and quarrels, which might otherwise have arisen in other places, amongst proud and angry persons. As to the Clerk, he said, that he being no Lawyer himself, did not so much regard the ability, or the manner how he was qualified for that Office, as his Fidelity, and Truth, and faithful adminiftration, of which all the City was ready to give Testimony. Some other Articles were drawn up against Monjaraz: but he being only Deputy-Governour, could not be so highly charged, as was the Governour himself. And the truth is, the faults of neither were fit to be mentioned, only the new Judge was willing to have fomething to fay; but there neither being Crimes to punish, nor Debts to pay, all Actions were smoothed, and no Procelles further made.

# CHAP. VI.

The imprisonment and death of Martin de Robles, and the reason for which he was executed.

WE have mentioned before, how that Altamirano, Judge of the Court of Chancery, in the City of Los Reyes, was fent Chief Justice to the City of Plate, where, to soon as he was posseleded of his Government, he apprehended Martin de Robles a Citizen of that Town, and without any Indictment or Process made against him, he hanged him up publickly in the open Market-place. At which the people much lamented, and were greatly offended, because he was one of the most principal men of Quality in the whole Empire, and so aged, and bowed down with Years, that he could not bear his own Sword girt to his side, but was carried after him by an Indian Page, who attended him. But when the Reasons of his death were more fully known, the offence thereat was much increased, as Palentino mentions in these words following.

The Vice-King sent a Warrant to Judge Altamirano, to put Martin de Robles to Death: The Reasons for which he gave, that sufficient proofs had been made before him, the Vice-King, how that this Martin de Robles having been in company with several persons, should say these words, Let us go to Lima, and teach the Vice-King better manners, than to write in such a rude Stile, and with so little respect and formality, as he uses. These are the words of which he was accused, tho' it is generally believed, that he never said them, nor ever gave any colour, or ground for such an Accusation. Some say, that this rash Speech was not that which provoked the Vice-King against Martin de Robles, but some other singlestions of having been accessary to the Imprisonment, and death of Bluseo Number. Vela Vice King of Peru. Thus sar, this Author, in an obscure manner, expresses this Pallage, which we shall endeavour

Kkkkkk 2

989

to clear, and explain more at large. It is true, that Martin de Robles did fav fome fuch words, which were to be taken in another Sense : For (as we have faid before) when the Vice-King wrote Letters from Payta, to the feveral Governours and lustices of the Empire, giving them to understand the news of his arrival in that Country; the Superscription of his Letters were in this manner, To the Noble Lord of such a place: And in the Letter he treated them with Thou, which was the common Stile to what person of Quality soever; the which manner of writing gave great offence over all Peru: For in those days, and a long time afterwards, persons of Quality, and such as were rich in that Country, always used in Writing to their Servants, the Title of Noble, saying, To the Noble-and within the Letter they wrote sometimes in the second, and fometimes in the third person, according to his Condition and Office wherein he ferved; and this Cuftom prevailed, until fuch time as a Pragmatica came forth to regulate the Terms of Honour which were given. But in regard the Letters from the Vice-King were in another Form and Stile, they gave offence to fuch evil Men, who were defirous of Change and disturbances; and caused them, with reflection on the present Vice-King, to commend, and praise the Civility of those who were formerly in the same power, who in all their Letters used Terms of Respect, according to the Quality and Merit of the person. My Father Gargilaffo being then Governour of Cozco, received a Letter from the Vice-King with the fame Title and Superfeription; which some asked him how he could brook, or how he could endure such a neglect? To which my Father made answer, that he could bear it very well; since that the Vice-King wrote to him, not barely by the Name of Garfilaffo de la Vega, but with the addition of Governour of Cozco, which shewed him to be his Officer, and Minister under him; and that very shortly which mewed tim to be insomeer and withiter under thin 3 and that very morthy they fhould fee how the Vice-King would change the Form, and Stile of the Superfeription of his Letters to him: Which accordingly happened, for about eight days afterwards, the Vice-King being at Rimae, he wrote a Letter to my Father, directed in this manner, To the Right Worthipful Senior Gargilaffo de la Vega, &c. and within he treated him with fuch Terms, as might become an Elder Brother towards his younger; at which, those who saw it did much admire. I have had both these Letters in my cultody, for at that time I served my Father in quality of his Clark, and wrote all the Letters which he dispatched to several parts of the Empire; and in like manner, I gave the Answer to both these Letters. But to return to the Story of Martin de Robles, from which we have made this digrellion. The Truth thereof is this, One of the first Letters from the Vice-King, was barely in this manner, To the Governour of the Charcas, and no more; which gave occasion to the husting, vapouring Fellows to say, the Vice-King was very uncivil, and rude, to write, in such a mean manner to Governours, who taking all things together, both as to their Estates and Qualities, were as good men as himfelf. Upon this, it was faid, that Martin de Robles should utter these words, Let him come hither, and we shall teach him better manners. But this he faid in manner of a Jest; for on less occasion than this, as Palentino faith, he used great liberty with his Tongue. For he would never for his Jest sake spare his Friend, or his Wife her felf: And when some of his intimate acquaintance would blame his indifferetion (as sometimes they did) for taking such freedom in his speech; he would answer, that he would rather lose a Friend, than a quick witty faying, uttered opportunely in its due time and place; and upon this fancy the poor man loft his life. But as to his concernment in the misfortunes of Blasco Nunnez, all that matter was absolutely forgot, and laid aside, 13 years having passed since that time; and even then this Martin de Robles performed many, and fignal fervices for his Majesty, for in that very critical juncture of Affairs, he with much danger of his Life, revolted from Gonçalo Picarro to the President Gasca, whom he faithfully served, until the end of that War; for which the President rewarded him, as we have before related. In like manner, he ferved in the Wars against Don Sebastian, and Francisco Hernandez Giron, in both which he frankly laid out his Estate, and neither spared his Silver nor his Gold, to serve his Majesty; by which Merit, he obtained his Pardon for his past Crimes, being granted by the President Gasca, and consirmed by the Justices, under the Great Scal of the Royal Chancery.

# CHAP. VII.

In what maner the Vice-King treated those who made demands for reward of their late Services; and how by the Advice of unjust and ill-natured Counsellours he banished thirty seven of them into Spain.

P Alentino in another part of the Second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of fallers of the second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of fallers of the second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of fallers of the second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of the Second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of the Second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of the Second Chapter before mentioned, speaking of the Vice King faith of the Vice King faith of the Second Chapter before mentioned, speaking faith of the Vice King faith o ing of the Vice-King, faith as follows, All the Cannon, Musquets, and other Arms which were in the City he got, and lodged in his own House, noon pretence of Festivals, and occasion of Rejoicings. After he had done this, and fecured other matters, he repealed all the Commissions and Pardons which the Justices had given; which struck a terror and awe upon the minds of divers Captains and Souldiers; and with fome inconfiderable gratification he rewarded others for their Services: Howfoever, understanding that many of these men were piqued, and spoke some words which sounded not well, he apprehended several of them within the Precincts of his own Court, and immediately fent them away to Lima under a fafe Guard; giving out, that he fent fome of them for Spain, to the intent that they might be rewarded there by his Majesty; fince that Peru could not confer Gratifications on them agreeable to their Merits: and that he fent others of them, that they might receive punishment for their Infolence: And when some advised him to fend the Informations against them, and the Processes judicially made in their cause, together with their persons into Spain: He refused to do it, saying, that he intended to intercede with his Majesty in their behalf, so that they might receive rewards and Honours, rather than be the Attorney General to implead them.

But in regard this Author hath expressed several passages of this History in a dark, obscure, and confused manner, we shall endeavour to elucidate them more clearly, and in an Historical manner declare every thing methodically as it passed. And first, as to that point which this Author mentions about taking away Arms by the Vice-king: we must know, that before the coming of the Vice-king, the Justices had given orders to the Governours in their respective Jurisdictions to seize on all the Arms they could find; and accordingly my Father published this their Command by common outery; and in obedience thereunto, many Gentlemen and Souldiers of good Reputation, who were Loyal to his Majesty, brought in their Musquets and other Arms; but the conmon People, and fuch as were ill affected would not bring them in, unless they were purchased with Mony, or for some consideration, either of themselves or Friends: for which reason my Master Gargilasso acquainted the Lords of the Royal Chancery with this particular, giving them to understand, that this course was rather prejudicial than advantagious to his Majesty, for that his Friends would by that means be difarmed, and his Enemies guarded with their Weapons by them. And upon this confideration it was, that the Justices gave orders privately, to have the Arms restored to their respective owners; which accordingly was done: And this is what passed about the Arms, of which this Author speaks. And as to Repealing, and Revoking those Pardons which the Justices gave to those who had followed the Faction of Hernandez, it was done in order to bring those persons to Justice, in the manner before specified. And as to the fatisfaction he fpeaks of, which the Vice-King gave to divers persons, as well Captains as Souldiers, for a gratuity and reward of their past Services: The truth was this, He did make offer to some of those pretenders of a Gratification, but in a mean kind, and much inferiour to their Qualities and Mcrits; and with condition, and under provifo, that they should immediately marry, and take Wives of those Spanish Women, who were lately come over; it being according to his Majesties Instructions, and so ordained for conservation of the publick peace and quietness of the Land: And in order hereunto the Vice-King affigned to feveral of the Pretenders, fuch and fuch Women for

Wives, under the notion of modest and virtuous Ladies, though many of them were known to be common Strumpets. For which reason most of the Pretenders refuling their Society, gave occasion to malicious men, who were desirous to make troubles, to incense the Vice-King against these Pretenders, who were men of greater merit than themselves, infinuating that they refused those Wives only out of obstinacy, and aversion to the Commands of Authority. And hereupon this Author faith, That the Vice-King did look on these men, as dislatisfied; and believing, as was reported to him, that they let fall many angry words tending to Sedition, he gave orders to apprehend feveral of them: and under a strong Guard sent them to the Port, and Callao of Lima, in order to transport them to Spain, giving out, that it was to have some persons of merit more amply rewarded by his Majesty in Spain, than could be done in Peru: and that others of them, who had been infolent and daring, might be punished

by Banishment, rather than rewarded, &c.

The persons taken, and sent away, were thirty seven, all men eminently known and fignalized for their Loyalty and Service to his Majesty; one of which was Gonçalo Silvestre, whose Labours and Hazards are at large recorded in our History of Florida; and in this also he is not mentioned without regard to his Honour and Reputation. Particularly we have fignified, how that at the Battel of Chuquinca he had a Horse killed under him, which some few days before he had bought of Martin de Robles for twelve thousand Ducats. Of the fame degree and merit were feveral others in this Kingdom, of which I wish I had a particular lift. And though Palentino faith, that several of these Pretenders were banished, I must crave leave to distent from him, and say, That none of them were banished for any Crime or Misdemeanour, for all of them were men of merit and defert. And as to what he farther faith, that some perfons would have perswaded the Vice-King to have fent the Informations, and Accusations against these men, together with their persons into Spain, and that he refused so to do, saying, That he would rather be an Intercessor for them with his Majesty, than their Accuser, &c. The truth of which matter was this. There were not wanting Whisperers, who infinuated to the Vice-King jealousies and fears of Mutinies and Seditions amongst the Souldiers, who having for a long time ferved the King at their own cost and charge, complained of their hard usage and ill treatment, and therefore advised to have them banished: but others disliwaded this course as unjust, and looking like Cruelty, to have men punished. who deserved Rewards. That the banishment out of Peru into Spain, was worse than death to men, who were poor, and had confumed their Estates and Substance in the service of his Majesty. Moreover, they added, That it became not the Quality nor Office of a Vice-King to fend fuch men into Spain with their Mouths full of complaints, to which no doubt but his Majesty would lend an Ear and give Credit; especially since nothing could be objected against them of Crime or Misdemeanour, and that in behalf of themselves they were able to make a large relation of their Services and Sufferings for his Majesty, having walted their Lives, and confumed their Estates for the interest of the Crown: in proof and evidence of which they had their wounds, and their macerated bodies to shew, and plead for them before his Majesty. Howsoever these considerations prevailed not so much with the Vice-King, as a course of greater severity; for being made angry, and provoked by the evil suggestions of those men, who pretended to discover secret Cabals and Conspiracies amongst them, he resolved to send them away, as the best expedient to secure the Peace of the Empire; and that as to what they could fay in Spain, or what they could do at their return from thence to Peru, he little regarded: for in going to Spain, faid he, they mult fpend a year, and in their Negotiations and Solicitations there, another would pass; and a third in their Voyage back: and when they bring Letters and Orders in their own favour; it is then but killing them and laying them on my Head, and faying, I obey; and at the end tell them, That the King hath no Money nor Means wherewith to reward them : and then after they return back again with the same complaints to the King, and have traced the same circle of business as before, they will then be, but where they were before, only three years more will have passed over their Heads, which in all will make up fix, and by that time, none but God knows what will become of us. With such thoughts as these, the Pretenders were dispeeded

#### BOOK VIII. Royal Commentaries

into Spain fo poor and milerable, that the richeft of them had not a thout and Ducats to defray his Charges; though to raife this Money, he had fold his Horse, and Cloaths, and the poor Furniture of his House; and though some of them had possessions of Lands, and some little Rent, yet the Revenue was to fmall, that it was fearce worth looking after, and foremote, that they were forced to leave and abandon it, as of no worth and value to them: for though a Perfon should commit his Estate, in this manner, to the Trust and Management of Friends : vet fo far is Spain remote from Pern. that oftentimes Friends take advantage of diffance, and long absence, and make that their own, which is only intrufted to them by others: And thus much I can atteft, and aver moon my own experience, who having left fome Effate and Inheritance of my own to the care of another Friend, he made use of that considence I had in him to cheat and defraud me of what appertained to me.

And this was the cafe of these poor Gentlemen, who left their Estates with fome Friends, from whom they heard no farther afterwards; and enquired of me for them, after I came to Spain, to know of me whether they were alive or not, and how, or in what manner they had disposed of their Estates: For my part I was able to give them but an imperfect account of their matters, for I was but young, and could not look fo far back into the Estates and Concernments of other Men. And here let us leave our Pretenders on their Voyage, the fuccess of which we shall consider in its due place, and in the mean time we will proceed to recount the Successes of that Empire, in relation to its own

Natural Lord.

## CHAP. VIII.

The Vice-King designs to bring the Prince, who was Heir to thin Empire, from his Retirement in the Mountains, to pay Homage and Fealty to his Majesty. The ways and means which were contrived for doing the same.

THE Vice King having dispatched these poor Gentlemen into Spain, upon the fuggestions (as we have faid) of evil Counsellours, who infinuated into him dangerous Conspiracies, and civil Disturbances, which these Men might machinate, by the Interest they had with other Souldiers of inferiour degree : and hereof there had been such fresh Examples, that the Fears and Jealousies of the like events might very reasonably be apprehended. But now to amuse, and divert the minds of the People from fuch Tragical Plots as thefe, and for better fecuring the Peace of the Empire, Letters were wrote to Munnoz, the Governour of Cozco, and to Donna Bearix Coya to confider of a way, how they might in a friendly and peaceable manner pertwade the Prince Sayri Tupac to leave his Mountains, and come and live amongst the Spaniards, who for his encouragement, would make him an allowance fufficient to maintain his Family and Equipage. This proposition was treated with the Coya, which was Sifter to the Father of this Prince, who was the Legitimate Heir to the Empire, being the Son of Menco Saca, whom those Spaniards killed, who he had protected and delivered out of the hands of their Enemies, as is related in the 7th. Chapter of the 4th. Book of this 2d. Part. The Infanta Donna Beatriz, tho'it were for no other reason than to see her Nephew in that City, and not with expectation of being reflored to his Empire, received with great readiness, and good will, the Command and Order of the Vice-King; and in purfuance thereof dispatched away a Meslenger, attended with Indian Servants, to the Mountains of Villea Pampa, where the Inca made his refidence: the Mellenger himfelf was alfo of the Blood-Royal, to render the offer more specious, and more casily accepted: His Journey was long, and much about, and over bad ways, by reafon that the Bridges were broken down; but at length coming to the Outguards, he was there detained, 'until his Mellage was lignified to the Inea, after which being admitted, a Council was called of all the Captains and Governours, who were Tutours to the Prince, for he being in his Minority, had not (as we have faid) as yet bound his Head with the coloured Wreath. The Captains having received this Mellage, were jealous of the reality thereof, though brought to them by a Kinsman: And therefore not being over-hasty to give Credence thereunto, another Mellenger was dispatched to Cozeo, in behalf of the Inca, to fpy and discover what deceit and fraud might be under this specious overture; for they did much diffrust the sincerity of the Sp.miards, keeping still in memory the death of Atabuaha, and other their faithless and treacherous practices: And until the return of this Messenger, and his Allociates, those sent from Cozco were detained as Hostages, and Pledges for better security of the honest and due performances by the Spaniards. The Mellenger was farther instructed, that after he had applied himself to the Infanta Donna Beatriz, he should discourse farther on the bufine's with the Governour of Cozco, and other Persons, who might secure them of their fears, and from the apprehensions they had of salie and faithless deligns; and should desire both of the Governour, and Domni Beatriz, to send unto John Sierra de Leguicamo her Son by Mancio Sierro de Leguicamo, who was one of the first Conquerours, to deal faithfully with them in this matter, and give to them his real opinion, whether they might trust without Scruple, or doubt of the proposition and offer which was made to them. The Governour, and the Infanta were both pleafed at the coming of this Messenger from the Inca, and with him fent Letters to John Sierra, that as he was a near Kinfman to the Inca, he should deal clearly with him, and assure him that there was no other design in the Invitation, than to see him abroad, and out of those Mountains, to the great Joy and Contentment of all his Relations. But whilft these matters were in treaty at Cozco; the Vice King, being impatient to fee an end of this Negotiation, which he thought would be over-long and tedious by other hands, difpatched away immediately from himfelf a Dominican Frier, whom Palentino calls Melchior de Los Reyes, and with him a Citizen of Cozco, named John Betangos the Husband of Donna Angelina, the Daughter of Inca Atahnalpa, of whom we have formerly made mention: this John de Beranços pretended to be very skilful in the General Language of the Country, for which reason, and for the relation he had by his Wife to the Prince Sayri Tupac, he was sent in company with the Frier, to serve for an Interpreter, and to explain the Letters, and the Substance of the Embassic upon which they were employed. These two Ambassadours, in obedience to the Vice-Kings Commands, made all the hafte they were able, and endevoured to get admittance to the Inca, by way of the City of Huamanca, which was the nearest Frontier of any to the entrance into the Mountains, where the Inca made his place of Residence: For which reason the Spaniards gave the name to that Town, of St. John of the Frontier, because it bordered near the aboad of the Incar; and was (when the Country was first conquered by the Spaniardi) pollelled by them on St. John's day. But they could by no means procure admittance by this way; for the Indian Captains and Governours, fearing left the Spaniards (hould take them upon furprize, and carry their Prince away from them, had so cut off all the Avenues, that no Person, without their License, could approach the place of their Habitation, Wherefore the Frier, and John de Betanfostook a compass twenty Leagues farther by the high Road, to try if they could get entrance by the way of Antabuaylla, but here also they were disappointed : All which being advised by the Indians to the Governour of Cozco, he wrote a Letter to the Ambassadours, that they should not labour farther to no purpose, but should come to Cozea, where they should find directions in what manner to proceed. In the following Chapter we shall fet forth at large, what palled in this particular affair, according to the Narrative of Palentino, extracted verbatim from his own Words: whereby we may observe, with what Prudence and Caution the Indians proceeded in this affair; and how prudently they governed their Artifices, whereby to discover the Cheats and Frauds which the Spaniards concealed under their specious offers; with many other things observable on the part of the Indians.

# .

CHAP. IX.

The suspicion and fear which the Governours of the Prince conceived on occasion of the Message which the Christians sent to them. The ways, and diligence they used to secure themselves from these jealouses.

This Author, in the fourth Chapter of the third book of his Hiftory, faith, as follows. The Frier and Betanços being come to Cozeo, it was ordered. That they should remain behind, whilst the Governour Munnoz, and Donna Beatriz went before the Ambaliadours, with her Son John Sierra, to the Inca. Which being fo agreed the Frier and Betanços went out of the City three days hefore them, pretending to flay and expect them on the road: But to gain the honour of being the first Amballadours, advanced as far as the Bridge called Chaquichaca, which borders on the Jurisdiction of the Inca; And having with great difficulty passed the Bridge; they were detained by the Indian Souldiers, who kept watch and guard on that fide, and there kept without other hurt or damage done to them; not fuffering them to proceed forward, nor return back again; and so remained until the next day, when John Sierra, with the Ambasfadours from the Inca came to them, with ten other Indians who were fent to meet the Ambassadours: In fine, John Sierra, and the Ambassadours were permitted to proceed, but Betanços and the Frier were detained: The Inca being informed that John Sierra was near at hand, and also that a Frier and Betanços who were Ambassadours from the Vice-King were not far distant; he dispeeded a Captain with 200 Indian Souldiers, (whom they called Caribdes, and are of that fort, who cat the Enemies which they take in the War) to fignific to the Amballadours, that the Inca's pleasure was, that they should declare the Message they brought unto his General. Accordingly the first day pasfed in complement, the General only bidding them welcome: But the next day John Sierra being admitted to Audience, he was feverely reproved by the General for coming with the attendance of fo many Christian Souldiers: For which John Sierra excused himself, saying, That he brought them by the advice and order of the Governour of Cozco, and his Aunt Donna Beatriz : and then he declared to him the occasion for which he was fent, and read to him the Letters from his Mother, and the Governour, with that also which the Vice-King had wrote to Donna Beatriz, John Sierra having thus delivered his Meffage, Betangos and the Frier were also called and admitted to the same place; of whom they demanded the same questions, to see what difference there was in the propofals which were made.

The Frier and Betanços produced the Writing of Pardon, and declared the substance of the Embally upon which they were employed, and delivered the Present which the Vice-King sent to the Inca of several pieces of Velvet, and Damask, and two Cups of silver gilded, together with other things of curiosity. After which the General and Captains sent two Indians, who had been present at all the discourse, to give a relation to the Inca of the particulars which had passed; which when the Inca had heard, and thought well upon, he gave answer, That the Amballadours should immediately return from whence they came, with their Letters, Act of Pardon, and Presents; for that he would not have to do with the Vice-King, but remain free, and independent of him, as he had hitherto done. But as John Sierra, and the rest were departed, orders were brought after them by two Indians, that they should return immediately, and appear before the Inca, to give him and his Captains an account in person of the Embally they had brought; and being on their way, and not above four Leagues from the Inca, another Command was given that John Sierra should come alone, and

that the others should be dispeeded back with such convenient Provisions, as

were necessary for their journey.

The next day John Sierra was come within two Leagues of the Inca, when he met a new Order, to detain him two days longer before his admittance; and in like manner Mellengers were fent to cause Betanços and the Frier to return back to the Inca, who at the end of two days fending for John Sierra, he received him with fuch kindness and affection as was due to a near and principal Kinfman: And John Sierra having exprelled and explained the particulars of his Mellage in the best fense and words he was able; the Inca seemed well satisfied and pleased with what he had delivered; but in regard, that being in his Minority, and not mafter of himfelf, nor having for want of years affumed the coloured Wreath, it was necessary for him to refer all his Affairs, and Treaties to the consideration of his Captains: Which being done, Frier Melchior de Los Reyes was also sent for, and ordered to deliver the Embassy he had brought from the Vice-King; which being accordingly fignified, the Offer was kindly understood, and the presents accepted: Howsoever it was ordered, that the Frier, and John Sierra should attend, and expect an Answer after the Captains had consulted there-

The debate being again re-assumed, nothing was concluded; but that more time was required to confult their Predictions and Oracles, and to confider farther before they could come to a resolution: And in the mean time, not to detain John Sierra, and the Frier any longer, it was ordered, that they should be dispatched away to Lima, with two other Indian Captains, who in the name of the Inca should attend the Vice-King, and treat with him concerning the Pention and allowance which was to be given to the Inca, in confideration that the Inheritance and Succession of those Kingdoms, did by Right of Nature belong unto him. Being in this manner dismit, they travelled by the way of Andaquaylas to the City of Los Reyes, where they arrived on St. Peters day in the month of June. The Indian Captains having had Audience of the Vice-King. and declared what they had to fay in behalf of their Inca, were kindly received by him, and hospitably treated for the space of eight days; during which time they were lodged in the City, and had frequent conferences with the Vice-King, touching the entertainment which was to be given the Inca for the maintenance of his Court, and Equipage agreeable to his Dignity, so as to be able to live peaceably amongst them, paying Homage and Obedience to the King. The Vice-King having confulted this point with the Arch-Bilhop and Judges, it was agreed to give an allowance to the Inca. of seventeen thousand pieces of Eight yearly in Money for maintenance of himfelf, and Sons; besides the Indians and Estate of Francisco Hernandez, and to hold therewith the Valley of Yucay, together with the Indians and Lands formerly belonging to Don Francisco Hernandez, the Son of the Marquis: With fome Lands belonging to the Fortress of Cuzco which was assigned to him for his dwelling house and place, wherein he was to keep his Indian Court. In confirmation and for security hereof, an instrument was drawn up, to settle this Allowance on the Inca, provided that in the space of six Months after the date thereof, which was the fifth of July, the Inca should accept of those Conditions, and leave his habitation in the Mountains, and come and live amongst the Spaniards. This Writing was delivered to John Sierra, who was folely appointed to return therewith, accompanied only with the two Indian Captains; and by that time that he was come to the Indian Court, the Inca had received the coloured Wreath, and with great joy received the Letters, and Writings from the Vice-King, &c. Thus far Diego Hernandez, which I thought fit to extract verbaim from his own Writings; that I might not feem to have enlarged on the Care, and Cautions used by the Indians in their Treaty above the Sphere of their Capaci.

And now it will not be from our purpole, to explain some passages, which this Author hath touched upon in the preceeding discourse. The first is concerning those Carives, who, he says, did cat one the other in the time of War: it is true, that this was accultomary in the Empire of Mexico, in the antient times of Heathenisme. But in Pern it was never practifed;

For as we have said to the first part, the Incas made fevere Laws against those who cat human Flesh: And therefore we must understand this Author, according to the custome of Mexico, and not of Peru. The Revenue given to the Inca, did not amount to 17000 pieces of Eight, (for as we have faid before) the Lands of Francisco Hernandez did not yield above ten thouland pieces of Eight per annum. And as to what he fays, they gave him in the Valley of Incay, which was the Estate of the Son of Marquis Francisco Pigarro, it was in reality worth nothing, for that Valley being very pleafant, and delightful, was divided amongst the Spaniards, who were Citizens of Cozco, and well cultivated by them, and fenced in to make Gardens and Vineyards, as it is to this day: Wherefore the poor Inca enjoyed nothing more, than to have the Title of being Lord of Tuca; which notwithstanding, he highly escenned. being the most pleasant piece of ground in all the Empire. The grant of which, was not carried to the Inca by John de Sierra, as this Author intimates, but was given him at Los Reyes, when he personally appeared there, to visit the Vice-King, and pay the Complement of Obedience: But that which was carried by John de Sierra, and delivered to the Inca, was no other than an Act of Grace, and Pardon of all his Crimes, without mentioning any particulars, or making any promifes of support, or maintenance for himself or Family; or fetting out any Lands, to make him a Revenue. In the following Chapter we will fet down every thing methodically as they passed; for what we have anticipated in this place, is only to shew by another hand, what Cantion, Subtilty, Craft, and Jealousie, the Indian Captains used in their Treaties, before they would adventure to commit their Prince into the power of the Spaniards.

# CHAP. X.

The Governours of the Prince consult the several Prophesies, and Prognostications which were made, concerning the event of their Prince's departure from the Mountains. Diverse Opinions arise thereupon; the Inca resolves to go; he comes to Los Reyes, where he is received by the Vice-King. The answer which the Inca made, when the Instrument was delivered to him, which allotted, and secured a maintenance to bim.

THE Captains and Tutors of the Inea continued their Debates, and Confultations concerning the Surrender of their Debates, and Confultations, concerning the Surrender of their Prince, into the hands of the Spaniards: And for better affurance therein, they inspected the Entrails of the Bealts, which they offered in Sacrifice, and observed the flying of Birds by Day, and those of the Night; they looked on the Skye, to fee whether it were thick or cloudy, or whether the Sun were bright and clear, without Milts, or Clouds which covered it, and accordingly they made their Prognoffications of good or bad Fortune: They made no enquiries of the Devil: because, (as we have said before) all the Oracles of that Country ceased, and became dumb, so soon as the Sacraments of our Holy Mother the Church of Rome entered into these Dominions. And tho' all the Observations made, feemed good Omens, and portended happy fuccess; yet the Captains were divided in their Opinions. Some faid that it was fit for their Prince to appear publickly, and in the Eyes of his People, to whom nothing could be fo pleafant and acceptable, as the presence of his Person. Others L11111 2

faid, that there was no reason to expect the rellauration of their Prince, for the Inca was already dispossessed of his Empire, and the same divided amongst the Spaniards, and proportioned by Pravinces, and Plantations, of which there was no hopes ever to see a restitution: And in such a condition as this, a Prince dijunerited and divested of all his Power, and Riches, would make such a poor figure before his People, as would give them Subject rather of Sorrow, than of loy at his presence. And the vice-King promised to make him an allowance, wherewith honourably to support himself and Family; yet not having allotted the Provinces, nor named the parts from whence such Revenue is to arife, it looks as if he intended to feed him with empty words. without any real or substantial performances; and in case when an allowance is afligned, which doth not prove agreeable to the Quality of the Prince, he had lived a more happy Exile within these Mountains, than exposed abroad to Mifery and Scorn. But what fecurity have you, that these Spaniards will not deal with this Prince, as they fometime did with his Father? whom, instead of returning him all the acknowledgments, which a Soul endued with Humanity. and Reason, was capable to render, they barbarously killed with the stroak of a Bowl upon his Head, whilest he endeavoured to divertise, and solace them a that Game, in their Solitude and retirement with him, where he concealed and fecured them from the hands of their Enemies. Nor is it follows fince the time of Atabualpa, but that we may remember how they strangled him against the Faith and Articles of Peace which were made with them, having thereby given us a clear Evidence, how far their Honesty and Promises extend.

These and other Examples of the faithless and treacherous performances, used by the Spaniards towards the Caciques, and other Indians of Principal Note, were particularly called to mind, and related (the which for brevity sake we omit.) And afterwards the two Opinions, with the Arguments on each side, being laid before the Prince, he inclined to the advice of remaining in his Station, and not intrusting his Person to the Honesty and Mercy of the Spaniards; and herein he was more strongly confirmed, when he reflected on the Face of his Father, and his Uncle Atahualpa. And then it was, (what Palentino saith before) that the Prince ordered the Letters, and Presents, and Writings to be returned to the Vice-King, and to tell him, That as he might do his own will and pleasure, so he, who was the Inca, was free and independant of any, and so would continue.

But whereas our Lord God had, out of his infinite goodness and mercy, determined, that that Prince, his Wife and Children, and Family, should be admitted into the Bosom of our Mother the Roman Catholick Church; he so governed the Heart of this Prince, that notwithstanding all the Afrightments, and Apprehensions he conceived of incurring the like Fate with his Ancestors, he yet in a short time changed his mind, and resolved to throw himself, and his Good Fortune, on the Faithfulness, and good Nature of the Spaniards. The which P.:!entino confirms, and says, That after John Sierra, and the others were departed, the Inca dispatched two Indians after them, with Orders to cause them to return, and give up the Commission which was delivered to them.

Thus did this matter pass, as this Author relates, tho' with some difference in respect to time, and the method of the several proceedings: I for my part fet them down in that Form as they succeeded, according as they were often related to my Mother, by our Indian Kindred, who came out with the Prince, and made this matter the Subject of their discourse at the time of their Visits. But to be short in this Story, the Prince having, with a little time, abated his choller, which the memory of his Father, and Uncle, had raifed in him; he declared his resolution to visit the Vice-King, who perhaps might thereby be inclined to protect, and favour his Royal Stocks Howfoever the Captains defired, and importuned him to be more cautious, and kind to himself, than to expose his life and safety to the Will and Mercy of the Spaniards: But finding the Inca resolute, and determined to go, faying, that it was the Command of the Pachacamac, and of his Father the Sun, the Captains acquiefced, and again had their recourse to the good and bad Oniens, and to confult with Birds, and the Sky, and the weather: and feeing no unlucky appearances, they closed with the defires of their Princes

and all agreed to go with him to the City of Los Riyes. On his Journey thicher he was met by the Caciques, and all the Indians of the Provinces through which he palled, who entertained and feafted him and his Train in the best manner they were able: But alas, it was all performed with fadness, by men who compared the prefent circumstances with the antient grandore of their Inc. 1. The Prince travelled in his Chair, not made of Gold, like that of his Ancestors. but of less rich materials, carried by three hundred Indians, whom he brought with him, and not by those who were subjected to the Spaniards, Morcover, by the Advice and Counfel of his Captains, fo foon as he had paffed the Confines of his own Dominion, he took off the coloured wreath which bound his Head. left that being a Badge and Signal of Soveraignty should give offence to the Spaniards, as if he laid claim to the Dominions of which he was deprived. In this manner did this Prince travel, until he came to the City of Los Reyes. where fo foon as he was arrived, he went to make his Complement and Vilit to the Vice-King, who (as Palentino faith in these words) was attending for him at his own House; and when he came in, he received him kindly, and arose up to him, and caused him to sit in a Chair equal with his. By the Discourses which passed between them, the Prince gave all the indications of a wife and prindent person, and worthy to be accounted of that Line from whence he was descended. Thus far this Author.

Two days afterwards the Archbishop of the City invited him to Dinnerwhen by direction of the Chief Governours, it was ordered. That with the Defert, or last Course, the Archbishop Don Geronimo de Loaysa should deliver to the Prince the Instrument whereby his Pention and Allowance was fettled; fuppoling that being reached to him by fuch a hand, it might ferve to enhance the estimation of the Present. But some who seldom speak well of any man, reported, that the Archbishop shewed himself ossicious in this matter, in hopes by this Present to gain another from the Inca in Gold, and Silver, and Emerolds. or fuch like fooleries. But the Inca wifely returned a Mathematical demonstration to the Archbishop, and the Guests invited thither, sufficient to anfwer their Expectations: for after the Cloth was taken away, the Ufher of the Hall brought the Instrument of Settlement, which assigned a maintenance for support of the Inca and his Family, in a great Bason of gilded Plate: which when the Prince had heard, and had understood the Contents thereof, he gathered the end of the Carpet in his Hand which covered the Table, and which was made of Velvet, with a deep Fringe of Silk at the bottom, and squeezing the folds hard with his Hand, he held it up, and faid, All this Cloth with the Furniture thereof was mine, and now they pay me with a thread-thereof, for support of my felf and my whole Family. With which the Dinner and Entertainment ending, the Archbishop, and the Guests who were with him, greatly wondered at the aptness of the comparison, so well fitted to the present matter.

## CHAP. XI.

The Prince Sayri Tupac returns to Cozco, where he is feasted and entertained by his own People. He and his Wife are baptized. The name which he took. The several Visits which he made in the City.

THE Prince having remained fome days in the City of Los Reyes, demanded leave of the Vice-King, that he might go to Cozco, which was granted to him, with many offers of Services and Complements, as formerly: Being on his Journey, he was met in the way, and treated by his Indian Subjects, as formerly: And at his entrance into the City of Inamanea, he was met by the Citizens of that place, who entertained him, Congratulating and Rejoycing

ing which was provided for him. The next day a certain Inhabitant of that City, called Michael Aftere, came to make him a Vifit, and prefented to him the coloured Wreath, which he declared he had taken from the King Arabualpa in Caffamarca, when he was made Prisoner by the Spaniards, and that now he was glad of the occasion to reflore it unto him, as of right belonging to the Heir of that Empire. The Prince outwardly feemed to receive it with many expressions of Thanks: and it was faid. That he paid a good reward for it, in Gold, and Silver, and Jewels. But we may believe otherwife, and that this Prefent was difpleafing, as the Prince often fignified in fecret, and that it was abominable and odious to him, for having belonged to Atabualpa: For all the Kindred of the Prince were of opinion, that the War, Rebellion, and Tyranny which Atabualoa made upon Huawar the lawful King, had been the cause of ruine and destruction of the whole Empire: and for that reason, that the Wreath ought to be burned, which that Auca or Traytor had worn, who had destroyed them. and their Pofferity. This, and much more on this Subject our Kindred related to my Mother, when they came to Cozco, and made her their Visits.

The Prince having palled Huamanea, by case Journies came at length to Cozco. and lodged in the House of his Aunt Donna Beatriz, which was on the back fide of my Fathers dwelling, to which place all those of the Royal Blood. both men and women reforted to welcome him to the Imperial City; and I my felf went in the name of my Father, to ask leave that he might personally come and pay his respects to him; I found him then playing at a certain game used amongst the Indians, of which I have given an account in the first part of these Commentaries; I kissed his Hands, and delivered my Message; he commanded me to fit down, and prefently they brought two guilded Cups of that Liquor, made of Mayz, which fcarce contained four ounces of Drink; he took them both, and with his own Hand he gave one of them to me; he drank, and I pledged him; which as we have faid, is the cultom of Civility among the them. This Ceremony being past, he asked me, Why I did not meet him at Villeapampa? I answered him, Inca, as I am but a Youngman, the Governours make no account of me, to place me in fuch Ceremonies as these. How replied the Inca. I would rather have feen you than all the Friers and Fathers in Town, though it were the Father in the Frock, or he in the Surplice: and tell my Aunt, That I kifs her Hands, and that she should not come hither, for I will wait upon her my felf, and rejoyce at our happy meet-

In this manner, he entertained me a great while, making many enquiries of my condition, and how I spent my time; and taking my leave of him, he desired me often to visit him. As I was going away, I made him a submission of the solution of the manner of the Indians, who are of his alliance and Kindred, at which he was so much pleased, that he embraced me heartily, and with much affection, as appeared by his Countenance. At that time all the Caciques, and as many Indian Ossicos were from Cozco to the Charcas, (which is a Tract of Land reaching 200 Leagues in length, and above 120 in breadth) were then present, and all attending on the Inca; for whose sake the Feasts and Rejoycings which they made were celebrated with more Joy and Solemnity than in the parts and places of the Journey, through which they had passed: though others of more wise and sober temper, were greatly troubled to consider the meanness and poverty of their Prince, and that such Maygames as those were invented to express his Grandure.

Whilest these Shews were acting, the Prince desired, that he might be admitted to Baptism, and that my Lord, and Father Gargilass might be his Godfather, as it had formerly been agreed amongst them, but he being then very weak and sick was not able to perform this Oslice, so that another Gentleman, one of the most antient and pincipal Citizens called Alonso de Himposta a Native of Travillo, was substituted in his place; with this Inca Sayri Tepar, his Wise named Cust Himveay was also baptized; who (as Palentino shith) was the Daughter of Humseay inca; perhaps rather she might be his Nicce, for to have been his Daughter, she must at least have been thirty

# BOOK VIII. Royal Commentaries.

thirty two years of Age: For Andreadpartook Harden Prifoner in the year 1928. and the Spiniards entered into that Empire 1530, and as others will have it 1531; and when the Inca, and his wife the Infanta were baptized, it was in the year 1558; which being at the end thereof, the Infance according to this account mult be above 30 years of age; whereas, in reality, when the was baptized, the was not above 17 years old, for mult have been an Errour in the Calculation, by calling her Daughter instead of Nicce. She was a Woman of great Beauty, and had been much more Comely, had she been fair; but that tawny Complexion, which is common to the Women of that Countrey, much abates that sweetness of Air, and those good features which are natural to them. The Prince Sayri Tupac had a fancy to have the name of Diego (which is James) superadded to him at his Baptism, in respect to that glorious Apostle St. James, who according to a Tradition received from his Father, and his Captains, appeared miraculoufly in favour and defence of the Spaniards, when they were befieged in that City. The Inhabitants of the City honoured the day of the Inca's Baptism with the sport of Bulls, and throwing Darts, and other signals of joy, appearing in rich Attire and costly Liveries. I my self am an Eve-witness thereof, having been a chief Actor in these divertisements. After these Festivals were over, and that the Caciques had made their Vilits; the Inca remained some days in the Convertation of his Friends, and enjoyment of himself with case and plenty, during which time he visited that famous Fortress which his Ancestors had built; much admiring to fee it fallen to decay, and partly demolished by those, whose Glory and Honour it was to have kept up such a Monument and Trophy of their Conquests: as this Hiltory testilies. He also visited the Cathedral Church, and the Convent of our Lady of the Merceds, and of St. Francis, and St. Dominick; in all which he adored the molt Holy Sacrament, calling it Pachacamae, P. ch. w. amae, (which is God of Heaven and Earth.) And with the like profound Reverence he worshipped the Image of our Lady. calling it Mother of God. The fome malitious Men, who fpeak well of none. feeing him with great Devotion on his knees before the Molt Holy Sacrament in the Church of St. Dominick, faid, that he was worshipping the Sun his Father, and the bodies of his Ancestors which were interred in that Church He also visited the Houses of the Select Virgins dedicated to the Sun: but passed by the habitation of his Ancestors, which were totally demolished, and other new Edifices erected by the Spaniards in their places. All these particulars were not performed in a day, nor in a week, but in many; making these visits his recreation, and pastime, to fill up his vacant hours. And having passed teveral Months in this manner, he went to the Valley of Tucay, rather to enjoy the Air, and delights of that Pleasant Garden formerly belonging to his Ancestors, than in regard to any Claim or Propriety he had therein. And there he continued during the fhort time of his Life, which did not continue above three years afterwards. He left a Danghter, which was afterwards married to a Spaniard called Martin Garcia de Loyola, of whom we shall speak at large in its due place, and of the manner how he ended his days.

## CHAP. XII.

The Vice-King raises, and maintains Horse and Foot for security of the Empire. Four of the antient Conquerours dye a natural Death.

THE Vice-King, having acquitted himself of the importunities of those who pretended to Lands, and Estates in reward of their Services, by oxpelling them out of Peru; having also put those to death who had field with

with Hernandez Giron in his Rebellon; and reduced the Prince, who was Heir to the Empire unto the Service, and Obedience of his Catholick Majesty; which were all great things, and of high importance: He in the next place, raifed ftanding Forces of Horse and Foot, to scurre the Empire in peace, and to defend the Power of the Courts of Justice, and his own Person. The Horsemen he called Lances, and the Footmen Musquetcers; to every Lance he assigned a Pension of a thousand Pieces of Eight a year, with condition to maintain himfelf. Horse, and Arms, without other charge, the which were 70 in number : The Mufqueteers were to be 200, at five hundred pieces of Eight a year, who were to be at all times in a readiness, and to maintain and keep their Musquets and other Arms bright and well fixed. These men were to be chosen out of those who were of approved Loyalty, and faithfulness to the Service of his Majesty, tho' many gave them a different Character, and termed them Persons. who, if they had had their due, had been fit only for the Gallies, having been actually engaged in the Rebellions of Hernandez Giron, and Don Schaftian de Cassilla. and who for the Murders they had committed, and the blood they had foilt in private quarrels amongst themselves, had often deserved the Gallows; but all was smothered up, and the Vice-King's Commands obeyed: And now the Kingdom being quiet, and freed of those fears to which it was Subjected by the Seditions and Mutinies of a company of rash and rebellious Souldiers; the Vice-King bended his thoughts towards publick Edifices, and to matters of good Government: And at leisure hours he passed his time in honest Pleasures, and innocent Recreations: And herein he was much diverted by an Indian Boy of about 14 or 15 years of Age, who pretended to be a Jester, and of a very facetious and pleasant Humour; He was presented to the Vice-King, who took great delight to hear him talk, and utter his little impertinencies, part in the *Indian*, and part in a corrupted *Spanifi* Tongue; and particularly, when he would fay your Excellency, he would fay your Pestilency, which made the Vice-King laugh heartily; and some then in Company, who joyned in laughter with him, would fay that that Title was more corresponding to him than the other, if it were rightly considered, how great a Plague and Pestilence he had been to those whom he had killed, and to their Children whose Estates he had consiscated: and to those whom he banished out of Peru, and fent them into Spain, Poor, Naked, and Forlorn, whom it had been a Mercy to have killed, rather than to have treated in that inhumane manner. And with fuch reflections as these, evil Tongues aspersed all the actions of the Vice-King, as if Rigour and Severity were not agreeable to the Nature and Constitutions of the People of Peru.

Royal Commentaries. BOOK VIII.

Amidst these various Revolutions of good and bad Fortune within this Kingdom, the Marshal Alonso de Alvarado, after a long and tedious Sickness contracted by Grief and Melancholly, dyed: For after the defeat which he received at the Battel of Chiquinea, he scarcely enjoyed an hour of contentment, but pined, and macerated away, till the Lamp of his Life was totally extinguished: And because the manner of his Death was fomething extraordinary, 'twill not be impertinent to recount it in this place, which was thus. When he was in his last Agony of death, and ready to give up the Ghost, they removed him out of his Bed, and laid him upon a Carpet in the same Chamber, and by him a Cross made in Ashes, according to the Custom of the Knights of St. Jago, or St. James: And having layen a short time upon the Carpet, he seemed to revive, and come to himself; so that they returned him again to his Bed; where after a short time falling into a like fit, his Attendants laid him out on the Carpet in the same manner as before; and then coming out of his Leipothymy, and feeming better, was again laid into his Bed; and so between the Carpet, and the Bed, he continued for the space of forty days, to the great labour and trouble of his Servants, until at length he breathed his last. A short time afterwards his eldest Son dyed, by whose decease the Estate, which descended to him from his Father, came to devolve to the Crown: But his Majesty, considering the great Services which the Marshal had done, was pleased to continue it to his second Son; which was a favour granted to very few in that Empire.

The death of Don Alenfo de Alvarado, was seconded by that of John Talio de Hojeda, a Noble person, and one of the Ancient Conquerours, and one of the Prime Citizens, and of the first Rank in Cozco: He was married to Donna Leonora de Tordoya, Niece to Gargilasso de la Vega, being Daughter to his Eldest Brother, by whom he had Don Gomez de Tordoya, who was Heir to his Eff. te. Some few Months afterwards dyed my Lord and Father Garcilallo de la Vega, after a long fickness of two years and a half, with several intervals and changes: For feeming once perfectly cured, he mounted on horse-back. and went into the City, as one in good and found health; and thus continuing for the space of three or four Months, his illness returned upon him again, and confined him for as long a time to his Chamber, where he remained until the time of his Decease; and, according to his last Will and Testament, he was buried in the Convent of St. Francis.

In those days it was the Custom to make very solemn Funerals, carrying the Corps three times round the Parade, or publick place; and for every turn which was made, a high Pedestal was raised, whereon to repose the Body. whilft the Responses were singing; and then another stand was erected in the Church, whereon to lay the Corps, during the time whilft they celebrated the Office for the Dead. But in regard, that before all these Ceremonies could be performed, it was tedious, and troublesome to the Priest and People: It was ordered by Gargitaffo, that the former punctillio's should be omitted, and that his Body should be laid on a Carpet, with a black Cloth over it, without Pedestals, or Stands, which were troublesome, and chargeable to erect; which being accordingly observed, as he had directed: All others following the same Example, to the great ease of the People.

When I was arrived in Spain, I there received a Bolle from his Holineis. giving License to take up the Bones of my Father, and transport them into Spain; which accordingly was performed, and his Reliques brought over to him, which I deposited in the Church of St. Isidoro in Sevile, where they now remain buried, to the Glory and Honour of our Lord God; whose mercy be

This Mortality was a year afterwards followed by the death of Lorenço de Aldana, after a long and grievous sickness; he never had been married. nor ever had any natural Sons. By his last Will and Testament he left his Lands to his Heir, that therewith he might be enabled to pay fuch Fines, and Taxes, and Tributes, which should afterwards be laid upon them. He was a very! Noble and Generous person, and one of the second Adventurers. who entered into Pern with Don Pedro de Alvarado. Some short time after the War of Concalo Pigarro was ended, two young Gentlemen of his Kindred, tho' not very nearly allyed, came over to him in that Country, whom he kindly received, and treated as if they had been his own Sons. At the end of three years that these young Men had been with him, he thought it fit to put them into some way of livelyhood, and in order thereunto, he gave them a Stock, and fent them to his Steward, to teach them how, and in what manner they might employ and improve it; for according to the Custom of that Country, whilst there was no War, nor Expeditions on new Discoveries; it was no disparagement to a Gentleman, to trade and seek ways of gain, rather than to fit idle, and without business. And so he gave them ten thousand pieces of Eight, which are twelve thousand Ducats, advifing them that it was their Stock, which with good husbandry they might increase to a considerable benefit; and which he believed they would have received kindly from him, and with thanks: but these young Sparks scornfully rejected the Offer, and told him, That it was a dishonour and shame, for Gentlemen of their Quality, to buy and fell like Merchants; and tho' the Steward acquainted them, that the most noble Spaniards in that Country, were used to trade with the Natives of the Country, and to buy up their Commodities, fuch as the Herb Cuca, and Mayz, and fend them to the Mines of Plate at Potocfi, for provisions to support the People which laboured there: Which was no dishonour for the best Men to do; and was not of the same nature and esteem with those who sate in Shops, and measured out Cloth and Silks by the yard. And if they thought it too mean also to deal like other persons of Quality, they might act by their Mmmmm

1003

Indian Servants, whose Industry and Faithfulness they might cutrust with all confidence. But they answered, That they would upon no Terms whatforver to far abase and degrade themselves; for being Gentlemen, they more esteemed their Gentility, than all the Gold and Silver in Peru. The which Answer the Steward making known to his Master, and how much the voung Gentlemen stood on the Punctilio's of their Noble Blood; their good Kinfman Lorenço de Aldana, with much calmness made answer. Il thele are such Gentlemen, how come they so poor? And if they are so poor, how come they So Aldana never troubled his Kinsmen, nor himself farther. to put them in a way of livelyhood, but suffered them to pass meanly and in necessity, as I have feen them; the not so much as to want Diet. or Cloathing. For when they came from Arequeps to Cozco, they lodged in the House of my Lord Gargiaffo, where they were provided with all things necellary; and when they passed to other Cities, the Houses of their Country-men of Estremadura were always open to them; for in those days the very name of a Country-man, was sufficient to make them as welcome, as if they had been Sons, or the nearest relation to a Family. These four Gentlemen, whom we have mentioned in this place, were all of the Ancient Conquerours of Peru who dyed in their Beds of a natural Death; the which we specifie as a thing rare, and strange; for as appears by the preceding Hiltory, there is not an Example of any who have dyed in this manner. but all have come to their Ends by violent deaths. Wherefore these worthy Persons, having been Conquerours, and Planters of this Empire, and dying in a Happy and Bleffed manner, were greatly lamented by the People, for the fingular Vertue, Honour, and Goodness, with which they were endued.

Royal Commentaries. BOOK VIII.

Tho' there were no express Law of God, which should command us to honour our Parents, yet the Law of Nature teaches it to the most barbarous People of the World, and inclines them to omit no occasion whereby to express the Duty and Respect they owe to them. The which confideration, incited by Divine and Humane Laws, and even enstamped on the Hearts of Heathens, obliges me to publif the Vertues of my Father after his Death, which I had not opportunity to do, during the time of his Life. And that the Praises, and Commendations, which I attribute to my Father, may not feem partial, and proceeding from Affection; I will here repeat an Elogium made by a Fryer, of a devout and religious Life, which he delivered after his death, for the Comfort and Confolation of his Children, and Friends, and as an Example for other persons to imitate. I should here name the good Man, who wrote this Oration, but he engaged me not to do it, but to conceal him when I published the Writing: and I wish I were not under that Engagement, that by his Authority, the praises of my Father might appear the more Authentick. I shall omit the Exordium, and the many Oratorical Flights, and Colours he uses. And, as becomes an Historian, I shall be very short in this pions Digression.

A

A Funeral Oration made by a Religious Person in Honour of Garcilallo de la Vega, my Lord, after his Death.

His Speech or Oration is filled with such Doxologies, and Rodomontadoes, after the Spanish manner, as neither agree with the style of an Historian, nor with the English humour, unless I intended to expose my Spaniard, and render him as fantastical as the vainest of his Country-men. I have therefore thought sit to pass it by. lest in straining our English above its key, it should bear no harmony in consort with the Spanish Language, and so we shall proceed unto

### CHAP. XIII.

Wherein is treated of those, who, for demanding a reward for their Services, were banished into Spain; and what Favour and Grace his Majesty bestowed upon them. Don Garcia de Mendoca is sent Governour unto Chile; and of the Skirmilb he had there with the Indians.

But to return now to the Petitioners, who, for demanding a Reward in Lands, for their past Services, were (as we have faid) banish'd into Spain; they at length arrived there poor, naked, and almost famished: And in this guise they presented themselves in the Court before the King, Don Philip the Second, which moved great Compassion in all those who were acquainted with their Story, and how they had been banished, and ill treated for doing their Duty, and demanding a Reward of their Services. But his Majesty was more gracious to them, giving a Pension to as many of them, as would return to the Indies. out of his Royal Exchequer, that they might have nothing to do with the Vice-King, nor need to make Addresses, or Petitions to him: And as many of them as defired to remain in Spain, he gratified with Allowances agreeable to their Condition, that is, with more or less, according to their Services; and so I found them provided for, when I came into Spain; which was some short time after these matters were transacted. Their Money was affigned them upon the Custom-house at Sevile; the least that any of them had, was 480 Ducats of yearly Pension; and as their Merits were, so were their Allowances to 6, 800, and a thousand, to 1200 Ducats, to remain Annuities to them for all the days of their Lives. A while afterwards, his Majesty being acquainted with the Discourses which were commonly made in the City of Los Reyes, touching the hard usage of the banished Souldiers; to prevent farther Mutinies there, and other Diforders which might arife, by reason of the Severity, and Rigour of the Vice-King, his Majesty was pleased to provide himself with another Governour for Peru, named Don Diego de Azenedo, a Gentleman endued with all qualities of Vertue and Goodness, from whom the Counts of Fuentes are defeended. But whilft he was preparing for his Voyage, he died of a natural death, to the great grief of all those of Peru, who upon the news thereof, much lamented themselves, saying, that they had not deserved a Vice-King so good and so qualified, and therefore God had snatched him away from them into Heaven: And this was the common faying, as I have heard amongst the Grave and Wife Men of that Country. But in regard this Gentleman did not pass into Peru, we do not find his Name in the List of the Vice-Kings, which were transported into that great Kingdom. In the mean time whilft these matters were transacting in the Court of Spain, the Vice-King of Peru, dispatched away his Son Don Garcia de Mendoça for Governour, and Captain General Mmmmmm 2

Воок VIII.

of the Kingdom of Chile, which was become vacant by the Death of Geronimus de Alderete, who died on his way thither of grief, to think that 800 Persons perified in the Galcon by his fault, and the fault of his Sifter in-Law; for he knew well, that if it had not been in confideration of him, the Mafter of the Shin would not have given License to that Religious Woman to keep a Candle in her Cabin by night, which was the destruction of the Vessel, and of all those therein. The advancement of Don Garcia de Mendosa, to that Charge and Truft, was pleafing to all those of Peru; so that many Souldiers, and Persons of Estates, offered themselves freely to accompany him in that Expedition. knowing that it would be a Service acceptable to his Majesty, and to the Vice-King Santillian the Chief Judge of the Chancery, was appointed Deputy Governour to Don Garcia, and to direct and guide him; and he was earnefly intreated to accept of this Office. Great preparations were made over all the Kingdom for this Journey, of Armes, Horses, Cloaths, and other Ornaments, which cost very dear in this Country, where all the Commodities of Spain are raised to a valt price. The Vice-King also appointed three other Gentlemen of Onality for three feveral parts, which were within that Conquest; namely, Gomez Arias, John de Salinas, and Anton de Annayo, every one of which was very studious to discharge his Duty in his Office respectively.

Don Garcia de Mendoça being gone to his Government, attended, as we have faid, with a great number of Choice and Select Persons: So soon as he was in the possession thereof, he speedily designed the Conquest of the Indian Aranwho were become very infolent and proud by those Victories which they had gained over the Spaniards: The first was that over Don Pedro de Valdivia, which was followed by some others afterwards, which are written in Verse by the Poets of those times, which had been much more properly delivered in Profe, for then we might have given Credit thereunto, more than we can to

the Fictions of Poetry.

The Governour having in a short time provided himself with all things necessary for the War, entered into the rebelled Provinces with a number of brave Men, Arms, Amunition and Provisions, for the Enemy had carried away every thing, leaving the Country naked, and without any Sustenance for an Army. They had not entered very far into these parts, but the Indians had fitted an Ambush for them, and had composed a Vanguard of 5000 Indians, with orders not to fight, nor come within any danger of being forced by the Enemy to an engagement. The Spaniards, being informed by their Scouts and Spyes fent abroad, that the Indians fled before them, without any ftop or stay in a fetled place; gave order to pursue them with all convenient speed, and yet with such Caution, as not to be entrapped by their Ambushes, or Surprisals: for the Governour, at the time he first entered into that Country, had been forc-warned by those who had been acquainted with the Stratagems which those People use in the War, by skirmishing, and slying, to be always circumfbect, and doubtful of them. Howfoever to eager was the Governour to purfue the Enemy, in hopes totally to destroy them, and by a bloody slaughter of them to discourage the rest from making farther opposition, that he made little use of the Caution which was given him; for leaving his Camp, and Tents, he followed the Enemy a whole day, and a night; and being removed at a good distance from thence, out came the Indians from their holes and places, where they had been hidden, and feized on the Camp without any oppolition, and plundered and carried away all the Baggage, and Necessaries belonging to the Army. With the News hereof the Governour was forced to give over his chase, and see to recover what the Enemy had plundered from him; but it was too late, for they were returned to their fecret Holds, and to the places where they had concealed their booty past all recovery. The news of this success came to Peru, almost as soon as that of the Governours arrival in the seat of his Government, so that all the World wondered at this sudden accident, and how in so short a time the Indians should be such Gainers, and the Spaniards such Losers, for they had loft all their Baggage, even to their very Shirts, and wearing Cloaths. To repair this difafter, the Vice-King fent away with all speed new Recrnits of all things that were necessary, in which he expended out of the King's Treasury vast finns of Gold and Silver, at which People much murmured, as Palemino faith, meaning the first expence which was made, when Don Garcia went to his Government of Chili, but mentions not this fecond charge, occasioned by the Robbery which the Indians had made upon him, which was more displeasing than the former, and moved People to fay, That the Vice-King, for the fake of his Son, had exhaulted the Kings Exchequer of all the Trealire. But as to what fineceded afterwards in the Kingdom of Chile, we shall leave to other Writers; and consine our felves to the Territories of Peru, having expatiated our felves from thence no farther, than only to touch on the departure of the Vice-Kings Son from thence, and the death of Loyola. Those who think sit to write the History of that Kingdom, will find subject enough whereon to enlarge their Discourses on a War, which hath continued already for lifty eight years between the Indians and Spaniards; that is, The Arancans rebelled towards the end of the year 1553, and now we are in the year 1611, and the Wars not as yet ended. We might here recount the unhappy death of the Governour Francisco de Villagra. with 200 Spaniards more; which happened on that ridge of Mountains, which hath ever fince had the name of Villagra. We might here also tell of the death of Major General John Rodulfo with 200 men with him, whom they killed on the Bogg or Marsh of Puren. I could wish to have been informed of the several particular successes of these Affairs, and many greater which happened in this warlike Kingdom, that I might have added them to this Hiltory. But I do not doubt, where People have been born with fuch Martial Spirits, but that the same Countrey will produce in future Ages, Sons of her own, endued with a Spirit and Genius of Learning capable to write their own Hiltory: And it shall be my Prayer to God, That Knowledge and Learning may flourish in all that famous Kingdom.

# CHAP. XIV.

The Heirs of those who were put to Death for siding with Francisco Hernandez Giron in his Rebellions, are restored to their Estates and Plantations. Pedro de Orsua attempts the Conquest of the Amazons. His End and Death, with many others with him.

THE Vice-King Don Andres de Hortado, seeing those men whom he had ba-1 nished from Peru, for demanding a Reward of their past Services, now again returned with Pensions assigned on the Treasure of his Majesty, and on the Cheft of the three Keys, he wondered much at the fuccess, not imagining by what interest it could have been procured for them: but more strange it seemed to him, to hear of the coming of a new Vice-King to succeed him in that Office. This change of Fortune caused him to change his Humour, and convert much of that haughty and severe Spirit which was natural to him, into a Gentleness and Lenity more becoming the Office of a great Minister: and in this good temper he continued to the end of his life, which was so extraordinary, that those who observed it, would say, That if he had begun as he ended, he would have proved the most admirable Governour that ever had been in the World. Thus when the Kingdom observed this great change in the Vice-King, the Country in peace and quietness, and the rigour of the Justices converted into an affable and complying Humour; those who had been lately oppressed by the heavy Hand of Justice, assumed the courage to demand satisfaction for the evils and damages they had fultained. Accordingly the Sons and Heirs of those Citizens, who had been executed for being engaged in the Rebellion of Hernandez, made claims of their Estates, laying before the Justices the Instruments of Pardon, which had been given to their Fathers: and fo followed the fuit, that after feveral hearings and reviews of their Cause, they obtained Sentence to have their Lands, and Commands over Indians restored to them, together with all other

Confications of their Estates: and thus did they obtain a restitution of their Indians which the Vice-King had divided, and conferred on other Spaniards to increase and better their Estates. At all which the Vice-King was in great trouble and perplexity: For not only did he fuffer the affront to have his own Ordets repealed, but also lay under an obligation of making satisfaction to those who were dispossessed, by some other returns, or equivalents to be made them. All that hath been faid in this matter, I faw my felf transacted in Cozco, and the like passed in other Cities, where the same rigour of Justice had been put in practice; as namely, in Huamanca, Arequepa, the Charcas, and the New Plantapealed, and that the Heirs were restored again to the possession of their Lands: the Spaniards took a liberty to report, That this course was taken without any order from his Majesty, or direction from the Council of the Indies, but meerly by the Power and arbitrary Will of the Vice-King, intending by such severities to shew his Power, and secure himself from all Mutinies and Conspiracies for the future. But the Vice-King being now of another Humour, and proceeding with that gentleness and good temper which we have before mentioned: was pleased to grant unto a certain Gentleman of Worth and Virtue, and of an agreeable Person, pamed Pedro de Orsua, a License to make a Conquest of the Country of the Amazons, which runs along the River Marannon, which is the fame we have mentioned before, where Francisco Orellana deserting Gonçalo Picarro came into Spain, and begged of his Majetty the aforesaid Conquest, but he died in the way, and never put his Enterprise into Action. In pursuance of this Grant Pedro de Orsua went from Cozco to Quita to raise Souldiers, who were willing to adventure on new Conquests: For in Peru all the Lands were meafured out, and divided amongst the Antient Conquerours, and men of Merit in that Empire: He also gathered all the Arms and Provisions he was able, to which the Citizens, and Inhabitants of those Cities, largely contributed by their Bounty and Liberality; for fo obliging was Pedro de Orfua in his carriage towards every one, as engaged their Affections to render him all the Affidances and Services they were able. Many Souldiers attended him from Cozeo; amongst which was one called Don Fernando de Guzman, with whom I was acquainted, he was lately come from Spain; and there was another, who had been an old Souldier called Lope de Aguire, a fellow of an ill shapen Body, and of worse Conditions and Practices, as are described in a Book of the Elogies of Worthy and Illustrious persons, written by John de Castellanos a Secular Priest, who had a Benefice in the City of Tunja, in the new Kingdom of Granada. These Elogies, though written in Verse, are yet a true History, and wherein he fills fix Cantos with the expedition of Pedro de Orfus, and how he marched with 500 men well armed and appointed, together with a confiderable body of Horie. He also relates the manner of his death, how he was killed by his own Souldiers, and his most intimate Friends, that they might enjoy a beautiful Lady, whom Orlua carried for a Companion with him; the which pallion of Love hath been the ruin of many brave Captains in the World, such as Hannibal, and others. The principal Actors in this Tragedy were Don Fernando de Guzman, Lope de Aguire, and Salduendo, who were in love with this Lady, belides several others, whom this Author names; who also farther relates, That these Traytors set up Don Fernando for their King, which Title he was fo vain and foolish as to accept, though he had no Kingdom to posses; nor right to any thing but his own ill Fortune, which foon followed him, being killed by the same Friends who had promoted him to his Royal Dignity: And then Aguire took upon himself the Government, which he so well exercifed, that at feveral times he killed above 200 men; he plundered the Island of Margarita, where he committed most detestible Crucities. Thence he palled over to other liles near adjacent, where he was overcome by the Inhabitants; but before he would yield himfelf, he killed his own Daughter, whom he brought with him, for no other reason, than that after he was dead, she might not be called the Daughter of a Traytor. This was the fum of all those Cruelties which indeed were most Diabolical, and the beginning and ending of this whole Enterprife, which commenced with fo much Gallantry, and mighty Preparations, of which I was in part an Eye-witness.

Royal Commentaries.

# C H A P. XV.

The Count de Nieva is chosen Vice-King of Peru. He sends a Message to his Predecessor. The Death of the Marquis of Cannete, as also of the Count de Nieva. Don Garcia de Mendoça returns to Spain. The Lawyer Castro is appointed Governour of Peru.

Hillt these matters were transacting in Peru, and that Orsua, and his Fellow adventurers with him, were defeated upon the great River of the Amazons; his Majesty King Philip the Second, was mindful to provide a New Governour for that Empire; having in the place of that good Man. Don Diego de Azevedo, who lately dyed, appointed Don Diego de Cunniga and Velasco Count de Nieva, to succeed in the Office of Vice-King; who dispatched his Affairs with fuch diligence, that he departed from Spain in the Month of January 1560, and arrived in Peru in the Month of April following. So from as he came to Payta, which is a Town within that Dominion, he dispatched away a Servant of his, with a short Letter to the Vice-King, Don Andres Flurtado de Mendoça, giving him advice of his arrival within the Dominions of Peru, with Commission from his Majesty to govern that Country, and that therefore he should delist from intermedling further in the Affairs thereof. Don Andres Hurtado having received intelligence of the coming of this Meslenger, gave Orders to have him well received, and treated all the Way of his Journey; and being come to the City of Los Reyes, he had there Honourable Lodgings provided for him, with Presents in Jewels, and Gold, and Silver, to the value of fix and 7000 pieces of Eight, and upwards: But the Mellenger loft all these upon a Pique, and Exception which the Vice-King took at the Title of Lordship, which was ordered to be given, and not of Excellency; the which he so highly resented, and suffered the thoughts of being flighted, and neglected by his Successor, without Reason or Justice, so far to run in his head; that it struck him into a deep Melancholly, which so prevailed on his Spirits, that being a Man of great Years, and not able to struggle with the Disease, he ended his days before the new Vice-King arrived at Los Reyes: who also enjoyed not long the happiness he expected in his Government, in which he had not been many Months Seated with the Solemnity used on such occasions, before a strange Accident hastened his Death, of which he was the Author, and brought it upon himself. But the manner of it being scandalous to relate, we shall leave it as it is, and proceed on to other particulars.

Don Garcia de Mendoja, who was Governour of Chile, having received intelligence of the death of his Father, made such haste to return into Pern, and thence to prepare for his Voyage into Spain, that many people reported, that he hastned away more out of sear of the Araucan, than out of a desire he had to affist at the Funeral of his Father: And that with the like precipitation he quitted the Territories of Pern, not to be subject to the Dominion of another. At length he arrived in Spain, where he continued until he returned with a Commission to be Governour of Pern; where he imposed that Taxe on the Spainard, and Indians, which is paid by them unto this day. As to his other ways of gain, his Contracts, and Commerce, we shall pass themall by, being not within the compass of this History: For my intention being only to write, as far as to the Death of the Prince, who was lawful Heir of that Empire, second Brother of Don Diego Sayri Tupac, of whose coming out of the Mountains, his

Baptifm and Death we have already given a Narrative: So that now we shall halten to a conclusion of this History.

King Philip the Second having received advice of the unfortunate end of the Vice-King Don Diego de Cunniga, was pleafed to appoint the Lawyer Lope Garçia de Cuftro, who was President of the Royal Council of the Indies, to succeed in that Office, of whom we have formerly made mention, on occasion of the Pretensions which I had in Spain, on score of my Father's Merit, which he opposed. This Lope Garçia de Castro being a Person of great Prudence, and of that Talent of Wisdom which was required to Govern that Empire, was dispatched studenly away with Title of President, and General Governour of all that Empire, that so by his good Conduct, those many Consusions might he composed, and unhappy Accidents rectified, which had been caused by the sudden Deaths of preceding Governours. And indeed his Wisdom answered expectation, for he governed those Kingdoms with such moderation, and gentleness, that he lived to return again into Spain in peace and quietness, and to be placed in the same Chair of the Council, in which he lived with much Honour, and afterwards dyed like a good Christian.

When my Friends understood that this great Person was returned to his Seat in the Supream Council of the Indies, they advised me to renew my Pretensions to the right I had unto my Mother's Estate, on score of my Father's Services and Merit: For they were of Opinion, that Castro having now seen and been acquainted with Pern, which my Father had helped to Conquer, and in which my Mother's Ancestors had a right of inheritance, he might become my Advocate, and change his mind in what he formerly argued against me.

But I having buried, and laid aside all my pretensions, and lost my hopes, could not be perswaded to leave my Cell, wherein I live with more Security Honour, and Profit; and where I have with God's Assistance had leisure to write this History; which the it prove little to my Honour and Profit; yet praised be God for all.

#### CHAP. XVI.

Don Francisco de Toledo is chosen Vice-King of Peru.

The Causes which were alledged for prosecution of the
Prince Inca Tupac Amaru. And the imprisonment of
that poor Prince.

Don Francisco de Toledo, second Son of the Family of Count de Oropeta, succeeded Lope Garçia de Castro in the Government of Peru, and was elected thereunto for his great Vertue and Christian Piety, being so devout a Gentle man, that every eight days he received the most Holy Sacrament. He was fent to Peru, with the Title of Vice-King, and received at Los Reyes, with the State and Solemnity agreeable thereunto: and governed with that Gentleness, and Moderation, that no man could take occasion, either to mutiny or rebel. He had scarce been two years in the Government, when he resolved to bring out from the Mountains of Villea pampa, the Prince Tupac Amaru, the Legitimate Heir to that Empire, being the Son of Manco Inca, and Brother of Don Diego Sayri Tupac, of whom we have given a large Relation in this eight Book; he was the lawful Heir, because his Elder Brother left no Son, but a Daughter only, of whom we shall speak in due place: The intention of the Vice King in this matter was fincere, and real, and with no other defign, (than after the Example of his Predecessor Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoga) to advance his own Honour and Reputation, by an action so generous and heroick, as to reduce such a Prince to the Service of his Catholick Mejesty, and to civilife him as it were, by calling him from the Barbarity of those mounBOOK VIII. Royal Commentaries.

tains, where he lived like a Fugitive and a Salvage Person. To bring this Defign about, the Vice-King acted according to the former methods, and fent Meffengers to him, inviting him to come out of those Mountains and live amongst the Spaniards, fince they were become one People with them; which offer, if he was disposed to accept, he assured him, that the King would bestow on him the fame Livelyhood and Support that he had formerly given to his Brother. But these Proposals did not prevail, according to the hopes conceived, nor answer Expectations, for want of those Instruments and Messengers, both Spaniards and Indians, which were formerly employ'd. Morcover on the Prince's fide, greater difficulties presented, for his Kindred, and Subjects who were with him, affrighted him with the flory of his Brother; telling him, That the Allowance given him by the Spaniards was small and inconsiderable, and that the life of his Brother afterwards was very short, caused (as they would insinuate) by Poison, or some treacherous or suspicious manner of dealing; therefore they advised the Inca by no means to move out of his Retirement, being more secure in his Banishment. than in the faithless Hands of his Enemies. This Resolution of the Prince being made known to the Vice-King, by those Indians who went to, and came from those Mountains, of which fort of Informers, there were many who were Domestick Servants in the Houses of Spaniards: His Excellency considered with his most intimate Friends of the ways and methods which were to be used for reducing that Prince to the Terms they required; who all agreed, That fince the Inca refused to accept the fair Conditions which were offered to him; that they should look on him as an Enemy, and prosecute him by force of Arms: For in regard that he having feated himfelf in a Station which much infested the ways from Cozco to Humanca and Rimac, where his Indian Subjects pillaged and robbed all the Spanish Merchants and Travellers, which passed those Roads, and committed many other outrages and infolencies like mortal Enemies; it was but reason to declare War against him. Morcover it was the Opinion of the wife Counfellors of those times, That many Insurrections might be raised in that Empire by this young Heir, being countenanced and affifted by the Incas his Kinfmen, who lived amongst the Spaniards, and by the Caciques his Subjects, and by those very men, who were born of Indian Mothers, though their Fathers were Spaniards; all which would joyn, and rejoice at a change; being willing to berter their Fortunes, which were reduced to that mean degree, that most of them wanted even Bread to support the necessities of Humane Life.

Moreover it was alledged, That by the Imprisonment of the Inca, all that Treasure might be discovered, which appertained to former Kings, together with that Chain of Gold, which Huayna Capac commanded to be made for himfelf to wear on the great and solemn days of their Feltival, and especially on that day, when he gave a name to his eldest Son Huasea, as hath been formerly related; all which, as was reported, the Indians concealed. And in regard, that that Chain of Gold with the remaining Treasure belonged to his Catholick Majesty by right of Conquest, it was Justice and Reason to take such courses as might retrieve those Riches which the Incas concealed, and had conveyed away from the true Proprietor: Bessels all which, many other matters were alledged, which might incite the Vice-King to take the Inca Prisoner.

But to return Answer to those Accusations which were charged on the Inc.s. We confess, that many years past, in the time of his Father Manco Inca, several Robberies were committed on the Road by his Subjects: but still they had that respect to the Spanish Merchants, that they let them go free, and never pillag'd them of their Wares and Merchandife, which were in no manner uleful to them; Howfoever they robbed the Indians of their Cattel bred in the Country, which they drove to the Markets, being enforced thereunto more out of necesfity than choice: for their Inca living in the Mountains, which afforded no tame Cattel; and only produced Tigers, and Lions, and Serpents of twenty five and thirty Foot long, with other venomous Infects (of which we have given a large account in this History) his Subjects were compelled for the natural sustenance of their Prince, to Supply him with such Food as they found in the Hands of Indians: which the Inta Father of this Prince did usually call his own, faying, That he who was Master of that whole Empire might lawfully challenge fuch a proportion thereof, as was convenient to supply his necessary and natural support. But this passed only in the time of this Inca, and as I remem-Nnnnnn

her when I was a Child. I heard of three or four fuch Rebberies, which were committed by the Indians: But fo foon as that Inca dyed, all was quieted, and

Royal Commentaries.

Book VIII.

no other Spoyls enfued.

Notwithstanding which, the Vice-King was induced to follow the advice of some Counfellors, who fuggefted, that the Inca lived in places on the frontiers from which he much annoved the Spaniards, taking away their Cattle, and robbing their Merchants: And that it was impossible to keep the Indians quiet, and within terms of Peace, whilst the Inca was so near them, and dayly in their Eye, that to ferve him, they would adventure to commit the greatest Outrages they were able. The Vice-King, (as we have faid) being overfwayed by this way of reafoning, committed the charge of this enterprise to a certain Gentleman, named Marin Garcia Loyola, who in times past had performed great Services for his Majefty. Accordingly Souldiers were raifed, upon pretence that they were to be fent to Chile, for recruits against the Araucans, who very much oppressed. and fireightned the Spaniards. About 250 Men being armed, and provided with Weapons offensive, and desensive, they marched directly to Villea pampa, the entrance whereunto was made very easie and plain, after the Prince Don Diego Sayri Tapac had abandoned his Habitation there; fo that they might go in. and come out from thence without any difficulty.

The Prince Tupac Amaru having received intelligence, that fome Forces were entered within his Jurisdiction, he presently fled twenty Leagues within the Country down a River below the Mountain. The Spaniards instantly fitted themfelves with Boats, and Floats, and therewith followed and purfued after him. The Prince confidering that he had not People to make refistance, and that he was not conscious to himself of any Crime, or disturbance he had done or raised, suffered himself to be taken; chuling rather to entrust himself in the hands of the Spaniards, than to perish in those Mountains with Famine, or be drowned in those great Rivers, which fall and empty themselves into the River of Plate. Wherefore he yielded himself into the Power of Captain Martin Loyoli, and his Souldiers, in hopes, that when they found him naked, and deprived of all subsistance, they would take Compassion on him, and allow him the same Pension which was given to his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac, little fuspecting that they would kill him, or do him any harm, fince he was guilty of no Crime. The Spaniards in this manner feizing on the Inca, and on all the Indian Men and Women, who were in Company with him, amongst which was his Wife, two Sons, and a Daughter, returned with them in Triumph to Cozco; to which place the Vice-King went, fo foon as he was informed of the im-

prisonment of this poor Prince.

# CHAP. XVII.

Process is made, and an Endictment drawn up against the Prince, and against the Incas his Kindred of the Blood Royal: As also against the Sons of Spaniards born of Indian Women, though their Fathers had been the Conquerours of that Empire.

CO foon as they faw that the Prince was taken, the Attorney General was ordered to draw up a Charge against him; which was done according to the Articles before mentioned, accusing him to have appointed and ordered his Servants, and Vassals, to infest the Roads, and rob the Spanish Merchants, as they pasfed upon their Lawful occasions, declaring all those his Enemies, who had made any League or Contract with the Incas his Ancestors, or who lived or inhabited among it the Spaniards: And that at fuch a time, and upon fuch a day he had entered into an agreement with the Caviques, who were made Lords of Mannors, and Commanders of Indians, by Ancient Grants from his Ancestors, to rise in Arms

against the Spaniards, and to kill as many of them as they were able. In like manner, an Acculation was brought against those who were born in that Country of Indian Mothers, and Fathers who were Spaniards, and Conquerours of that Empire. Alledging against them, that they had fecretly agreed with the Prince Tunag Amaru, and other Inc. to make an Infurrection in the Kingdom: Being moved thereunto out of a discontent, that they who had been born of the Royal Blood of the Incas, whose Mothers had been Daughters, or Nicces, or Confin-Germans to the Incan Family; and whose Fathers were Spaniards, and of the first Conquerours, who had gained great Fame and Reputation; were vet fo little considered, that neither on score of the Natural Right of the Mother, nor of the high Defert and Merit of the Father, any thing was bestowed upon them: but all was conferred on the Kindred and Relations of the prefent Governours; whilst they were suffered to starve, unless they would live on the Alms of Charitable people, or Rob on the High-Way, and so come to the Gallows. Moreover it was charged upon the Prince, That he had not discountenanced such persons as these, but had received them into his Service, upon promise that they would joyn with him, and dye in the defence of his Caufe. All which being alledged in that Accusation, which was drawn up against the Sons of Spaniards born of Indian Women; they were all apprehended, and as many of them as were of twenty years of Age, and upwards, being capable to bear Arms, then refiding in Cozco, were clapped into Prison. Some of them had the Question put to them under the Torment, to extort a Confession from them of that for which they had no Proof, or Evidence before. Amidft this Mad rage, and Tyrannical proceedings by Imprisonment, and Torture an Indian Woman, whose Son was condemned to the Question upon the Rack, came to the Prison, and with a loud Voice cryed out, Son, fince thou art fentenced to the Torment, fuffer it bravely like a Man of Honour; accuse no Man falsely, and God will enable thee to bear it, and reward thee for the Hazards and Labours which thy Father, and his Companions have sustained to make this Country Christian, and engraft the Natives thereof into the Bosom of the Church. You brave Sons of the Conquerours, how excellently have your Fathers been rewarded for gaining this Country, when a Halter is the only Recompence and Inheritance purchased for their Children! These and many other things she uttered with a loud Voice, exclaiming like a mad Woman about the Streets, and calling God and the World to examine the Cause, and judge those Innocents: And if the Fate of them be determined (faid she) and that they must dye, let them also kill the Mothers, who had the Sin upon them, to bring them forth; and who were fo culpable as to deny their own Country and Relations, for the fake of those Conquerours, and joined with them in the Design of making this Empire Subject to the Spaniards: But the Pachacamac, or the great God, hath brought all these things justly upon the Mothers, who for the sake of the Spaniards, could so easily renounce their luca, their Caciques, and Superiors. And since she had palled this Sentence upon her felf, and in behalf of all the other Women in the fame State and Condition with her, and had pronounced them all guilty, the defired that the might be the first to suffer, and lead the way of Death and punishment to all the rest; which if they were pleased to grant unto her, God would reward this good work to them both in this, and in the other World. These passionate expressions uttered with all the Violence her force would admit, worked greatly upon the Mind of the Vice-King, and diverted him from his intention to put them to death; howfoever they were not acquitted hereby, but procured for them a more lingring fort of Death, which was Banishment into divers remote Parts of the New World, unknown to their Fore-fathers. So some of them were sent into the Kingdom of Chile; and amongst the rest, a Son of Pedro del Barco, of whom I formely made mention to have been my School Fellow, and under the Guardianship of my Father. Others of them were fent to the new Kingdom of Granada, and to divers Illes of Barlovento, and to Panama, and Nicaragua: Some of them also were fent into Spain, and amongst them was John Arias Maldonado, the Son of Diego Maldonado the Rich; who remained under Banishment in Spain, for the space of ten Years; where I saw him, and entertained him twice in my Lodging, at a certain Village within the Bi-Nnnnnn 2 fhoprick Bishoprick of Cordona, where I then lived, and where he related to me many of those things which are here recounted. After so long a time he obtained leave from the Supream Council of the Indies to return to Peru, and had three years given him to dispatch his Business there, and remit his effects into Spainwhere he was afterwards obliged to live and finish his days. Being on his departure, he with his Wife whom he had married at Madrid palled by the place where I lived, and defired me to help him to fome Furniture for his House, for that he returned to his own Country poor, and in want of all things: I presently gave him all the Linnen I had, with some pieces of Taffaty, which I had made up after the Souldiers fashion, intending them for Colours, or Enfigns for a Foot Company. The year before I had fent him to the Court a very good Horse, which he desired of me, which together with the other things I gave him might be worth 500 Ducats; which he took fo kindly. that he faid to me, Brother trust me herein, and when I come to my own Country I will fend you 2000 pieces of Eight in payment thereof. I do not doubt but he would have been as good as his word, but my ill Fortune croffed me, for three days after he arrived at Payta (which is inft on the Frontiers of Peru) he died meerly by an excess of joy he conceived to see himself again in his own Conntry. Pardon me. Reader, this Digression which I have presumed to make solely out of respect, and affection to my School-fellow. All the others died in their Banishment, not one of them returning again to his own Country.

## CHAP. XVIII.

How all the Incas of the Blood Royal, and those of them born of Spanish Fathers and Indian Mothers were banished. The Death and End of them all. The Sentence given against the Prince, with his Answer thereunto, and how he received Holy Baptism.

A LL those Indians who were Males of the Royal Line, and nearest of the Blood, to the number of thirty six persons, were all banished to the City of Los Reves; and there commanded to relide, and not to ftir from thence without special Order obtained from the Government: With them also the two Sons and a Daughter of that poor Prince were fent, the eldest of which was not above ten years of age. The Incas being come to Rimac, otherwise called the City of Los Reyes, the Archbishop thereof, named Don Geronimo Loaysa, out of compassion to them, took the little Girl home, with intent to educate. or breed her up in his own Family. The others looking on themselves as Exiles driven out of their Country and Houses, and put besides their natural ways of living, took it fo much to Heart, and bewail'd their condition with such grief, that in little more than the space of two years thirty five of them died, together with the two Sons. But what we may believe contributed likewise to their greater Mortality, was the heat and moisture of the Climate upon the Sea-Coast wherein they lived : For as we have said in our First Part of this History, That the Air of the Plains is so different from that of the Mountains, that those who have been bred in, and accustomed to the Hilly Countries, cannot endure the lower Airs, which are made as it were Pestilential to them by the excessive heats and moistures of the Sea. This was the end of these poor Incas; and as to the three which survived, one of which was my School-fellow, named Don Carlos, the Son of Don Christoval Panlu, of whom we have formerly made mention, the Lords of the Chancery, taking pity of their condition, gave them liberty to return to their Houses, and to more agreeable Air; but they were so far spent, and consumed beyond

beyond recovery, that within a year and a half's time all the three dyed. Howfoever the whole Royal Line was not as yet totally extinct; for the faid Don Carlos left a ton, who, as we have faid in the last Chapter of the first Part came into Sp.iin with expectation to receive great Rewards and Preferments, as he was promifed in Pern; but he died at Alcala de Hennares, about the year 1610. by a Melancholly he conceived to fee himfelf, upon a quarrel he had with one who was a Knight as he was, of the Order of St. 7ago, to be that up within the Walls of a Convent; and afterwards to be removed to another Convent: where, upon more discontent for his Imprisonment, he dyed in the space of eight Months. He left a Son of three or four Months old, which was made Legitimate, that it might be rendered thereby capable to inherit, in right of his Father, the same savour of his Majesty, which, by way of Pension, was assigned to him on the Customs of Seville: But the Child dying in a year afterwards, the Allowance ceased: And then was fulfilled the Prophefie, which the Great Huayna Capac made concerning the Blood-Royal, and that Empire.

Royal Commentaries.

In the Kingdom of Mexico, though the Kings were very powerful in the times of their Gentilisme (as Francisco Lopez de Gomara writes in his general History of the Indies) yet no Wrong or Injury was done to them in matter of their due Inheritance, or Right to the Succession; because the Kings being Elective, and chosen by the Grandees, or Great Men, according to their Vertue, or Merit to the Government. There was not the same Jealousy upon any in that Kingdom, as was of the Heirs of Peru, whom Sufpition only brought to Destruction, rather than any Faults, or Conspiracy of their own, as may appear by the Fate of this poor Prince, who was fentenced to

have his Head cut off.

BOOK VIII.

But that his Condemnation might appear with fome colour of Juffice, his Crimes were published by the Common Cryer, namely, That he intended to Rebel; and that he had drawn into the Plot with him feveral Indians, who were his Creatures, together with those, who were the Sons of Spaniards born of Indian Mothers, defigning thereby to deprive and disposless his Catholick Majesty, King Philip the Second, who was Emperour of the New World, of his Crown and Dignity within the Kingdom of Peru. This Sentence to have his Head cut off, was fignified to the poor Inca, without telling him the Reafons, or Causes of it. To which he innocently made answer, That he knew no Fault he was guilty of, which could merit Death; but in case the Vice-King had any Jealousic of him, or his People; he might easily secure himself from those fears, by sending him under a secure Guard into Spain, where he should be very glad to kiss the hands of Don Philip, his Lord and Master. He farther argued, that it was impossible that any such imagination could enter into his Understanding; for if his Father with 200000 Souldiers could not overcome 200 Spamards, whom they had befieged within the City of Cozco, how then could it be imagined, that he could think to rebel with a finall number, against such multitudes of Christians, who were now increased, and dispersed over all parts of the Empire. That if he had conceived, or completted any evil defignagainst the Spaniards, he would never have suffered himself to have been taken, but would have fled, and retired from them; but knowing himfelf to be innocent, and without any Guilt, he voluntarily yielded himfelf, and accompanied them, believing that they called him from the Mountains, to confer the same Favours and Bounty on him, as they had done on his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac. Wherefore he appealed to the King of Caftile, his Lord, and to the Pachacamae, from this Sentence of the Vice-King, who was not content to deprive him of his Empire, with all the enjoyments therein, unless also therewith he took away his Life, without any fault, or colour of offence; fo that now he could welcome Death, which was given him, as the value and price of his Empire: Befides this, he faid many other things, which moved pity in the Hearts of all the flanders by, as well Spaniards as Indians, who were inwardly affected with fuch paffionate expressions.

Upon Notice of this Sentence, the Friers of the City of Cozco flocked to the Prison, to instruct the Prince in the Christian Doctrine, and to perswade him to be Baptized, after the example of his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac, and his Uncle Arabualpa; The Prince readily accepted of the offer to be Baptized, and

told them, that he was glad to obtain the benefit of the Christian Ordinances, üpon the Testimony and Authority of his Grand-father Flungma Capac, who declared, That the Law which the Christians taught them, was better than their own; and being by Baptisme received into the Church of Christi, he would be called Philip, after the name, as he said, of his Inca, and King, Don Philip of Spain: But this Function was performed with as much Sadnessand Sorrow, as that of his Brother's was celebrated with Joy and Triumph, as before declared.

Though this Sentence against the Prince was published every where, and that all we have said, and nuch more appeared, (which we for brevity sake omit) which might perswade the World, that the same would be executed: yet the Spaniards of the City, as well Seculars as Religious, were of Opinion that the Vice-King would not proceed to an Act so unhumane and barbarous, as to kill a poor Prince deposed, and distinherited of his Empire; which could never be pleasing and acceptable to King Philip, whose Clemency would rather have ordered his Transportation into Spain, than passed this Condemnation of him to death, which he had never deserved. But the Vice-King it seems was of another Opinion, as we shall see presently in the following Chapter.

#### CHAP. XIX.

The Sentence is executed upon the Prince. The endeavours used to prevent it. The Vice-King refuses to hearken thereunto. With what Courage the Incareceived the stroak of Death.

THE Vice-King, resolving to execute his Sentence, which he believed to be for the Safety and Security of the Empire, caused a Scaffold to be raited in the chief place of the City. This was so new and strange are solution to all People, that the Gentlemen, Friers, and other grave Persons were so concerned for it, that they met together, and drew up a Petition to the Vice-King, reprefenting to him the Barbarity of the Fact, which would be feandalous to the World, and disapproved by his Majesty. That it would be much better to fend him into Spain; for the Banishment be a lingering Torment, yet it is a token of Clemency, much rather than the Sentence of a speedy Death. A Pecition being drawn up to this effect, with defign to be delivered with all the supplication and intercession, in behalf of the Prince; the Vice-King, who had his ipves abroad, and by them was informed of the Petition which was preparing, with the Subfcription of many hands thereunto, refolving not to be troubled with fuch Importunities, gave Order to have the Gates of the Court shut, and no Man suffered to come to him upon pain of Death: And then immediately he issued out a Warrant to have the Inca brought forth, and his Head cut off without farther delay, that fothe disturbance of the Town might be appeared by a speedy execution; whereas by giving time, a Combustion might be raised, and the Prince refcued out of his hands.

Accordingly the poor Prince was brought out of the Prilon, and mounted on a Mule, with his hands tyed, and a Halter about his Neck, with a Cryer before him, publishing and declaring, that he was a Rebel and a Travtor against the Crown of his Catholick Majetly. The Prince not understanding the Spamsh Language, asked of one of the Friers who went with him, what it was that the Cryer said? And when it was told him, that he proclaimed him an Auca, which was a Traytor, against the King his Lord; which when he heard, he caused the Cryer to be called to him, and desired him to forbear to publish such of Treason, nor even had it in his Imaginations, as the World very well knew: But, says he, tell them, that they sell me vurbout other cause, than only that the Vice-King will have it so; and I call God, the Pachacamee of all, to witness, that

# BOOK VIII. Royal Commentaries

what I lay is nothing but the Temb: After which the Officers of Juffice proceeded forward to the place of Execution. As they were entering into the Chief Place, they were not by great numbers of women of all Ages, among the which were feveral of the Blood Royal, with the wives and daughters of the Caciques, who lived in places adjacent to the City; all which cryed out with loud Exclamations and cryes, accompanied with a flood of Tears, faying, Wherefore, Incatdo they carry thee to have thy flead cut off? What Crimes, what Treafons halt thou committed to deserve this usage? Desire the Executioner to put us to Death together with thee, who are thine by Blood and Nature, and should be much more contented and happy to accompany thee into the other World than to live here Slaves and Servants to the Will and Lust of thy Murderers. The noise and outery was so great, that it was feared lest some insurrection and out-rage should enfue, amongst fuch a Multitude of People then gathered together; which was fo great, that with those who filled the two Places, and the Streets leading thereunto, and who were in Balconies, and looking out at Windows, they could not be counted for less than 300 thousand Souls. This combustion caused the Officers to halten their way unto the Scaffold; where being come, the Prince walked up the Stairs, with the Friers who affifted at his Death, and followed by the Executioner with his Faulchion or broad Sword drawn in his hand. And now the Indians feeing their Prince just upon the brink of Death, lamented with fuch grouns and out-cries as rent the Air, and filled the place with fuch noise, that nothing else could be heard: Wherefore the Pricets who were discoursing with the Prince, defired him that he would command the People to be filent, whereupon the Inc. t lifting up his right Arm with the Palm of his hand open, pointed it towards the place from whence the noife came, and then loured it by little and little, \u00e4mtil he came to refl it on his right thigh: Which when the Indians observed, their Murmur calmed, and so great a filence enfued, as if there had not been one Soul alive within the whole City. The Spaniards, and the Vice-King, who was then at a Window observing these several passages, wondred much to see the obedience which the Indians in all their passion, shewed to their dying Inca, who received the stroke of death with that undaunted Courage, as the Incas and Indian Nobles did usually shew, when they fell into the hands of their Enemies, and were unhumanely butchered, and cruelly treated by them, as may appear in our History of Floride, and other Wars which were carried on in Chile, and which now the Indidian Arancos still wage with the Spaniards, according as they are described in Verse by Poets who write thereof. Of which we have many other examples in Mexico. as well as in Peru, which may ferve to demonstrate the Cruelty of the Spaniards, and the Constancy and Bravery of the Incas: Of which I could give many inftances in my own time, and of my own knowledge, but I shall let them pass, rather than give offence by this History.

Thus did this poor Prince fubmit with great Courage to Death, yet Rich and Happy, in that he dyed a Christian; and was much lamented by those Religious Orders, which assisted him at the Hour and in the Agony of his Death, namely those of St. Francis, our Lady of Merceds, St. Dominick, and Angustine, besides a multitude of other Priests and Clergymen, who bewailed him with much grief and sorrow, and said many Malles for his Soul: Howsoever they were much comforted and edified, to see with what Patience and magnaninity he entered on the Scene of Death, and with what Acts of devotion, like a good Christian, he adored the Images of Christ Our Lord, and of the Virgin his Mother, which the Priests carried before him. Thus did this Inea end his days, who was the lawful Heir to that Empire, being descended by the direct Male-Line from the sirst Inea Manco Capac; which (as Father Blus Valera faith) had continued 500, or near 600 years. This Compassion and Sorrow was the general sense at that time of all the Country, as well of Spania de as Indians: And tho' we may believe that the Vice-King might also be in some measure affected with this Passion, yet he might have other Reasons of Scate, sufficient, if known,

to justifie this Action.

The aforefaid Sentence executed on the good Prince, was seconded by the Banishment of his Sons and Kindred, to the City of Los Reyes, and of those who were born of Indian Mothers and Spamsh Fathers, into divers parts of the New and Old World, as before related. Which we have anticipated out of its

dus

due place, to make room at the end of this our Work for so forrowful a Tragedy, which is the ultimate Scene of the fecond part of these our Commentaries. Praifed be God for all things.

# CHAP. XX.

Don Francisco de Toledo returns to Spain. His Catholick Majesty gives him a severe reprehension: His End and Death: As also of the Governour Martin Garcia Loyola.

T is not fit to conclude our History with the Death of Don Philip Tupac Amarit alone, and therefore we shall accompany it with a short Relation of the Death, and End of the Vice-King Don Francisco de Toledo: Who after he had compleated the time of his Government, which was very long, and as some say 16 years, he returned into Spain with great Riches and Prosperity, being reported by common Fame to have brought with him above the value of 500 thousand pieces of Eight in Gold and Silver: Upon the Reputation of which he procured admittance into the Court, and expected to be made one of the great Ministers of State, in reward of the special Services he had done in cutting off, and extirpating the Royal Line of the Incas, by which a way was made to the Kings of Spain to claim a Right of Inheritance to the Empire of Pern, without other Competitor. He also imagined, that he had highly merited of his Majesty by the many good Laws and Rules he had Established in those Kingdoms, whereby his Majesties Revenue was improved, and the Mines of Plate, and Quickfilver, well governed. by the orderly Regulations he had made therein; having ordained and directed that the Indians of several Provinces, should by their turns come in, and work in those Mines, with the same pay for a days labour, as the Spaniards who are Planters in those Countries are by late Laws obliged to pay them for their work. And moreover that the Indians being employed in Gardning, or doing any thing for the pleasure, or benefit of the Owner, shall receive a pay proportionable to the value of the thing: The which Regulations and Rules being many and long. we shall omit to rehearse the particulars of them.

Upon fuch grounds, and with fuch expectations as thefe, Don Francisco de Toledo obtained admittance to the Presence of King Philip the Second, and to kifs his Royal Hand: But his Catholick Majesty having been duly informed of all Matters which had succeeded in that Empire, and particularly of the Death of the Inca Tupac Amaru, and of the Banishment of his nearest Relations and Kindred, to a place where they all perished, did not shew that kind and graciousacceptance of his Person, as he expected; but told him in short, That he should go home to his own house; for that the King had not sent him to kill Kings, but to serve them: With which Reproof he went home much dejected, and under that Cloud of disfavour which he never expected. In this difgrace, (as it is usual for men who are going down the Hill, to be helpt forward in their way) so certain Informers brought an accusation against him: That he ordered the Salaries of his Servants and Officers to be paid in Pieces of Eight, instead of Ducats, so that for every 40 thousand Ducats 40 thousand pieces of Eight were made good, which was an injury and damage to the Royal Treasury, during the time he assisted in the Government which amounted to the value of 120000 ducats: To make which good, an Order was fent from the Council of State to lay a Sequestration upon all the Gold and Silver he had brought from Peru, and to remain in such manner secured, until the account was audited and cleared, how much was owing on that fcore to the Royal Exchequer: Don Francisco de Toledo being a man of a haughty Spirit, was not able to refift this fecond blow of his Majesties disfavour,

Royal Commentaries but therewith fell into such a Sadness and Melancholly, as broke his Heart in

BOOK VIII.

a few days. We have only now to relate the End of Captain Martin Garcia Lovola. whom, in reward of having taken the Inca Prifoner, and many other Services which he performed to the Court of Spain, they married to the Infanta, who was Niece to the last Prince, and Daughter to his Brother Sayri Tupac : whereby he came to inherit that Estate which this Princes received from her Father : and for his greater Honour and Advancement, and better Service of his Majesty, he was preferred to be Governour, and Captain General of the Kingdom of Chile, where he had a great party of Horse, with a good force of Spanish Infantry under his Command. It was his Fortune to govern this Kingdom for feveral years, and some Months, with great Prudence and Discretion, and to the contentment also and satisfaction of his Companions; howsoever he was engaged in continual Labours and Embroyls, caused by the Wars which were waged against the Indians; and which are not yet at an end, in this year 1613, having ever fince 1553, when the Indians began first to rebel, been constantly carried on without Truce or Intermission during all that time, as we have intimated before in several Places. Whilst this Governour employed himself in the exercifes of War, he went one day (according to his usual custom) to visit the several Forts which were raifed on the Frontiers, to curb the Enemy, and keep them from making incursions and depredations on those Induans, who had submitted, and were become Servants to the Spaniards: And having supplied all those Garrisons with Ammuntion and Provisions, he returned to those Givies within the Kingdom which were fetled and in peace: And being without the Limits of the Enemies quarters (as indeed he was) and as he believed out of danger, he difinissed 200 of his Souldiers, (which were then of his Guard,) and dispeeded them away to their respective quarters: Leaving himself only with about thirty Companions, amongst which were several Captains, and old veterance Souldiers, who had ferved many years in the Wars: And being come into a very pleafant Plain, they pitched their Tents, intending to repose and solace themselves that Night and several Nights afterwards, that they might recover the Sleep they had loft, by their continual watchings; for whilft they were on the Frontiers, taking care to secure the Garrisons, they were fo continually allarm'd by the Enemy, that they had not time to Rest, Eat, or Sleep.

The Araucos and Indians of other Provinces, Neighbouring on these who had rebelled, fent their Spies by Night to discover the condition of the Spaniards; and finding them without Centinels, and in all fecurity fast afleep, and as fafe as their Enemies could defire, they whiftled to each other with Bird-Cails, and gave notice by such kind of barking and howlings which Giacalls or Wolves use in the Night, which were the signals agreed upon amongst them. At these noises great numbers of Indians came slocking together, and with all the filence possible, went softly to the Spaniards Tents, where finding them all en, and in their Shirts in Bed, they cut the Throats of every one of them; and carrying away with them their Horses, Arms, and all the Spoyl which belonged

to the Spaniards.

This was the end of the Governour Martin Garcia Loyola, which was much lamented over all the Kingdom of Chile and Peru; but as often as that Difcourse was moved, either amongst Indians or Spaniards, it was confessed, that Providence had so ordered those matters, that the death of the late Inca should in this manner be revenged on the Spaniards by the Hands of his own Vallals. And herein it was more plainly evidenced by an Infatuation which possessed the Minds of fuch Captains, and Veterane Souldiers practifed in the Wars of that Country, who knowing that they were near an Enemy incenfed and enraged against them, and thirsting after the Blood of the Spaniards, should yet with fo much fecurity compose themselves to a sleep from which they did never afterwards awake.

This Governour Martin Garcia Loyola left one Daughter, which he had by his Wife the Infanta, Daughter of the Prince Don Diego Sayri Tupac, the which Daughter was transported into Spain, and there married to a Gentleman of Quality, called Don John Enriquez de Boria. His Catholick Majefly, besides the Estate which she inherited from her Father in Peru, was pleased

000000

(as they wrote to me from the Court) to confer upon her the Title of Marquess de Oropesa; which is a Colony founded by the Vice-King, Don Francisco de Toledo, in Pern, and called Oropesa by him, in memory of his Ancestors, which he defired might be continued in the new World; besides which Title and Favour, I am informed, that a Consultation hath been held amongst the Illustrious Presidents and Lords of the Royal Council of Castile, and the Indies, at which also his Majusties Confessor was present, with two other Advocates belonging to the Council of the Indies, to consider what farther Gratifications could be made, in reward of the many Services which her Father had done, according to his Duty towards his Majusty, and as a Compensation for her Patrimonial Inheritance. Towards which (as I am informed) the Relation I have given in the first part of these Commentaries hath, in some manner, contributed: Which if so, I shall esteem my self sufficiently rewarded for the labour and pains I have taken to write this History, though no other benefit or satisfaction accrues thereby anto my self.

## CHAP. XXI.

The Conclusion of this Eighth Book, and last of this History.

Having, in the beginning of this Hiltory, shewed the Original of the Incas, who were Kings of Pern, and described their Increase, and Conquests, and all their generous Exploits, together with the manner of their Government, both in War and Peace, and thereunto added their Religion and Idolatry practifed in the times of their Gentilisme: All which, by the Divine favour and affiftance, we have largely handled in the first part these Commentaries; by which I have complyed with the duty I owe to my Country and Kindred by my Mothers fide. In this second part we have at large related all those brave Acts, and gallant Exploits performed by the Spaniards, in the Conquest of this rich Empire, in which I have complied (tho not fully) with the Duty and Obligation I owe to my Father, and to his Illustrious and Generous Companions. So that now it may be time to conclude this Work, and put an end to this Labour, with the ultimate Reign and Succession of the Incas, who, with that unhappy Huafoar, were 13 in number, who possessed the Throne of that Empire, until the Invasion of the Spaniards. But as to the other five, which fucceeded afterwards, that is Manco Inca, and his two Sons Don Diego, and Don Philippe, and his two Nephews, wedo not infert them in the Line of Kings, for they had a right to the Inheritance, yet they never had possession of the Government; but if we should reckon them in that number, we might then account 18, who descended by the direct Male-line from the first Inca Manco Capac, to the laft of those Children, whose Names I do not know. The Indians do not reckon Atahualpa in the number of their Kings, being, as they call him, an Auca, that is a Traytor.

Tho' in the laft Chapter of the first Part of these Commentaries, we have given an account of all the Sons, which in an oblique Line descended from the several Kings; of which (as we have there affirmed) a true, and an authentick List was sent me; with Power and Authority directed to Don Melchior Carlos, Don Alonso de Mesa, and my self, that we jointly, or any one of us, should lay it before his Catholick Majesty, and before his Supream and Royal Council of the Indus; to the intent and purpose, that they might be freed from those of the Indust; to the intent and purpose, that they might be freed from those as they came directed unto me, I dispatched to the said Don Melchior Carlos, and Don Alonso de Mesa. But the said Don Melchior, having Pretensions of his own, would not weaken his own Interest, by giving Countenance to their demands; nor would he present their Papers, that it might not be known thereby, how many of the Royal Line were still surviving; fearing less his Interest should be disided.

vided, and the benefit which he expected to himfelf alone, might be imparted unto them all together: So at the Conclusion of all, he neither did good to them, nor to himfelf. I have thought sit, for my own Discharge, to give a Narrative hereof, that my Relations of those parts, may not accuse me either of unkindness, or negligence, in not performing what they have defired of me, and entrusted me in. I should have been very glad, if I could have performed this Service for them with the hazard of my Life; but it was impossible for me, to have done any thing in this matter; not being able to contribute more thereunto, than only by writing this History, in which I hope I have as well done Justice, and Right to the Spaniards, who have Conquered this Empire, as to the Ineas, who were the true Lords, and Posses.

BOOK VIII.

To the Divine Majely, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one true God, be Praise for Ever and Ever, who have been pleased to grant me Grace, and assistance, to arrive at the Ultimate End and Conclusion of this History. May it be to the Howour and Glory of his Divine Name: By whose infinite mercy, through the Blood and Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and by the Interession of the ever Blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the Court of Heaven, I beg Favour, and Protection, now, and in the Hour of Death. Amen sweet Jesus, a hundred thousand times Jesus. Amen.

Praised be God.

FINIS

# An INDEX of the most material Passages in this HISTORY

Rhitration of the Inca between two A Curaca's, p. 73.

Ambassador, vid. Embassador.

The Apparition of Viracocha, and the Con-

fultations thereupon, 126. Accounts how kept amongst them, 153. 197, 198.

The Arancans rebell, 202.

Atabualpa made King of Quite by his Father Huayna Capac, 367.

Atabualpa required by his Brother Huafcar to doe him Homage, 398. The Subleties used by him, 399.

Atabualpa gains a Victory over his Brother, 401. He exercises great Cruelties, 403, and why. His Cruelties towards the Women and Children of the bloud Royal, 405. Some e-fcape, 407, 411. Cruelties to the Servants of the Court, 409.

Atahualpa's Answer to a Frier's Speech. 454. He is taken by the Spaniards, 459. And promifes a great Ranfome for his Liberty, 460. The Fears he had before his Death, 471. He is arraigned and put to Death, 474, 477. The Treasure collected for his Ranfome, 479. His Body carried to Quitu, to be interred, 494.

Almagro returns twice to Panama, 426. Pedro de Alvarado goes to the Conquest of Peru, 489. The Difficulties he undergoes, 492. He marches to the fuccour of Cozco, 569. He is imprifoned, 573.

Almagro joins his Forces with Alvarado, 505. Their Agreement, 507. They against Quizquiz. Alvarado's Death. 519.

Almagro makes himself Governour; the Agreement between him and Pigarro, 526.

Almagro enters into Chili, where he is well received, 529. He returns to Peru, 532. and to Cozco, 527. Differences between Almagro and Picarro, 563. they are determined, 577.

Don Diego de Almagro, his Death, 589. Don Diego de Almagro his Son is fet up, and administers an Oath of Allegi-

ance to all Officers, p. 620. Garcia de Alvarado is killed by Almagro Junior, 628.

The Death of D. Diego de Almagro Tunis or, 642.

The Inhabitants of Arequepa revolt with two Ships to the Vice-king, 680.

Acosta is sent against Lorenço de Aldana, 774. His ill Conduct in defending a Bridge over the River Apurimac, 823. Aguire feeks revenge on a Judge; he is fought for in Cozco; and how he

made his Escape, 884.

Alonso de Alvarado, the Marshal, is appoin-

ted to fit Judge on Trial of the Rebels, 906. He executes fevere Inflice on the Rebels, 908. makes choice of Officers, and comes to Cozco, 938. He receives intelligence of the Enemy, with whom he skirmishes: his Officers are generally of opinion to decline Fighting, 941. He refolves notwithstanding to engage, 944. He is defeated by Hernandez; and the Indians kill many of his Souldiers in their Flight, 947,948. Great Trouble caused hereupon in the King's Camp, 950. Means taken to repair it, 951. Capt. Almendras his unfortunate Death.

An Accident very strange at Cozen, 980.

**B**<sup>Ridges</sup> of Ofiers how made, p. 64.
Bridges of Straw, Rushes and Flags,

A Bridge laid over a River by Lope Murtin, 821.

Beggars not allowed, 144. march to Cozco, 509. They march Burials of their Kings and how interred.

Battels three between the Indians and Spaniards, \$15. Battel of Amancay, 572.

The Bloudy Battel of Salinas, 583. Battels between the Indians and Spaniards, 597.

The Battel between the Governour Vaca de Castro and Don Diego de Almapro Junior, 637.

A Relation of the Battel of Chupus, 640. Blasco Numez Vela, the Vice-king, lands in Porn, with what befell him at his [\*]

#### INDEX. THE

Callro and others, 678. The Refolutions he took upon the News that Gonçalo Pigarro was marching against him, 690. He is imprisoned, 692. The Missortunes which befell him, 605. He is set at liberty, 697. He retires to Peru, 709, 714. He recruits in Popayan, and goes in quest of Pedro Puelles, 732. He is defeated at the Battel of Quitu, and flain, 734. His Funeral, 736.

The Battel of Huarina; how armed, and how drawn out, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798. The numbers killed, 801. The Battel of Sacfahuana, 829.

Bachicao, his death, 812. Bustinia, his imprisonment and death.

814.

Tozco first founded, 13. and described, 261, 268. Ceremonies, when they weaned, shaved, and gave Names to their Children,

A Cross conserved, 30. The Chanca's rebell, 127. The Fortress of Cozco described, 294, Cloaths, Arms and Shoes given to the Souldiery, 139.

Cleathing, how fupplied to the People, Cannari conquered, its Riches, 309. Cuntur, great Birds, of which Inca Vira-

cocha made a Picture, 171. The Court of the Inca's, Servants and those who carried their Chair, 189. And of the great Halls and Rooms

of State, 191. Callamurca, how fubdued, 208. Chinea stands out, and subdued, 214. Their vain Rodomontado's, 216. Chimu the King conquered, 239. Collection for Charitable Uses, 270.

Chiribuana, a Nation in Peru, their Customes and Manners, 278. Chili possessed by the Inca's, 281. Chili first discovered by the Spaniards,

Chili rebells against Pedro Valdivia, 284.

Conquests made by the Inca's, 305, 306, . 309, 311, 313 Cuca, a pretious Leaf, 325.

Cattle that are tame, and the great Droves of them, which serve to carry their Burthens, p. 328. Cartle which are wild.

A Chain of Gold as big as a Cable, 349. Of Corres and Oxen, 378.

landing, p. 657. He imprisons Vaca de Of Camels, Asses and Goats and Hops.

p. 380, 381.

Of Conies and Dogs of the Game, 282. Croffes found in the Temples and Palaces in Cozco, 467.

Conversion of an Indian, 503. Civil Discords produced ill Effects to

the Incan Kings, 485. Cuellar put to death by the Indians, 400. Chili difficult to be conquered, 532.

Cozco befieged, and feveral Exploits done there, sso. The Number of Indians killed there, 553.

The Charcas conquered, 597. Great troubles in the Charcas, 888.

The Citizens of Cozco defert Goncalo Picarro, 680.

Francisco Carvajal, Major General to Goncalo Picarro, marches into the Charcas, 721. The Charatter given of him, 723. Carvajal continues his pursuit after Diego Centeno, 724. His Cruelty, 725.

Gepeda the Judge accompanies Pigarro and fights more like a Souldier than a Lawver, 738.

Centena acts by Strategem of War against Francisco Carvajal, 739.

Francisco Carvanal kills Lope de Mendoca. and enters into the Charcas, 743. Sends his Head to Arequepa, and how he suppressed a Mutiny,745,746. His gratitude in Arequepa to Cornejo, 809. Carvajal writes to Pigarro to proclaim himfelf King, and his Reasons for it, 747, 748. The Strategem used by him at Huarina, 796, 801.

Centeno and his other Captains come out of their Caves, and appear for his Majesty, 769. He fights with Pedro de Maldonado, and enters into Cozco, 777. He is chosen Commander in chief, 778. An Agreement is made between him and Alonfo de Mendocat, 779. He gives an Account to the Prefident of a Meflage fent to him by Pigarro, 792. He is overcome at the Battel of Huarina, 798. and flyes, 803. His unfortunate death in the Charcas, 861.

The Contrera's by their leud Practices and Follies lofe the Treasure they had gotten, with their Lives, 873.

Cepeda the Judge advises Pigarroto make a Peace with the Prefident, 812. Copeda's death, 870.

A Challenge between Paulo de Menefes and Martin de Robles, and how the Ouarrel was taken up, 890.

Carvajal gives Countel to Picarro which is rejected, 818. He pertuades Goncalo Pigarro not to march out of Cozco. p. 825.

#### THE INDEX

can 825. He is taken and imprisoned. 834. His Discourse with Gasca the Prefident, 835. He is vilited in Pri-fon, and his Difcourfes with those who vifited him, 836, 837. What he faid and did on the day of his death, 840, 841. His Cloaths and quaint Sayings, 843. Other like Paffages of Carvajal, and what befell a
Boy who touched one of his Quarters, 845.
Carvijal the Lawyer his unfortunate

death at Cozco, 861.

Carrillo commits great Robberies, and the manner of his death, 954.

Cannote a Marquis deligned for Viceking of Pern, 981. He arrives there, o84. He iffues out Orders to prevent Mutinies, 985. He puts Vazquez Piedrabita and Alonzo Diaz to death nonwithstanding their Pardons, 986. He banithes thirty feven men of those into Spain, who make Demands for their late Services, 989. He contrives means to bring the Inca, who was Heir to the Empire, out of the Mountains, 991. He raifes Horfe and Poot for fecurity of the Empire. 1000. His Death, 1007.

Caliro the Lawver is appointed Governour of Peru.

D.

Division of their Flocks, how; and of other strange Beasts, 146. Divinations made from their Sacrifices,

221 Distinctions made between the Kings and other Inca's, 231.

Devils struck dumb by a Sacrament,

Diego Centeno purfues Alonfo de Toro, 721. The Division of Lands the second time, Duels in the Charcas, 888.

E.

E Court, 252. Emeralds, vide Pearls.

The Embaffy and Prefents fent by the Inca's to the Spaniards, 440.

Fribaffadours fent to Atahualpa, 443. The Speech, and the Inca's Answer, 16. They return again to their ompanions, 448.

dime done on feveral Captains beaging to Picarro, 837.

de Guzman, a bold Fellow, causes a Infurrection in Powers, 896. What happened thereupon . p. 903. He is drawn and quartered, 2011.

F

THE manner of Filhing used by the Indians, 80, The Festivals kept up when they tilled

the Grounds dedicated to the Sun. Festivals to the Sun, how celebrated, 217, 219. How at those Feats they

drank one to the other, 223. The third Festival to the Sun, 257. The fourth Fellival, 258

Feaffs at night to purifie the City, 260. Fruits and Trees of the largest Size, 320. Fruits of Spain, 392.
Fowle wild and tame, 334, 326, 337.

Fift taken in the four great Rivers, 338. Of Flax, Afparagus, e.c. 395. The Faithfulness of the Indians to their

Masters, 487. The Foundation of the City of Los Revcs and Truxillo, 521.

Testivals of Joy made for Gonçalo Picar-

The Festival of the H. Sacrament celebrated at Cozco by Indians and Spaniards. 977.

THE Government of the ancient

Gold and Silver given to the Inca's not as tribute but in Prefents, 141. Of Gold and Silver, 344.

Giants in the Countrey of Manta, 363. Garçilasso de la Vega and his Companions meet difficulties in discovering the Countrey of Buena Ventura, 565.

Gaffiar Rodriguez and his Friends pardoned, 685. He is killed, 687.

De la Gasea, a Lawyer, is chosen by the Emperour Charles the Fifth to reduce Peru, 755. His Commission and Arrival at Nombre de Dios, 757.

Pedro de la Gasca hath the Title of President; sends Hernan Mexia to quiet disturbances at Panama raised by Pedro de Hinojofa, 759. Sends an Ambaffadour to Gonçalo Piçarro, 761. His Letter to him, 764. He departs from Panama and goes to Tumpiz, 772. He arrives there and iffues out Orders. 781. He comes to Sanfa, 792. He receives the ill News of the defeat of Centeno, 811. His departure from Saufa, and arrival at Antabuaylla, 815. He comes to the River Apurimac, and the Difficulties he found in the paffage, 823.

Galca

#### INDEX. THE

Gasca the President marches towards Coxco, p. 826. He publishes new Orders for the Suppression of Rebels, 851. With what Difficulty he anfivers the Importunity of Pretenders, 852. His Letter to them, 853. He goes to Los Reyes, and leaves Cozco, ibid His great Cares and Troubles; he suppresses Mutinies: his great Patience, 861. He embaroues for Spain. 860. He recovers the Treasure he had loft, 875. He arrives in Spain, 876.

Giron, vide, Hernandez. A great Galeon with Eight hundred People therein how burned, 982.

H.

OF their Handieraft-trades and Work, p. 52. The High-prieft, his Name, &c. 90. Huswifery of the Women, 112. Hanco-bually the Valiant flies out of the Empire, 177. Huntings, how made, 194, 195.

Of the Huanacu, ibid. Huamachucu, the good Curaca, how re-

duced, 207. Huacrachucu conquered by the Inca's,

Huayna Capac's three Marriages. His Father's Death and Savings, 316.

A Chain of Gold made by Huayna Capac, as big as a Cable, 349.

Huayna Capac, his Valour, 359. His Sayings relating to the Sun, 365. He receives intelligence that the Spaniards fail along the Coast of Peru, 371. His last Testament and Death, 374.

Horses and Mares, how first bred in Peru, and of the great Prices of them, 376.

Of Hens and Pigeons, 385. Herbs for Gardens, and other Herbs, 393. Huafear raifes Forces to relift his Brother Atabaliba, 400. He demands Succour and Justice from the Spaniards, 466.

Hualear's death, 469. Hinojofa, named Pedro, fails with a Fleet of Ships belonging to Picarro, unto Panama, 726.

Huarina, vide Battel.

Hinojofa takes Vela Nunnez in his Voyage, 728. He delivers the Fleet of Pigarro into the hands of the Prefident Gafea, 762. The great Estate given him, 855.

Hoftages are fent between the Prefident and Goncalo Pigarro, and the Caution used therein, 783.

Hernandez Giron greatly discontented,

and why, p.857. He receives a Commission to make a new Conquest. 8 c8. He proclaims his Commiffion and Delign, 877. Many Souldiers flock to him and cause great Difturbance, which is suppressed by the prudence of the Citizens of Cozco. 878. He prefents himfelf before the H. Court of Juffice; is difmiffed: and marries in Los Reyes, 879.

Hinoiofa goes to the Charcas, where he finds many Souldiers ready to rebell. he entertains them with vain hopes. 891. They confoire to kill him, 892.

His Death, 894.

Hernandez Giron conspires with the Souldiers to raife a Rebellion, 911. He railes a Rebellion in Cozco, and what happened that night, 913. He takes the Governour; opens the Prifons; and kills Don Baltafar de Caftilla and John de Carceres, 916.

Hernandez Giron appoints Officers for his Army, 918. Two Cities fend Ambaffadours to him, 919. He banithes the Governour of Cozco out of the City, 920. Causes himself to be choien Captain, 922. He leaves Cozco, and marches against the Justices, 924. He comes to *Huamanca*, the Scouts meet, 927. Finding many of his Souldiers ready to revolt, he re-folves to engage the King's Army, 929. He makes a Retreat, 931. He defeats Paulo de Menefes, 934. He comes to Nanafea, and composes an Army of Negrocs, 936, 937. He gains a Victory over the Marshal, 947. His Proceedings after the Battel, 952. He Plunders the Cities, 952. The Silver which he took from two Citizens of Cozco, 953. He orders his Lieutenant General Alvarado to take Bells from the Churches of Cozco to make Guns, 953. He dares not adventure into Gozco: but takes his Wife with him from thence, 955. He depends much upon the Prefages of Wifards, 956. He refolves to give Battel to the King's Army, 963.

Ternandez proceeds forth to Battel, and misses his Design, 966. He slies away alone. His Lieutenant General with an hundred Men take another way, and are purfued by Paulo de Mencfes, 968.

Hernandez is taken by two Captains which were fent in purfuit of him, and is carried to Cozeo, 970. He is put to death, and his Head fixed with those of Gongalo Piguro and Francisco de Carvajal, 973.

INDEX THE

The Heirs of those who sided with Hernandez are reffored to their Estates. p. 1005:

THE Idolary of the Inca's in the first Age, 6.

The Inca's, their Original, 11. The Idolatry of the fecond Age, 27. How the Inca's came to the Worship of

God. 28, 20. Inheritance of Estates, 109.

The Idols which the Indians of Antis worshipped, 110.

The Interpreter, Philip, punished, 557. Irreverent Impiety against the Sacrament Laws made by the Inca's, 147. punished, zoc.

The Indians (hew great fidelity to the Spaniards who took them in War,487.
They are naturally simple and credulous, 42.

The Incan Kings forbid their Subjects to meddle with Quick-filver, 345. And crimfon colours, to dig for them without Licence, 346.

The Justices deprive the two Generals of their Command, 937. They pais with the Loyal Army over the Rivers of Amanca and Apurimac, 958. They enter into Cozco with their Camp, 959. They come to the place where the Rebels had fortified themfelves, 961. They make Laws to prevent future Infurrections, 971. they entertain troublesome Conferences with the Souldiers, 973.

Indians living in the Antis eat mens Flesh, 7. Such as are taken in War they tye to a Tree, and flice their Flesh; and eat before their Faces, ib. They afterwards adore their Bones, if they fuffer bravely, ibid.

The Indians carry the Train of Artillery on their Shoulders, and how, 959.

The Inca Sayri Tupac is perfuaded by the Vice-King, the Marquis of Cannete to come out of the Mountains; and how contrived, 991. The fear and jealoufie the Inca and his Governours conceived upon this meffage from the Vice-King, 993. They confult the Prophecies, and refolve to go, 995. The Inca's Answer when he received a Writing which fecured an Allowance to him, 996. The Inca goes to Cozco, where he was well received, and He and his Wife baptized, 998.

The Inca Tupac Amaru is taken and imprisoned, 1009. Process is drawn up against him and other Inca's, and against the Sons of Spaniards born of

Indian Women, p. 1011. He is Baptized, 1013. He is put to death, ibid.

К.

THE King's Letter to Gonçalo Picar-

Aws ordained by the Inca's, 34, 47.

Lloque Yupanqui fecond King, 38. The Learning of the Inca's, Lands allotted to every Indian, and with what fort of Dung they manured their Grounds, 135.

Languages different in Peru, 249.

And Languages used in the Court, 253. New Lawi made in the Court of Spain for better Government of the two Empires of Mexico and Peru. 648.

The new Laws are put in Execution, 651. They cause great disturbance, 654, 659, 673,675. Reports raifed against those who favoured the new Laws, 655. The Reasons given against them, 664. Confultations thereupon, 766.

Lorenço de Aldana, his prudent conduct. 715. He suppresses many lealousies and Fears in Los Reyes, 721. He goes to the Valley of Los Reyes, and fends Spies against Picarro, 772.

Loyola, the Governour, his death, 1016.

M.

Marriages amongst the salvage Indians, 10. Marriages, how afterwards, 106. Manco Capac, the first Inca, 14. Mayta Capac, the fourth King, 55.

Chambers of the Moon and Stars &c. 89. Women bestowed in Marriage by the Inca, 105.

Marriages amongst the Inca's, 108. Musu, and the Expedition thither, 273. The Spaniards ill Success in Musu, 276. Mayz, Rice and other Seeds, Pulse and

Roots, 318, 319.
Mines of Gold in Collabuya, 344. Mulli, the Tree, and Red Pepper, 322. Magny, the Tree, and the Virtue of it,

The Nation of Manta, their Gods and Customs, 361.

A Miracle in Tumpiz, 433. Miracles in favour of the Christians, 541,

Manco Inca endeavours his own Reftauration, 538. He makes an Infurrection,541. He lives in Banishment,557. Mexico described, p. 651.

Manco Inca, and the Spaniards with him, write to the Vice-king, 670. Prince Manco Inca is unfortunately kil-

led. 672.

Lope de Mendoça, his Successes, 741. Marriages with rich Widows, to gratify the Spaniards, who pretended to great Rewards, 855.

Mutinies punished at Cozco, and the Ori-

ginals thereof, 881.

Muting in Piura how appealed, 931. Don Antonio de Mendoça is sent in quality of Vice-king to Pern, 882. His Son Don Francisco is sent into the Charcas,

 Many People go to visit the Vice king,
 886. The Story which an impertinent person told the Vice-king,
 887. The Death of the Vice-king,
 ibid. The Marfbal, vid. Alonfo de Alvarado. Mendiola, a Capt. in Hernandez his Ar-

my; and Martin, a Captain in the King's Army, how they ended their days, 933.

Michael Cornejo, how killed, 934. The faithfulness of his Horse to him, 935. Mendoça Don Garçia is sent Governour unto Chile; His Skirmish with the Indians, 1003. He returns to Spain, 1007.

their Degrees of Chivalry, 225. How they made their own Arms and Shoos, 226. The Prince underwent all the Rigours of a Novitiate, 228. The Count de Nieva is chosen Vice-king of Peru, 1007.

THE Original of the Inca's of Peru, Officers, how invested in their Emploi-

ments, 151

Oracles consulted, 354.

Olive-plants first brought into Peru, 391. Francisco de Orellana leaves his Companions, and fails into Spain, to demand the Government of the Conquest of Canela, 605. Orsua attempts the Conquest of the A-

mazons: His end and death, 1006.

. P.

DEru described, 3. divided into four parts, 32. The Phylick and Medicines used by Indians, 45, 46.

Poetry and Philosophy of the Amantas, p. 49. The Punishment of those who used Poifon, 59. Of Idle People, 137.

The Pinguin Bird called Parihuana, 67. The Palaces of the Inca's ornament and furniture, 185. Made of Gold and Silver, 187.

Paintings used by the Indian Women. 246. Polls how dispatched and settled, 196. Pachaentee, Son to Viracocha, succeeds and visits several parts of the Empire, subdues several Provinces, 202, 205. His Edifices and Laws, 204. And his

wife fayings, 246. Of the Platane, or Pine Apple, 324. Pearls, Emeralds and Turquoiles, 341.
The People of Puna malfacre the Captains of Huayna Capac, 356. Punishment

is inflicted on them, 357.

Peru conquered with little Cost to the King of Castile, 412.
Peter de Candia informs his Companions

of all he had feen, 434.

Francisco Piçarro forsaken by his Souldiers, 428. Proceeds on his Conquest, 430. How he and thirteen Companions arrive in Pern, 432<sub>He</sub>. He makes a voyage into Spain, 4<sub>1</sub> Hernando Picarro travels to Pachacamae, 462.

and returns to Spain, 473.
Francisco Piçarro made a Marquis, 537.
John Piçarro killed in taking the Fort of Cozco, 549.

THE Novitiates, how they took Hernando Pigarro imprisoned, 563. He escapes out of prison, ibid.

Hernando Pigarro marches against Don Diego de Almagro, 580. He goes into Spain, and is there imprisoned, 593. Marquis Picarro divides the Kingdom, and Goncalo Picarro is fent to the Conquest of Canela, 600. The great hard-ship he undergoes, 602. He confiders how he may return to Quitu,608. The Spaniards of Chili conspire against Marquis Pigarro, and put him to death, 610, 613. Picarro and Almagro compared, 615. Pigarro's excellent qualities, 619. Gonçalo Pigarro after having passed most incredible difficulties finds his way out of the Cinnamon Countrey, 631. He enters into Quitu, and offers his Service to the Governour, 634. He is chosen Agent General of Poru, 675

Gonçalo Piçarro having appointed his Captains departs from Cozco, 677. Pedro de Puelles revolts to Gonçalo Pigarro,

683. His Death, 775. Gonçalo Piçarro is summoned by the Judges to appear, 697. He comes to Los Reyes, 699. He puts many to

#### INDEX THE

death. because they refuse to pro-

claim him Governour, p. 700.

Goncalo Picarro is declared Governour of Peru. 701. He enters into Los Reves. 702. He nominates Messengers for Spain, 705. He embarks for the City of Truxillo,712. Two of his Captains kill three of those belonging to the Vice-king, ibid.

Concalo Picarro makes great Preparations to pass a Defart, 714. He drives the Vice-king out of *Peru*, 726. He sets all his own Ships on Fire, 771.

At Panama great Preparations are made, and troubles appealed, 728,729. Poilor, how infused by the Indians into

their Arrows, 741.

Pigarro refuses the Title of King, and professes Allegiance to his Majesty, and goes to Los Reyes, 750, 751. His

behaviour towards the People, 752. Panama and the People there revolt from Picarro, 762.

Paniagua comes to Los Reyes, 763. His private Instructions and Pigarro's An-

fiver, 767.

Goncalo Picarro fends Acolt against Centeno; and administers an Oath of Fidelity to his Souldiers, 781. He comes to Huarina, 791. He resolves to give Battel, 794. He gains a Victory against Centeno, 800. He enters into Cozco, 813. He draws up his Army in the Valley of Sacfahnana, 827. His Protestations and Offers to the President. 828. He is totally defeated in the Valley of Sacfahuana, 832. Surrenders himself, 833. Of the manner how he was put to death; of the Alms he gave for his Soul; also an Account of his Disposition and Nature, 847, 848, 849.

The City of Peace founded, 862. Potocs much disturbed by an Insurrecti-

on there, 896.

Potosi the Mountain where the Mines of Silver are, 344. The two Mountains of *Potocfi*, the bigger and the lefs, 346. Many Troubles there, and many brave men put to death, 904, 905. Piedrahita alarms the Marshal's Camp,

943. His success at Arequepa, 953. He again alarms the King's Army, 963. He is put to death, 986.

Pretenders to the Office of Captain General in the War against Hernandez Giron, 924.

Pineda revolts to the King's Party and perswades them to engage with the Enemy, 944.

F Quick-filver, and how melted. their Ore before they discovered that Mineral, 345, 346. Quizquiz flain by his own Souldiers. c 24. The Quarrel between the Vice king and

the Judges breaks out in publick 670.

I Nea Rocca, the Prince, reduces many Provinces, 84.

Inca Rocca, the Sixth King succeeds and fubdues many Nations, 114. His Laws and Schools founded in Cozco, 122. Four famous Rivers, 338.

Of Rats, and to what multitudes they have increased, 384.

The Riches of *Peru*, with two Opinions thereupon, 424. The Riches which the *Spaniards* divided amongst themfelves, out of what they took for Atabualpa's Ransome, 484.

Rumminavi, his Treason, 494. He buries the select Virgins alive, 496.

Revolts made from Pigarro by Martin de Robles, 785. Licenciado Carvajal, Graviel de Rojas, &c. 787. Captains and Souldiers revolted from John de Acosta, 790. At Sacfahuana, 830, 831. Martin de Robles imprisoned and put to

death, 987.

John de Vera Mendoça revolts from Her-

Los Reyes declares for the King, 788. Great Disturbances there, 780.

Rodrigo de Ninno entrusted to carry some persons condemned to the Gallies into Spain, 867, 868. And how he freed himself from a Pirate, ibid.

CErrano, the Story of him, 3. The Sacrifices to the Sun, 31, 92. Sinchi Roca, second King, 36. Sciences known to the Indians, 48. Sodomy, how punished, 73, 202. Of Schools founded by Pachacutec, 244 Situation of the Schools, and House of the felect Virgins, 266. The Spaniards fail along the coast of Pe-

Of Sheep and tame Cats, 382.

Sugar Canes, 302.

Spain poor in money before the Con-

quest of Pern, 420.
The Spaniards of Noble Quality, who undertake the Conquest of Peru, 417. They endure great Hardships in their Voyage from Panama to Tumpiz, 437. They make themselves Masters of Tumpiz, 438.

The

# THE INDEX.

The Spaniards break Peace with the Indians, and kill them without cause,

p. 456.
Sotelo is killed by Garcia de Alvarado, Sa-lazar is challenged to fight a Duel for having murthered Pedro de Puelles, 777.
Don Sebastian de Castilla, and his Aslociates kill the Governour Pedro de Himojosa, and his Lieutenant, Alonso de Castro, 894. The Orders and Methods he took in his Astairs, 896. Don Sebastian lends Souldiers to kill the Marshal, 898. And is murthered by his own Souldiers, 899.

T.

T Itles given by the Inca to his Family, The Temple of the Sun described, 87. The Tribute given to the Inca, 137. The Tribute how expended, 142. The Tribute how paid, 155. How imposed and proportioned, 157. Titles of Honour how conferred, 229. Tobacco, 327. Tumbiz surrenders to the Inca's, 352. The Treasure which the Spaniards found in Cozco, so 1. John de la Torre his Riches, and how gained, 753. His proceedings at Cozco, Alonfo de Toro his death. 769. New Troubles in Peru, 866. Don Francisco de Toledo is chosen Vice. king of Peru, 1008. He returns to Spain, where he is feverely reproved by his Catholick Majesty, 1016. His Death, 1017.

V

OF Virgins dedicated to the Sun, 99. and of their Rules and Emploiment, 100, 102, 103, 104. Of the Vicuna, 195. Inca Viracocha appears to the eldest Son of Tahuarhuagac, 125. Inca Viracocha receives intelligence of the Enemies March, 158. And the bloudy Battel which followed, 160. Viracocha bestows Gratuities on his Souldiers, 163. Pursues his Conquest, and returns to Cozco; fees his Father; takes on himself the Government, which his Father refigns to him, 164, 165. Of the word Viracocha, and why the Spuniards were called by that Name, 167. The Inca Viracocha gives order for building a Temple in memory of his Uncle Viracocha, who appeared to him, 169. Viracocha gives a Name to

his eldeft Son, and prophefies concerning the Invafion of the Spaniards, p. 180. His Death, 182.

The Vallies of Pachacamac and Rimae and their Idols, 234.

Valdivia killed with his men by the Indians of Chili, 288. Other ill Successes, 289.

Valdivia the City how destroyed, 290.
Of the Vine, and who first planted the
Grave, 388.

Vicente Valverde, a Frier, makes a Speech to Atabualpa, 449, 450, 451. The difficulty to interpret the Speech,450. Vaca de Caftro received for Governour by the People of Rimac, 626. His good Government, 645. He goes to Los Reyes, 659. He is imprisoned, 667. He makes his escape, 707. He comes to Spain, 709.

Verduge, his Actions in Truxillo, Nicaragua and Nombre de Dios, 730.

Vela Numez, brother to the late Viceking, his death by John de la Torre, and how, 753.

Pedro de Valdivia is made Governour of Chile, 859. His own People prefer Articles against him. 860.

Vasco Godinez is set up by the Souldiers for their General after the Death of Don Sebassian de Castilla, 900. He puts Don Garcia Tello de Guzman to death, 902. Vasco Godinez and several of his Souldiers are imprisoned, 906. and is put to death, 908.

W Horedom, how puinished, and how permitted, 114.
Wild Bealts, as Lions, Bears, Tigers, Apes, Monkies, &c. 332.
Of their Wheat, 387.

Of wine, and the first man that made it in Cozco, 389.

w.

Apac Yupanqui, fifth Monaich, 68.
His Conquest designed, 272.
Ya-buarbuacae, Prince, his Name, whence derived, 117. He is the seventh King, his Fears and Conquests, and the Difgrace of his eldest Son, 123.
Yucay, the Valley described, 179.
Yunqu, his Conquests, 210, 212.
Yupanqui Inca, his Retirement and quiet Life untill his death, 293.
Yllen Suarez de Carvajal, Agent, is put to Death, 689.
The Jealousie the Vice-king conceived of him, 688.